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The Oxford Dictionary of
BYZANTIUM



Prepared at Dumbarton Oaks

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The idea of producing a dictionary of Byzantine studies was formulated by the late Gyula Moravcsik in an article published in 1949 (*Byzantinoslavica* 10 [1949] 7). Several years later, Johannes Irmscher developed this proposal during a visit to Moscow, and plans were made to prepare such a dictionary as a joint German-Soviet enterprise; however, the project was never launched. In 1968 Peter Wirth in Munich began publication of an ambitious work, entitled *Reallexikon der Byzantinistik*, rivaling Pauly-Wissowa's *Real-Encyklopädie* in scope; this dictionary collapsed after the appearance of a few fascicles.

In America plans for the preparation of a dictionary of Byzantium began to materialize at Dumbarton Oaks in 1980 in conversations among Alexander Kazhdan, Anthony Cutler, Speros Vryonis, and Jelisaveta Allen. With the encouragement and support of Giles Constable, then director of Dumbarton Oaks, editorial and advisory boards were established, a preliminary list of entries was drawn up, and in 1982 an initial application was made to the National Endowment for the Humanities. After the receipt of NEH funding, the project formally commenced in November 1983; in 1984 an office was established at Dumbarton Oaks and a contract was signed with Oxford University Press.

A number of existing encyclopedias deal to a limited extent with Byzantine history and culture. In some of them Byzantium is considered as an integral part—but only a part—of the subject matter; to this category belong, first and foremost, the *Lexikon des Mittelalters* (as yet unfinished) and the recently completed *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*. Other encyclopedias include separate fields of Byzantine studies, limited chronologically (thus Pauly-Wissowa's *Real-Encyklopädie* elucidates the history of the late Roman Empire and also treats later authors relevant for ancient history) or topically (there are numerous patristic, theological, liturgical, and church historical dictionaries and encyclopedias as well as reference books on prosopography, topography, art, and iconography, including the *Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*, the *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit*, the *Tabula Imperii Byzantini*, and the *Reallexikon zur byzantinischen Kunst*). Ours is, however, the first attempt to collect within a single work data concerning all fields of Byzantine studies.

Encyclopedias differ in that some of them (such as the *Real-Encyklopädie* or the *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*—the latter still in progress) claim comprehensiveness of both information and bibliography, while others are selective and therefore more concise (e.g., the three-volume *Dizionario patristico e di antichità cristiane*). The *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (hereafter *ODB*) was from the outset planned as a selective dictionary following the model of other Oxford dictionaries.

As a result it was necessary to make choices in three areas: the number of entries, their length, and the bibliographical references.

From the very beginning we limited the *ODB* to approximately five thousand entries. It goes without saying that this is a number insufficient to include all Byzantine names and terms; thus we had to decide who and what would be treated, who and what would be excluded. Only one category, that of the Byzantine emperors, is complete, while a selection has been made among saints, patriarchs, writers, places, fiscal and administrative concepts, and so forth. The decision process was long and painful: we started it before the editorial board was fully operative, we consulted with members of the Dumbarton Oaks community, in 1986 we published the preliminary *Working Lists* of entries and distributed this pamphlet to leading Byzantinists. We continued to make changes in the list right up to the time of galley proofs, thanks to the understanding of the Oxford University Press. The final result is comprehensive coverage of all aspects of Byzantine history and civilization, with special depth in subjects such as bureaucratic titles and fiscal terms, urban life, and rural economy.

Our original goal was to create a work of approximately 1.1 million words, exclusive of bibliographies. We established the average length of an entry as two hundred words and of a major article as one thousand words, but we did grant our contributors some latitude. We restricted bibliographical references: we requested that only one edition of a text (the best) be indicated and that the "literature" section include no more than four or five items. As a consequence, however, of adding new entries in the course of our work, of increasing the wordage of many entries in order to permit adequate coverage of the subject matter, and of expanding the bibliographies to incorporate the most recent scholarship, the completed product is considerably longer than anticipated, a three-volume work of approximately two million words, including bibliographies. We were able to keep revising the bibliographies until June 1989; in only a few instances was it feasible to add references to new editions, articles, and monographs that appeared in 1989 and 1990.

We decided to divide the subject matter into about 135 "clusters" of entries and invited certain contributors to serve as cluster leaders responsible for a particular topic such as fiscal system or geography of Asia Minor. In most instances, the cluster leader was asked to write both a general survey article on his or her topic of specialization as well as the related shorter entries. Our reasoning was that the system of clusters would permit more coherence within the group of entries and more flexibility for these contributors who, in the course of work, were to decide which person or object was more and which less significant; we also expected thereby to lessen repetitions and inconsistencies. Certainly, the system had its shortcomings: often it was impossible to make a strict separation between different clusters, and some topics appeared in different clusters, even under different names. Some cluster leaders subcontracted a part of their entries, thus multiplying the legion of contributors. It is our judgment nevertheless that this system helped to

produce a certain uniformity and to avoid unnecessary duplication of information.

It was difficult to impose a consistent structure on the entries and especially difficult to decide whether an entry should merely state facts or should also include source references, scholarly discussions, and scholarly doubts. Thus many entries have no scientific scaffolding and supports, while others are heavily loaded with scholarly apparatus. This difference in treatment has been determined both by the preference of individual contributors and by the controversial nature of certain topics. In any case, we tried to avoid unilateral solutions and sometimes presented in the running text, or at least in bibliographical references, conclusions we or our contributors do not share.

We also faced the difficult question of to what extent a dictionary should summarize already established data and to what extent authors should go beyond the *déjà connu* and suggest new viewpoints and new solutions. At the beginning, we set as our goal the summation of elementary knowledge about Byzantium; it turned out, however, that there are many questions that have not even been asked and many traditional views that are not substantiated by the sources. We found ourselves obliged to touch upon topics developed by western medievalists but not yet studied by Byzantinists and to question a number of traditional perceptions and dates.

Preparation of the *ODB* was the joint effort of more than a hundred contributors, dozens of cluster leaders, and a handful of editors. Could such an assemblage reach a unified approach and work as a team? We tried to achieve such a goal but were not always successful. Over a seven-year period we had long discussions, both at meetings and in correspondence; the editorial board insisted, surrendered, and insisted again, and frequently was unable to find unity within its own ranks. Nevertheless we hope that in the end we managed to develop certain general principles, even though they could not be uniformly applied, partly owing to the lack of data, partly to the strength of traditional approaches.

First of all, we addressed issues of chronology and geography. The chronological scope of the dictionary was defined as the period from the 4th to the 15th century; classical authors such as Euripides and Plato are included, but discussion of them is focused on the transmission and knowledge of their writings in Byzantium. The post-Byzantine tradition (*Byzance après Byzance*) was deliberately omitted. It proved much more difficult to set geographical limits for the *ODB* because of the constant fluctuation in the borders of the empire and the far-ranging impact of Byzantine culture and its contacts with distant lands. All regions that at any time formed part of the Byzantine Empire are covered, as are sites outside the empire's borders that had significant connections with Byzantium. In entries treating areas bordering on the empire, the emphasis is on relations with Byzantium or Byzantine culture. Thus, the *ODB* entries on the Qur'ān and Muḥammad differ greatly from their counterparts in the *Encyclopedia of Islam*, in that they focus on Byzantine perceptions of the Holy Book and Prophet of Islam. To

take another example, in the realm of art and architecture, only those churches of medieval Serbia have been emphasized for which it can be demonstrated that Byzantine artists or architects were primarily responsible.

The second principle we followed was to make the entries in the *ODB* interdisciplinary in nature. We wanted to have entries in which history, philology, art, and liturgy were interwoven and combined; even short entries were sometimes written by three professionals so that a person or an event is viewed from several vantage points. This approach is closely linked to our belief that elements of Byzantine culture did not exist in isolation.

This brings us to the very complex problem of whether Byzantium was a living, developing organism or only a guardian of ancient and patristic traditions. The question is complex since so much in Byzantium imitated the past and the sources themselves gloss over changes and alterations, but in the words of Paul Lemerle "to represent Byzantium as immutable over a period of eleven centuries is to fall into a trap set by Byzantium itself" (Lemerle, *Cinq études* 251). In fields as disparate as literature, military strategy and organization, science, medicine, law, and philosophy, the editorial board has taken the position that Byzantium did not merely transmit the traditions of antiquity but developed its own models and worldview.

A final point is that the *ODB* includes many topics not normally found in traditional encyclopedias and dictionaries. The editors have made a deliberate attempt to emphasize *realia* and the man in the street (*homo byzantinus*), with special focus on subjects such as the family, diet, emotions, and everyday life.

It is our hope that the *ODB* will provide its reader with a body of knowledge about Byzantium. We also expect it to demonstrate many areas of study that are still underdeveloped, unclear, and confused, and by so doing to stimulate the further evolution of our discipline.

NOTE TO THE READER

Entries in the *ODB* are arranged in alphabetical order, strictly letter by letter, not word by word. A space between words is thus ignored, so that Leo Grammatikos precedes Leonard of Chios, but Leo of Catania follows Leontios Scholastikos. Entries on emperors, popes, patriarchs, and others with identical names are arranged in chronological order. Cross-references, indicated by small capitals (e.g., FARMS, IRENE), will guide the reader to other entries that should offer pertinent related information. We recommend that the reader doing research on a topic also consult the major survey article; thus, someone interested in farms might also read the article on agriculture, where numerous other relevant entries will be mentioned.

Some monuments are subjects of independent entries made under the name of the specific church or monastery (this is the case for the

monuments and monasteries of Constantinople, Athos, and Thessalonike), while others are discussed in entries under the name of the site (as for Mistra, Venice, Rome, etc.). Many artists and architects who are not subjects of separate entries are discussed in the major articles on artists and architects, respectively. Toponyms are generally listed under the form of the name commonly used in the Byzantine period, for example, Ankyra instead of modern Turkish Ankara. Modern names are used for sites for which the medieval name is unknown or uncertain, for example, Alahan Manastiri, Umm el-Jimal.

References to primary sources are given in two different ways: either the work is cited in the form of a bibliographic abbreviation (e.g., Theoph. or *De cer.*), which can be found in the list of bibliographic abbreviations, or the name of the author or text is printed in small capitals, to indicate that the cross-referenced entry will provide information on editions of the works.

Greek terms and the names of most people and places have been strictly transliterated, but in many instances a traditional latinized or anglicized form (e.g., Homer, Aeschylus, Thebes, Nicaea) was used. We have also adopted the anglicized form of Greek first names that are common in English, for example, John, Nicholas, Peter. Armenian has been transliterated in accordance with the guidelines of the *Revue des études arméniennes*, Arabic and Ottoman according to the rules of the *International Journal of Middle East Studies*. For Slavic languages we have followed the "modified Harvard system," employed in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*. In Latin we have used the initial form *ju-*, rather than *iu-*, for example, *jugum*, *jus*; we also distinguish between *v* and *u*.

The bibliographies are selective and emphasize monographs on a given subject; they are supplemented by bibliographical citations in the running text. Usually the most important item is listed first, but in some cases a recent book or article was added at the end. In order to avoid repetition, some works have been omitted from the bibliography of an entry if they are listed in the bibliography of another entry cross-referenced in the text. For the sake of simplicity, many articles are cited in the reprint edition of a scholar's articles (such as Variorum Reprints), with the date of original publication indicated in parentheses. For books, reprint information is given wherever known. When possible, we have tried to emphasize works in western European languages (especially English), but where appropriate a conscious decision was made to include numerous works in Greek, in Slavic and other eastern European languages, and in languages of the Middle East.

Among the challenges faced by the editorial board was that of reconciling our contributors' differing definitions of the term *Byzantine* and their often conflicting terminology for the successive stages of Byzantine history. In early drafts of entries the period from the 4th to 7th century was variously termed late antique, early Christian, late Roman, early Byzantine, proto-Byzantine, and even late Byzantine (by scholars dealing with the history of Syro-Palestine and Egypt). The term *Middle Byzantine* was used by different contributors to refer to the 8th to 11th century, the 9th to 12th century, etc. Because of the lack of precision

and confusion engendered by Byzantinists' inconsistent terminology for the periodization of Byzantine history, the editors have tried to substitute exact centuries wherever possible. In general, the *ODB* has chosen to use the term *late Roman* or *late antique* for the period of the 4th to the early or mid-7th century and to employ *Byzantine* for phenomena of the 7th century and later, but inevitably there are inconsistencies in our usage.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium would never have been realized without the assistance and goodwill of numerous institutions and individuals.

Three successive directors of Dumbarton Oaks have supported the project in manifold ways, beginning with the initial encouragement given by Giles Constable, who provided invaluable advice during the early phases of organization, preliminary overtures to the National Endowment for the Humanities, and negotiations with publishers. His successors, Robert Thomson and Angeliki Laiou, have continued this policy of strong institutional commitment and have also themselves made a scholarly contribution to the *ODB* by writing and reviewing entries. Throughout the long years of the project, Dumbarton Oaks has provided office space, paid some staff salaries, made accommodations available, and offered various kinds of administrative and logistical support. We are grateful to the staffs of the Financial Office (especially Marlene Chazan and José Garcia), the Byzantine Library (especially Irene Vaslef, Steve Rouser, and Mark Zapatka), and the Department of Visual Resources (especially Natalia Teteriatnikov and Astrid Williams), who helped to administer our grants and finances, to track down obscure bibliographic citations and rare and missing books, and to provide photographs for the illustrations, respectively.

The Advisory Board, composed of six senior scholars, played an important role in the planning of the *ODB*, reviewing general guidelines and advising on the list of entries and selection of contributors. The advisers have supported the project throughout its duration, as contributors and especially as reviewers of entries written by other scholars.

We also wish to acknowledge warmly the important contribution to the project of Gary Vikan, one of the two original editors for art history, who had to leave the Editorial Board at the end of 1984. He was extremely helpful in the early phases of the project, especially in revising the list of art entries and in preparing the initial application to the National Endowment for the Humanities.

We would indeed be remiss if we did not pay special tribute to our 127 contributors from seventeen different countries whose combined efforts were essential for the realization of this project. In order to avoid the translation of entries, we looked first to scholars from English-speaking countries, but for certain specialized topics we were not able

to adhere to this principle. Many of our contributors not only agreed to serve as cluster leaders and to write large numbers of entries but also were collaborators in the true sense of the word, working with the editors as a team and demonstrating a concern for the relationship of their entries to the *ODB* as a whole.

One of the advantages of preparing the *ODB* at Dumbarton Oaks has been the availability to the editors of the many American and international scholars who visit the Byzantine Library to conduct their own research. Many of these individuals have been extremely generous in their willingness to read and comment upon sizable groups of entries. Entire clusters were reviewed by Ute Blumenthal (Papacy), Robert Browning (Rhetoric, Literature, Education), Bernard Coulie (Armenia, Georgia), Paul Hollingsworth (Russian Literature), David Jacoby (Economy/Agrarian Relations), Leslie MacCoull (Coptic Art and Archaeology), Cyril Mango (Culture), Michael McCormick (Papacy), John Meyendorff (Ecclesiastical Structure, Church Councils, Patriarchates), Nicolas Oikonomides (Bureaucracy, Athos), Andrzej Poppe (Russian Literature and Geography), Lennart Rydén (Hagiography), Ihor Ševčenko (Palaeography, Antiquity, Literature, Late Byzantine Authors), Irfan Shahîd (Ethiopia and South Arabia), and Rainer Stichel (Theology). Some scholars in permanent residence at Dumbarton Oaks who also reviewed entries are Jelisaveta Allen (Serbian Geography), Angeliki Laiou (Economy, Family, Urban Life), and William Loerke (Architecture). Furthermore we wish to acknowledge the advice from afar of János Bak (who read the entries on Hungary), Dimitri Conomos (Hymnography), Elena Metreveli (Armenia, Georgia), and Isidore Twersky (Jews). Many other scholars read and commented on individual entries; we regret that it is not possible to mention them all by name.

One of our greatest difficulties was in reconciling conflicting systems of transliteration for the many languages cited in the *ODB*. We are particularly grateful for the assistance of Steven Reinert and Elizabeth Zachariadou with Ottoman Turkish, of Sidney Griffith and Peter Cowe with Syriac, of Robert Thomson with Armenian and Georgian, of Irfan Shahîd with Arabic, and of Leslie MacCoull with Coptic. Stefan Gero also counseled us on the translation of theological terminology from German into English.

We would also like to recognize the difficult assignment capably executed by Ruth Macrides and Kenneth Wesche, who translated from German the clusters on law and theology, respectively.

The *ODB* project has been fortunate to enjoy throughout its course the services of a devoted and able staff. Catherine Brown Tkacz, who joined the project in January 1984 as project coordinator and then became project manager, was responsible for the challenging task of designing the computer programs and organizing office procedures. In addition to performing countless other duties in connection with the management of the project for more than four and a half years, she also served as assistant editor.

After her resignation in 1988, Catherine Tkacz was succeeded as project manager by Margaret Scrymser, who had originally joined the

staff in 1986 as project assistant. Margaret ran the office efficiently and calmly for the final two years of the project, supervising staff and volunteers during a period of constant deadlines and never-ending pressure. In addition she keyed all final revisions into the computer before the entries were sent to press and oversaw the process of bibliographic verification.

Another key staff member during the final phase of the project was Susan Higman, who served as assistant editor in 1989–90. She was an invaluable assistant to the executive editor as well as serving as liaison with Oxford University Press, coordinating the checking of galley proofs, and performing numerous other tasks. Roberta Goldblatt preceded Susan as assistant editor for a few months in 1988–89.

An essential part of the preparation of the *ODB* was the keying of more than five thousand entries, a challenging assignment because of the multilingual character of the material. Catherine Tkacz and Margaret Scrymser keyed a large number of entries during the early years of the project. We also wish to acknowledge with gratitude the skilled work of Gerry Guest (fifteen months, 1988–89), whose computer expertise was invaluable, and Leilani Henderson (ten months in 1989–90). Jane Baun and Barbara Hartmann also did clerical work for short periods of time in 1986.

For almost two years (1988–90) Leslie MacCoull faithfully carried out the tedious but necessary task of verifying the more than thirty-five thousand bibliographic citations. Her scholarly background and linguistic ability made her ideally suited for this assignment, and we are much indebted to her. Monica Blanchard of the Institute of Christian Oriental Research at the Catholic University of America made available to us the specialized resources inventory of the institute's library and helped with the verification of Georgian bibliography.

A loyal group of volunteers assisted the project in many ways: processing new entries, filing and other clerical tasks, proofreading, maintaining a bibliographic inventory, bibliographic research, and providing computer expertise. We are enormously in the debt of this cheerful band of men and women, who were willing to undertake almost any task at hand. Without their services we would never have been able to complete the project within the time allotted. In order of years of service, we wish to express our profound thanks to Helen McKagen, Peggy Nalle, and Joan Theodore (six years); Eleanor Hedblom (five years); Jane Woods (three years); Teresa McArdle, Ginger McKaye, Betty Wagner, and Hal Warren (one to two years); and Jane Baun, Gianni Guindani, Patricia Hardesty, and Paul Hollingsworth (less than one year). In addition, Michael Tkacz helped out on more than one occasion over a four-year period.

A special word of appreciation is due to James C. Moeser, dean of the College of Arts and Architecture at the Pennsylvania State University, and to G. Micheal Riley, dean of the College of Humanities at the Ohio State University, for agreeing to release Anthony Cutler and Timothy Gregory, respectively, from some of their teaching duties so that they could carry out their editorial responsibilities.

We have benefited from the expert advice and assistance of the Oxford University Press throughout our long years of common association. In the early stages of the project we worked closely first with David Attwooll and then with William Mitchell as executive editors of reference books. Since 1988 we have had a congenial working relationship with Claude Conyers, editorial director for reference books, and with Jeffrey Edelstein, who served as the Press's project editor during the demanding final phases of the project. Among former staff members at Oxford University Press, we should like particularly to thank Marion Britt.

A project of this magnitude and duration required considerable financial assistance. From the beginning we have received the indispensable support of the National Endowment for the Humanities, which has provided both outright grants and matching federal funds. In addition we wish to thank particularly the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation and Dumbarton Oaks, which supplemented Endowment funding with generous grants throughout the seven-year period of preparation of the *ODB*. The Getty Grant Program of the J. Paul Getty Trust and the Samuel H. Kress Foundation were also major benefactors, making substantial contributions to offset costs relating to art historical portions of the project. We are also most appreciative of the funds provided by the Menil Foundation, the Gordon Fund, Capt. Nicholas Kulukundis, and Helen McKagen.

THE EDITORIAL BOARD
September 1990

ILLUSTRATIONS

LIST OF MAPS

AFRICA, PREFECTURE OF	North Africa in the Late Roman Period
ASIA MINOR	Cities and Regions of Asia Minor
ATHENS	Athens
ATHOS, MOUNT	Monasteries of Mount Athos
BALKANS	Regions of the Balkans
BLACK SEA	The Black Sea Region
BULGARIA	Cities of Bulgaria, Serbia, and Neighboring Regions
BYZANTIUM, HISTORY OF	The Roman Empire in the Fourth Century
	The Byzantine Empire in the Sixth Century
	The Byzantine Empire circa 1025
	The Byzantine Empire under the Komnenoi
	The Balkans and Anatolia circa 1214
	The Byzantine Empire and Its Neighbors circa 1350
CAUCASUS	The Caucasus Region
CONSTANTINOPLE	Constantinople
CRUSADES	Routes of the First Four Crusades
CYPRUS	Cyprus
EGYPT	Egypt and the Sinai Peninsula
GREECE	Cities and Regions of Greece
ITALY	Cities and Regions of Italy
SYRIA	Cities of Syro-Palestine and Neighboring Regions
THEME	Themes of Asia Minor in the Seventh and Early Eighth Centuries
	Later Themes and Regions of Asia Minor
THESSALONIKE	Thessalonike in the Fourteenth Century

LIST OF GENEALOGICAL TABLES

AARONIOS	Genealogy of the Aaronios Family in the Eleventh Century
AMORIAN OR PHRYGIAN DYNASTY	Genealogy of the Amorian Dynasty
ANGELOS	Selected Genealogy of the Angelos Dynasty (1185–1204)
ASAN	Genealogy of the Asan Family in Byzantium in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries
BRYENNIOS	Genealogy of the Bryennios Family in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries
CONSTANTINE I THE GREAT	Selected Genealogy of the Family of Constantine I
DOUKAS	Selected Genealogy of the Doukas Family in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries
GATTILUSIO	Selected Genealogy of the Gattilusio Family in the Levant in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries
HERAKLEIOS	Selected Genealogy of the Family of Herakleios
ISAURIAN DYNASTY	Genealogy of the Isaurian Dynasty
JUSTINIAN I	Selected Genealogy of the Family of Justinian I
KANTAKOUZENOS	Selected Genealogy of the Kantakouzenos Family in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries
KOMNENOS	Genealogy of the Komnenos Family
LASKARIS	Genealogy of the Laskaris Dynasty of Nicaea
LEKAPENOS	Genealogy of the Lekapenos Family in the Tenth Century
LEO I	The House of Leo I
MACEDONIAN DYNASTY	Selected Genealogy of the Macedonian Dynasty, 867–1156
NEMANJID DYNASTY	Genealogy of the Nemanjid Dynasty (ca.1167–1371)
PALAIOLOGOS	Selected Genealogy of the Palaiologos Family

THEODOSIOS I

Tocco

ZACCARIA

Selected Genealogy of the Theodosian Dynasty
The Tocco Family in the Ionian Islands and Epiros in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries
Selected Genealogy of the Zaccaria Family in the Levant

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Osvaldo Böhm	CHALICE	Marburg/Art Resource, New York	DIPTYCHS; STARO NAGORIČINO; TEMPLON
Laskarina Bouras	LAMPS	Thomas Mathews	COLUMN CHURCHES
Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C.	ALEXANDER; BRICKWORK TECHNIQUES AND PATTERNS; BRIDGES; CERAMICS; CHORA MONASTERY; CHRIST: Types of Christ; CIBORIUM; COINS; CONSTANTINOPLE, MONUMENTS OF: Walls; DEESIS; DORMITION; FORTY MARTYRS OF SEBASTEIA; HAGIA SOPHIA: Hagia Sophia in Constantinople (interior view); ICONS: Painted Icons; JOHN II KOMNENOS; JOHN CHRYSOSTOM; KAPER KORAON TREASURE; LIGHTING, ECCLESIASTICAL; MARRIAGE BELT; METOCHITES, THEODORE; MISTRA; NEREZI; OPUS SECTILE; PAMMAKARISTOS, CHURCH OF HAGIA MARIA; PEACOCKS; PYXIS; QAL'AT SEM'AN; RHIPIDION; RING, MARRIAGE; SEALING IMPLEMENTS; SGRAFFITO WARE; STOUDIOS MONASTERY; TAXATION; VIRGIN HAGIOSORITISSA	Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York	DAVID PLATES
Ekdotike Athenon S.A., Athens	CHRYSOBULL	Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai, Ann Arbor	ANNUNCIATION; JOHN KLIMAX (icon); NICHOLAS OF MYRA; TRANSFIGURATION
Alison Frantz	HOSIOS LOUKAS; PALACE	Monastery of St. John, Patmos	HEADPIECE
Giraudon Art Resource	LARGITIO DISHES, SILVER	National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne	CANON TABLES
Hirmer Fotoarchiv, Munich	AMPULLAE, PILGRIMAGE; APOKAUKOS, ALEXIOS; BARBERINI IVORY; BASIL II; BOOK COVER; CAPITAL; CONSTANTINE I THE GREAT; CONSTANTINE VII PORPHYROGENNETOS; CONSTANTINOPLE, MONUMENTS OF: CISTERN; EPITAPHIOS; EVANGELIST PORTRAITS; GREAT FEASTS; ICONS: Mosaic Icons; JOHN VI KANTAKOUZENOS; LIMBURG AN-DER-LAHN RELIQUARY; MAXIMIAN; PSALTER; RAVENNA; ROSSANO GOSPELS; SARCOPHAGUS; TEKUR SARAYI; THEODORA	Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna	ANICIA JULIANA
		Photo Lykides, Thessaloniki	CANA, MARRIAGE AT
		Josephine Powell	DAPHNI; MOSAIC; OHRID
		Rijksmuseum Het Catharijneconvent, Utrecht	VIRGIN HO-DEGETRIA
		Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden	PAPYRUS
		Ihor Ševčenko	BRYAS; SINGERS
		State Historical Museum, Moscow	ICONOCLASM
		Trinity College, Cambridge	COLUMN, HONORIFIC
		Trustees of the British Museum, London	THEODORE PSALTER; TRIUMPH OF ORTHODOXY
		Victoria and Albert Museum, London	CASKETS AND BOXES
		Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond	ENKOLPION
		J. Wayman Williams	CONSTANTINOPLE; DOME; GALLERY; HAGIA SOPHIA: Hagia Sophia in Constantinople (exterior view)

ABBREVIATIONS

GENERAL ABBREVIATIONS

a. anno	et al. et alia, et alii	neut. neuter
acc. according	etc. et cetera	no(s). number(s)
acq. no. acquisition number	f the following page	nov. novel(la)
A.D. anno/annis Domini	facs. facsimile	Nov. November
add. additions by	Feb. February	n.s. new series
adj. adjective	fem. feminine	Oct. October
A.H. in the year of the Hijra	fig(s). figure(s)	OF Old French
a.k.a. also known as	fol(s). folio(s)	or. oratio(nes)
alt. altitude	fl. floruit	o.s. old series
anc. ancient	fr. fragment	p(p). page(s)
anon. anonymous	Fr. French	par(s). paragraph(s)
app. appendix	ft foot, feet	Patr. Patriarch
Apr. April	g gram	Pers. Persian
Ar. Arabic	Georg. Georgian	pic. pictura
Arm. Armenian	Germ. German	pl. plural
Att. Attic	Gr. Greek	pl(s). plate(s)
Aug. August	ha hectare(s)	pr. proem
approx. approximately	HE <i>Historia ecclesiastica</i>	pt(s). part(s)
Archbp. Archbishop	Hebr. Hebrew	r recto
B.C. Before Christ	Hlbdd. Halbband	r. ruled, reigned
Bibl. Bibliothèque, Bibliothek, Bibliotheca, Biblioteca, etc.	ibid. ibidem, in the same place	R. Reihe (series)
(bibl.) bibliography	i.e. that is	republ. republished
bk(s). book(s)	(ill.) work cited only because of its illustrations	rev. review, reviewed by
Bp. Bishop	inf. inferior(e)	rp. reprint
Byz. Byzantium, Byzantine (adj.), Byzantines (n.)	inscr. inscription	Russ. Russian
C. century, centuries	introd. introduction, introduction by	S. San, Santo, Santa
ca. circa	It. Italian	sc. scilicet, namely
cf. compare	Jan. January	Sept. September
ch(s). chapter(s)	kg kilogram	ser. series
cm centimeter(s)	km kilometer(s)	sing. singular
cod(d). codex (codices)	Lat. Latin	sq. square
col(s). column(s)	Lib. Library	SS. Santi
Comm. Commentary in/on [the/a], Commentarium in/de	lit. literally	St(s). Saint(s)
corr. corrected by	Lit. Literature	sup. superior(e)
Dec. December	m meter(s)	supp. supplement, supplemented by
diam. diameter	m. married	s.v. sub voce, sub verbo
dim. diminutive	Mar. March	Syr. Syriac
diss. dissertation	masc. masculine	tr. translated by, translation
ed(s). edited by, edition(s), editor(s)	Mél. Mélanges	Turk. Turkish, Turkic
e.g. for example	Metr. Metropolitan	Univ. University
Emp. Emperor	mm millimeter(s)	unpub. unpublished
Eng. English	mod. modern	v verso
ep(s). epistle(s)	MS(S) manuscript(s)	viz. videlicet
esp. especially	Mt. Mount	v(v). verse(s)
	n(n). note(s)	(with bibl.) with bibliography
	n.d. no date (of publication)	

ABBREVIATIONS OF BIBLICAL BOOKS

Am Amos	Is Isaiah	Neh Nehemiah
Apoc Apocalypse	Jas James	Num Numbers
1 Chr 1 Chronicles	Jer Jeremiah	Ob Obadiah
2 Chr 2 Chronicles	Jg Judges	1 Pet 1 Peter
Col Colossians	Jl Joel	2 Pet 2 Peter
1 Cor 1 Corinthians	Jn John	Phil Philippians
2 Cor 2 Corinthians	1 Jn 1 John	Philem Philemon
Dan Daniel	2 Jn 2 John	Pr Proverbs
Dt Deuteronomy	3 Jn 3 John	Ps Psalms
Ec Ecclesiastes	Jon Jonah	Rom Romans
Eph Ephesians	Jos Joshua	Ru Ruth
Est Esther	1 Kg (3 Kg) 1 Kings	1 Sam (1 Kg) 1 Samuel
Ex Exodus	2 Kg (4 Kg) 2 Kings	2 Sam (2 Kg) 2 Samuel
Ezek Ezekiel	Lam Lamentations	S of S Song of Solomon
Ezra Ezra	Lev Leviticus	1 Th 1 Thessalonians
Gal Galatians	Lk Luke	2 Th 2 Thessalonians
Gen Genesis	Mal Malachi	1 Tim 1 Timothy
Hab Habakkuk	Mic Micah	2 Tim 2 Timothy
Hag Haggai	Mk Mark	Tit Titus
Heb Hebrews	Mt Matthew	Zech Zechariah
Hos Hosea	Nah Nahum	Zeph Zephaniah

ABBREVIATIONS OF MANUSCRIPT CITATIONS

Ann Arbor = Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Library	Berlin, Staatsbibl. = Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek
Athens, Benaki = Athens, Benaki Museum (Mouseion Benaki)	Bologna, Bibl. Com. = Bologna, Biblioteca Comunale dell'Archiginnasio
Athens, Byz. Mus. = Athens, Byzantine Museum (Byzantion Mouseion)	Bologna, Bibl. Univ. = Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria
Athens, Nat. Lib. = Athens, National Library (Ethnike Bibliotheke)	Brescia, Bibl. Querin. = Brescia, Biblioteca Queriniana
Athos = Mt. Athos, followed by abbrev. for individual monastery:	Cambridge, Harvard = Cambridge, Mass., Harvard College Library
Chil. Chilandari	Chicago, Univ. Lib. = University of Chicago Library
Dion. Dionysiou	Cividale, Mus. Archeol. = Cividale, Museo Archeologico
Doch. Docheiariou	Cleveland Mus. = Cleveland Museum of Art
Esphig. Esphigmenou	Copenhagen, Royal Lib. = Copenhagen, Det kongelige Bibliotek
Greg. Gregoriou	Erevan, Mat. = Erevan, Matenadaran
Iver. Iveron	Escorial = Biblioteca de El Escorial
Koutl. Koutloumousiou	Florence, Laur. = Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana
Pantel. Panteleemon	Genoa, Bibl. Franz. = Genoa, Biblioteca Franzoniana
Pantok. Pantokrator	Gotha, Landesbibl. = Gotha, Thüringische Landesbibliothek
Philoth. Philotheou	Grottaferrata = Grottaferrata, Biblioteca della Badia
Simop. Simopetra	Istanbul, Gr. Patr. = Istanbul, Greek Patriarchate (Patriarchike Bibliotheke)
Stavr. Stavroniketa	Istanbul, Süleymaniye = Istanbul, Süleymaniye Library
Vatop. Vatopedi	Istanbul, Topkapı = Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Library
Xenoph. Xenophontos	Jerusalem, Arm. Patr. = Jerusalem, Armenian Patriarchate
Xerop. Xeropotamou	Jerusalem, Gr. Patr. = Jerusalem, Greek Patriarchate (Patriarchike Bibliotheke)
Baltimore, Walters = Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery	
Berlin, Kupferstichkab. = Berlin-Dahlem, Staatliche Museen, Kupferstichkabinett	

Leipzig, Univ. Lib. = Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek
Leningrad, Publ. Lib. = Leningrad, Gosudarstvennaja Publičnaja Biblioteka imeni M.E. Saltykova Ščedrina
London, B.L. = London, British Library
Madrid, Bibl. Nac. = Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional
Megaspelaion = Mone Megalou Spelaiou, Kalabryta
Melbourne, Nat. Gall. = Melbourne, National Gallery of Victoria
Messina, Bibl. Univ. = Messina, Biblioteca Universitaria
Meteora, Metamorph. = Meteora, Mone Metamorphoseos
Milan, Ambros. = Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana
Moscow, Hist. Mus. = Moscow, Gosudarstvennyj Istoričeskij Muzej
Moscow, Lenin Lib. = Moscow, Publičnaja Biblioteka SSSR imeni V.I. Lenina
Moscow, Univ. Lib. = Moscow, Naučnaja Biblioteka imeni Gor'kogo Moskovskogo gosudarstvennogo Universiteta
Munich, Bayer. Staatsbibl. = Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek
Mytilene = Mytilene (Lesbos), Gymnasion
Naples, Bibl. Naz. = Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale
New York, Kraus = New York City, H.P. Kraus
New York, Morgan Lib. = New York City, Pierpont Morgan Library
Oxford, Bodl. = Oxford, Bodleian Library
Oxford, Lincoln Coll. = Oxford, Lincoln College
Palermo, Bibl. Naz. = Palermo, Biblioteca Nazionale
Paris, Arsenal = Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal

Paris, B.N. = Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale
Parma, Bibl. Pal. = Parma, Biblioteca Palatina
Patmos = Patmos, Monastery of St. John
Princeton, Theol. Sem. = Princeton Theological Seminary, Speer Library
Princeton, Univ. Lib. = Princeton University Library
Rossano = Rossano, Curia Arcivescovile
Serres = Serres, Monastery of St. John the Baptist (Mone tou Prodromou)
Sinai = Mt. Sinai, Monastery of St. Catherine
Tbilisi = Tbilisi, Georgian Academy of Sciences, Institut Rukopisej
Thessalonike, Blatadon = Thessalonike, Monastery ton Blatadon
Turin, Bibl. Naz. = Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale
Vat. = Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana
Venice, Ist. Ellen. = Venice, Istituto Ellenico (San Giorgio dei Greci)
Venice, Marc. = Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale di S. Marco
Venice, San Lazzaro = Venice, Biblioteca di San Lazzaro
Vienna, ÖNB = Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek
Washington, D.O. = Washington, D.C., Dumbarton Oaks
Zaborda = Zaborda, Monastery of St. Nikanor (Mone tou Hagiou Nikanoros)

Note: Greek papyri are cited according to the abbreviations in J.F. Oates, R.S. Bagnall, W.H. Willis, *Checklist of Editions of Greek Papyri and Ostraca*² (Missoula, Mont., 1978).

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Note: A superscript number following an abbreviation indicates the edition number if it is other than the first.
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AAPA = <i>Artistes, artisans et production artistique au moyen âge</i> , ed. X. Barral i Altet, vols. 1–2 (Paris 1986–87)
AASS = <i>Acta Sanctorum</i> , 71 vols. (Paris 1863–1940)
AB = <i>Analecta Bollandiana</i>
ABAW = <i>Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften</i>
Abel, <i>Géographie</i> = F.-M. Abel, <i>Géographie de la Palestine</i> , 2 vols. (Paris 1933–38)
Åberg, <i>Occident & Orient</i> = N.F. Åberg, <i>The Occident and the Orient in the Art of the Seventh Century</i> , 3 vols. (Stockholm 1943–47)
ABME = <i>Archeion ton Byzantinon Mnemeion tes Hellados</i>
Abramea, <i>Thessalia</i> = A.P. Abramea, <i>He Byzantine Thessalia mechri tou 1204</i> (Athens 1974)
ACO = <i>Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum</i> , 4 vols. in 27 pts. (Berlin-Leipzig 1922–74)
ActaAntHung = <i>Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae</i>

ActaArchHung = <i>Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae</i>
ActaHistHung = <i>Acta Historica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae</i>
ActaNorv = <i>Acta ad Archaeologiam et Artium Historiam pertinentia, Institutum Romanum Norvegiae</i>
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Adontz, <i>Études</i> = N. Adontz, <i>Études arméno-byzantines</i> (Lisbon 1965)
ADSV = <i>Antičnaja drevnost' i srednie veka</i> (Sverdlovsk)
AFP = <i>Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum</i>
Agath. = Agathias, <i>Historiarum librum quinque</i> , ed. R. Keydell (Berlin 1967)
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- AIPHOS = *Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves* (Université libre de Bruxelles)
- AJA = *American Journal of Archaeology*
- AJPh = *American Journal of Philology*
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- AnnEPHE = *Annuaire de l'École Pratique des Hautes Études*
- AnnHistCon = *Annuaire historiae conciliorum*
- AnnPisa = *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa*
- ANRW = *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*
- AntAa = *Antichità Alloadriatiche*
- AntAb = *Antike und Abendland*
- AntAfr = *Antiquités africaines*
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- BHG Nov. Auct. = *Bibliotheca hagiographica Graeca*³, ed. F. Halkin, vol. 5, *Novum Auctarium* (Brussels 1984)
- BHL = *Bibliotheca hagiographica latina antiquae et mediae aetatis*, 2 vols. (Brussels 1898-1901; rp. 1949). *Supplementi editio altera auctior* (1911)
- BHM = *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*
- BHO = *Bibliothèque hagiographique Orientale*
- BHR = *Bulgarian Historical Review/Revue bulgare d'Histoire*
- Bibl. sanct. = *Bibliotheca sanctorum*, 12 vols. (Rome 1961-70)
- BICR = *Bollettino dell'Istituto Centrale del Restauro* (Italy)

- BIFAO = *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale* (Cairo)
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- Bjb = *Bonner Jahrbücher*
- BK = *Bedi Kartlisa*
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- BMGS = *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*
- BMQ = *The British Museum Quarterly*
- BNJbb = *Byzantinisch-neugriechische Jahrbücher*
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- BollBadGr = *Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata*
- BollClass = *Bollettino dei classici* [Note: *BollClass* is a continuation of *BollCom*]
- BollCom = *Bollettino del Comitato per la preparazione dell'Edizione Nazionale dei Classici Greci e Latini*
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- BS = *Byzantinoslavica*
- BSA = *Annual of the British School at Athens*
- BSAC = *Bulletin de la Société d'archéologie copte*
- BSC Abstracts = *Byzantine Studies Conference: Abstracts of Papers*
- BS/EB = *Byzantine Studies/Études Byzantines*
- BSHAcRoum = *Académie Roumaine, Bulletin de la section historique* (Academia română, Secțiunea istorică—Bulletin)
- BSOAS = *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* (London University)
- BSR = *Papers of the British School at Rome*
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- BullBudé = *Bulletin de l'Association Guillaume Budé*
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- BullIstDirRom = *Bollettino dell'Istituto di diritto romano* (Rome)
- BullSocAntFr = *Bulletin de la Société nationale des antiquaires de France*
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- Byz. Aristocracy = *The Byzantine Aristocracy: IX-XIII Centuries*, ed. M. Angold (Oxford 1984)
- ByzAus = *Byzantina Australiensia*
- ByzF = *Byzantinische Forschungen*
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- BZ = *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*
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- CAG = *Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca*, 23 vols. (Berlin 1882-1909)
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- CChr, ser. gr. = *Corpus Christianorum, series graeca*
- CChr, ser. lat. = *Corpus Christianorum, series latina*
- CEB = *Congrès international des Études Byzantines: Actes*

- Cedr. = *Georgius Cedrenus*, ed. I. Bekker, 2 vols. (Bonn 1838-39)
- CEFR = *Congrès international d'études sur les frontières romaines: Actes* (Bucharest-Cologne-Vienna)
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- CIG = *Corpus inscriptionum graecarum*, 4 vols. (Berlin 1828-77)

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- ClMed = *Classica et mediaevalia*
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- CMH = *The Cambridge Medieval History*, 8 vols. (Cambridge–New York 1911–36); vol. 4, 2nd ed. 1966–67
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- Corinth = *American School of Classical Studies at Athens. Corinth; Results of Excavations*, 17 vols. (1932–85)
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- CQ = *Classical Quarterly*
- CRAI = *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres*
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- Dagron, *CP imaginaire* = G. Dagron, *Constantinople imaginaire: Études sur le recueil des Patria* (Paris 1984)
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- DChAE = *Deltion tes Christianikes Archaïologikes Hetaireias*
- DDC = *Dictionnaire de droit canonique*, 7 vols. (Paris 1935–65)
- De adm. imp. = *Constantine Porphyrogenitus. De administrando imperio*, ed. Gy. Moravcsik, tr. R. Jenkins (Washington, D.C., 1967); vol. 2, *Commentary* (London 1962)
- De cer. = *De ceremoniis aulae byzantinae*, ed. J.J. Reiske, 2 vols. (Bonn 1829–30)
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- DHGE = *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*
- DictBibl = *Dictionnaire de la Bible*, 5 vols. in 10 pts. (Paris 1912–28)
- DictSpir = *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité*
- DIEE = *Deltion tes Historikes kai ethnologikes hetaireias tes Hellados*
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- DMA = *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, 13 vols. (New York 1982–89)
- Dmitrievskij, *Opisanie* = A.A. Dmitrievskij, *Opisanie liturgičeskich rukopisej*, 3 vols. (Kiev 1895–1917)
- Dobroklonskij, *Feodor* = A.P. Dobroklonskij, *Prep.Feodor, ispovednik i igumen studijskij*, 2 vols. (Odessa 1913–14)

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- DOCat = *Catalogue of the Byzantine and Early Mediaeval Antiquities in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection*, vols. 1–2 by M.C. Ross (Washington, D.C., 1962–65), vol. 3 by K. Weitzmann (1972)
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- Dodd, *Byz. Silver Stamps* = E. Cruikshank Dodd, *Byzantine Silver Stamps* (Washington, D.C., 1961)
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- DPAC = *Dizionario patristico e di antichità*, 3 vols. (Casale Monferrato 1983–88)
- DSB = *Dictionary of Scientific Biography*
- DTC = *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*
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- EChR = *Eastern Churches Review*
- Ecloga = L. Burgmann, *Ecloga, Das Gesetzbuch Leons III. und Konstantios V.* (Frankfurt am Main 1983)

EEBS = *Epeteris Hetaireias Byzantinon Spoudon*
 EEPHSPA = *Epistemonike Epeteris tes Philosophikes Scholes tou Panepistemiou Athenon*
 EEPHSPTh = *Epistemonike Epeteris tes Philosophikes Scholes tou Panepistemiou Thessalonikes*
 EESM = *Epeteris Hetaireias Steriohelladikon Meleton*
 EETHSA = *Epistemonike Epeteris tes Theologikes Scholes tou Panepistemiou Athenon*
 EETHSPTh = *Epistemonike Epeteris tes Theologikes Scholes tou Panepistemiou Thessalonikes*
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 EI = *The Encyclopedia of Islam*, 4 vols. (Leiden-London 1913–34)
 EI² = *The Encyclopedia of Islam*², vols. 1– (Leiden-London 1960–)
 EkAl = *Ekklesiastike Aletheia*
 EKEE = *Epeteris tou Kentrou Epistemonikon Ereunon* (Nikossia)
 EkklPhar = *Ekklesiastikos Pharos*
 EO = *Échos d'Orient*
 EpChron = *Epeirotika Chronika*
 EphLit = *Ephemerides Liturgicae*
 EpMesArch = *Epeteris tou Mesaionikou Archeiou*
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 FelRav = *Felix Ravenna*
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 Festugière, *Hist. monachorum* = A.-J. Festugière, *Historia monachorum in Aegypto* (Brussels 1971)
 FGHBul = *Fontes graeci historiae bulgaricae*
 FHG = *Fragmenta historicorum graecorum*, ed. K. Müller, 5 vols. (Paris 1841–83)
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 FM = *Fontes Minores* [part of Forschungen zur byzantinischen Rechtsgeschichte]
 FoliaN = *Folia neohellenica*
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 GGM = *Geographi Graeci Minores*, ed. C. Müller, 6 vols. (Paris 1882)
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 GlasSAN = *Glas Srpske Akademije Nauka*

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 GRBS = *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies*
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- GSU JuF = *Godišnik na Sofijskija universitet: Juridičeski fakultet*
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- HA = *Handes Amsorya*
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- Hierokl. = *Le Synekdemōs d'Hiérōklēs et l'opuscule géographique de Georges de Chypre* (Brussels 1939)
- HilZb = *Hilandarski Zbornik*
- HistJb = *Historisches Jahrbuch*
- HistZ = *Historische Zeitschrift*
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- HStClPhil = *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*
- HThR = *Harvard Theological Review*
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- HUKSt = *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*
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IA = *Islam Ansiklopedisi*

Iconoclasm = *Iconoclasm*, ed. A.A. Bryer, J. Herrin (Birmingham 1977)

ICS = *Illinois Classical Studies*

IEJ = *Israel Exploration Journal*

IFŽ = *Istoriko-filologičeskij žurnal* (Erevan)

IGLSyr = *Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie*, ed. L. Jalabert, R. Mouterde et al., vols. 1- (Paris 1929-)

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ILS = *Inscriptiones latinae selectae*, ed. H. Dessau, 3 vols. in 5 pts. (Berlin 1892-1916)

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Institutes = *Institutiones (Corpus Iuris Civilis)*, ed. J. Lokin, N. van der Wal (Groningen 1987)

IntCongChrArch = *International Congress of Christian Archaeology: Acts*

IntCongClassArch = *International Congress of Classical Archaeology: Acts, Proceedings*

IRAIK = *Izvestija Russkogo Arheologičeskogo Instituta v Konstantinopole*

Iskusstvo Vizantii = [A. Bank, O.S. Popova,] *Iskusstvo Vizantii v sobranijach SSSR*, exhibition catalog, 3 vols. (Moscow 1977)

IstGl = *Istoriski Glasnik*

IstMitt = *Istanbuler Mitteilungen*

IstPreg = *Istoričeski pregled*

IstSrpskNar = *Istoriya Srpskog naroda*, 6 vols. (Belgrade 1981-86)

ItMedUm = *Italia medioevale e umanistica*

Ivir. = *Actes de l'Iviron*, ed. J. Lefort, 2 vols. (Paris 1985)

IzvAN SSSR = *Izvestija Akademii Nauk SSSR*

IzvANSSSR.OL = *Izvestija Akademii Nauk SSSR. Otdelenie literatury i jazyka*

IzvBulArchInst = *Izvestija na Bŭlgarskija Archeologičeski Institut*

IzvInstBulgIst = *Izvestija na Instituta za Bŭlgarska istorija* (Sofia); after 1951: *Izvestija na Instituta za istorija*

IzvIstDr = *Izvestija na Bŭlgarskoto istoričeskoto družestvo* (Sofia)

IzvNarMus-Varna = *Izvestija na narodnija musej—Varna*

IzvORJaS = *Izvestija Otdelenija russkogo jazyka i slovesnosti*

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JAOS = *Journal of the American Oriental Society*

JBAAS = *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*

JbAChr = *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum*

JbGOst = *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas*

JbKSWien = *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien*

JbKw = *Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft*

JbNumGeld = *Jahrbuch für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte*

JbRGZM = *Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums* (Mainz)

JDAI = *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*

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JGS = *Journal of Glass Studies*

JHS = *Journal of Hellenic Studies*

JMedHist = *Journal of Medieval History*

JMRS = *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies*

JNES = *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*

JÖB = *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* (before 1969, *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen byzantinischen Gesellschaft*)

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- JRAS = *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*
- JRS = *Journal of Roman Studies*
- JSAH = *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*
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- JThSt = *Journal of Theological Studies*
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- PSRL = *Polnoe sobranie russkich letopisej*
- QFIArch = *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken*
- Quasten, *Patrology* = J. Quasten, *Patrology*, 3 vols. (Westminster, Md., 1950-60)
- Queller, *Fourth Crusade* = D.E. Queller, *The Fourth Crusade: The Conquest of Constantinople, 1201-1204* (Philadelphia 1977)
- RA = *Revue archéologique*
- Rabe, *Prolegomenon* = *Prolegomenon sylloge*, ed. H. Rabe (Leipzig 1831)
- RAC = *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum* (Stuttgart 1950-)
- RACr = *Rivista di archeologia cristiana*
- Radojčić, *Slikarstvo* = S. Radojčić, *Staro srpsko slikarstvo* (Belgrade 1966)
- Rahlfs, *Verzeichnis* = A. Rahlfs, *Verzeichnis der griechischen Handschriften des alten Testaments* (Berlin 1914)
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- RB = *Reallexikon der Byzantinistik*, 6 fascs. (Amsterdam 1968-76)
- RBK = *Reallexikon zur byzantinischen Kunst*
- RBMS = *Rerum britannicarum Medii Aevi scriptores* (Great Britain)
- RBPH = *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire*
- RE = *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*
- REA = *Revue des études anciennes*
- REArm = *Revue des études arméniennes*
- REAug = *Revue des études augustinienues*
- REB = *Revue des études byzantines*
- Rec.Dujčev* (1980) = *Bŭlgarsko srednovekovie*, ed. V. Giuzelev, I. Božilov, et al. (Sofia 1980)
- RechScRel* = *Recherches de science religieuse*
- Reg* = F. Dölger, P. Wirth, *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des oströmischen Reiches*, vol. 1- (Munich-Berlin 1924-)
- Regel, Fontes* = W. Regel, *Fontes rerum byzantinorum*, 2 vols. (St. Petersburg 1892-1917; rp. Leipzig 1982)
- RegPatr* = *Les regestes des actes du Patriarcat de Constantinople*, ed. V. Grumel, V. Laurent, J. Darrouzès, 2 vols. in 8 pts. (Paris 1932-79)
- REGr = *Revue des études grecques*
- REI = *Revue des études islamiques*
- Reinert, *Myth* = S. Reinert, *Greek Myth in Johannes Malalas' Account of Ancient History Before the Trojan War* (Los Angeles 1981)
- RendPontAcc* = *Atti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia, Rendiconti*
- RepFontHist* = *Repertorium fontium historiae medii aevi*, vol. 1- (1962-)
- RepKunstw* = *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*
- RES = *Revue des études slaves*
- RESEE = *Revue des études sud-est européennes*
- Restle, *Wall Painting* = M. Restle, *Byzantine Wall Painting in Asia Minor*, 3 vols. (Greenwich, Conn., 1968)
- RevBibl* = *Revue biblique*
- RevIst* = *Revista de istorie*
- RH = *Revue historique*
- Rhalles-Potles, *Syntagma* = G.A. Rhalles, M. Potles, *Syntagma ton theion kai hieron kanonon*, 6 vols. (Athens 1852-59; rp. 1966)
- RHC = *Recueil des historiens des Croisades*
- RHC Arm. = *Documents arméniens*, 2 vols. (Paris 1869-1906)
- RHC Grecs = *Historiens grecs*, 2 vols. (Paris 1875-81)
- RHC Lois = *Lois*, 2 vols. (Paris 1841-43)
- RHC Occid. = *Historiens occidentaux*, 5 vols. in 8 pts. (Paris 1844-95)
- RHC Orient. = *Historiens orientaux*, 5 vols. in 6 pts. (Paris 1872-1906)

- RHE = *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*
- RhetGr*, ed. Spengel = *Rhetores graeci*, ed. L. Spengel, 3 vols. (Leipzig 1894-96)
- RhetGr*, ed. Walz = *Rhetores graeci*, ed. C. Walz, 9 vols. in 10 pts. (Stuttgart-Tübingen 1832-36)
- RHGF = *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, 24 vols. in 25 pts. (Paris 1738-1904)
- RhM = *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie*
- RHR = *Revue de l'histoire des religions*
- RHSEE = *Revue historique du sud-est européen*
- RHT = *Revue d'histoire des textes*
- Riant, *Exuviae* = P. Riant, *Exuviae sacrae Constantinopolitanae*, 3 vols. (Geneva 1877-1904)
- RIASA = *Rivista dell'Istituto nazionale di archeologia e storia dell'arte*
- Rice, *Art of Byz.* = D. Talbot Rice, *The Art of Byzantium* (London 1959)
- Richard, *Opera minora* = M. Richard, *Opera minora*, 3 vols. (Turnhout 1976-77)
- Richards, *Popes* = J. Richards, *The Popes and the Papacy in the Early Middle Ages. 476-752* (London-Boston-Henley 1979)
- RicSlav* = *Ricerche slavistiche*
- RIS = *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, ed. L.A. Muratori, 25 vols. in 28 pts. (Milan 1723-51)
- RIS² = *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores* (Città di Castello-Bologna 1900-)
- Ritzer, *Mariage* = K. Ritzer, *Le mariage dans les Églises chrétiennes du Ier au XIe siècle* (Paris 1970)
- RivStChIt* = *Rivista di storia della chiesa in Italia*
- RJ = *Rechtshistorisches Journal*
- RM = *Russia Mediaevalis*
- RN = *Revue numismatique*
- ROC = *Revue de l'Orient chrétien*
- Rodley, *Cave Mons.* = L. Rodley, *Cave Monasteries of Byzantine Cappadocia* (Cambridge 1985)
- ROL = *Revue de l'Orient latin*
- RömHistMitt* = *Römische Historische Mitteilungen*
- Roots of Egypt. Christ.* = *The Roots of Egyptian Christianity*, ed. B. Pearson, J. Goehring (Philadelphia 1986)
- Rothstein, *Dynastie der Lahmiden* = G. Rothstein, *Die Dynastie der Lahmiden in al-Hira* (Berlin 1899)
- RPhil = *Revue de philologie, de littérature et d'histoire anciennes*
- RQ = *Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und [für] Kirchengeschichte*
- RSBN = *Rivista di studi bizantini e neoellenici*
- RSBS = *Rivista di studi bizantini e slavi*
- RSR = *Revue des sciences religieuses*
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SBN = *Studi bizantini e neoellenici*

SBNG = *Studi bizantini e neogreci* (Galatina 1983)

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SC = Sources chrétiennes

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SCN = *Studii și Cercetări de numismatică*

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SIG = *Sylloge inscriptionum graecarum*, ed. W. Dittenberger, 4 vols. (Leipzig 1915-24)

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Smetanin, Viz.obščestvo = V.A. Smetanin, *Vizantijskoe obščestvo XIII-XIV vekov po dannym epistolografii* (Sverdlovsk 1987)

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Sozom., HE = *Sozomenos, Historia ecclesiastica*, ed. J. Bidez, J.C. Hansen (Berlin 1960)

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SpicSol = *Spicilegium Solesmense*, 4 vols. (Paris 1852-58)

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SpomSAN = *Spomenik Srpske Akademije Nauke: Otdeljenje društvenih nauka*

ST = *Studi e testi*

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StB = *Studi bizantini*

StBalc = *Studia balcanica*

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StGThK = *Studien zur Geschichte der Theologie und der Kirche*

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StItalFCl = *Studi italiani di filologia classica*

StMed = *Studi Medievali*

StMilRoms = *Studien zu den Militärgrenzen Roms*

Stöckle, Zünfte = A. Stöckle, *Spätromische und byzantinische Zünfte* (Leipzig 1911)

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StSl = *Studia Slavica* (Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae)

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StVen = *Studi Veneziani*

SubGr = *Subseciva Groningana*

SüdostF = *Südost-Forschungen*

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- ZapIstFilFakSPetUniv = *Zapiski Istoriko-filologičeskogo fakulteta S.-Peterburgskogo Universiteta*
- ZbFilozFak = *Zbornik Filozofskog fakulteta* (Belgrade)
- ZbLikUmet = *Zbornik za likovne umetnosti*
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- ZSlavPhil = *Zeitschrift für slavische Philologie*
- ZWTh = *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*

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A

AARON (Ἀαρών), brother of MOSES and first high priest of the Israelites, plays a significant supporting role in a number of events in Moses' life, notably those illustrated in the extensive cycle (between Ex 4:14 and Num 20:29) in the OCTATEUCHS. An attempt to show Aaron in the priestly vestments described at length in Exodus 28 is also made in the illustrated MSS of KOSMAS INDIKOPLEUSTES, in the text of which their symbolism is considered (Kosm. Ind. 2:74–81). Usually Aaron is identified merely by the priestly diadem. He occasionally appears among the Prophets in monumental art as a companion to Moses, or as the bearer of the rod, considered one of the PREFIGURATIONS of the Virgin. In Palaiologan churches more complex Marian connections with Aaron were derived from the liturgy (G. Engberg, *DOP* 21 [1967] 279–83).

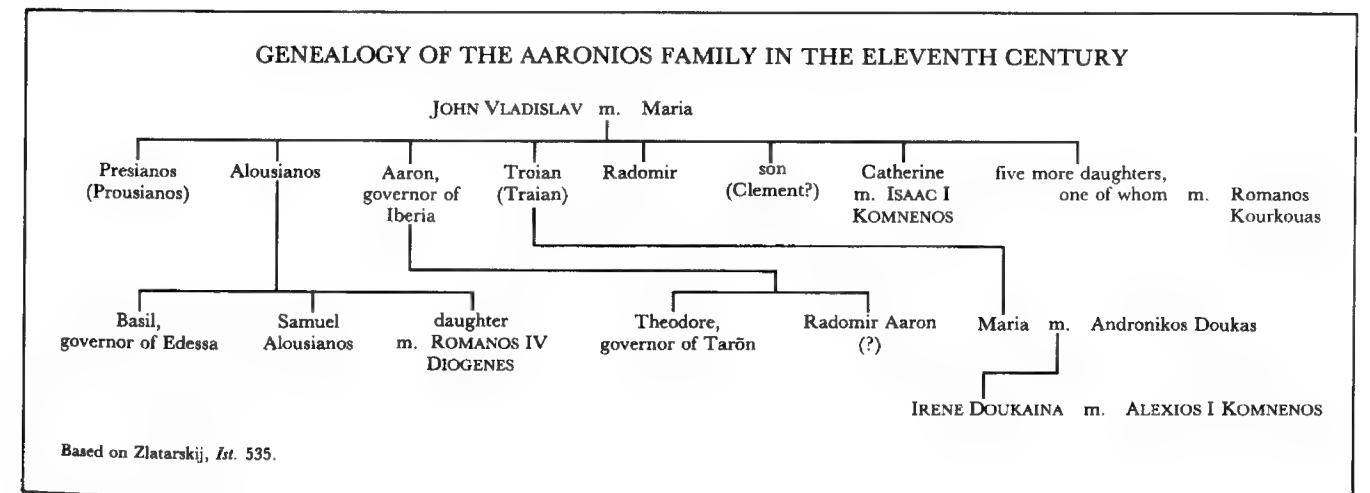
LIT. H. Dienst, *LCI* 1:2–4.

–J.H.L.

AARONIOS (Ἀαρώνιος, Ἀαρών), Byz. noble family descended from the last Bulgarian tsar, JOHN VLADISLAV, whose wife Maria was granted the title ZOSTE PATRIKIA soon after 1018 and settled in Constantinople. Her older sons were involved in plots and rebellions: Presianos ca.1029,

ALOUSIANOS in 1040. The third son, Aaron, who gave the name to the lineage, was governor of Iberia (ca.1047), Mesopotamia (ca.1059), and perhaps of Ani and Edessa; his son Theodore, governor of Tarōn, fell in battle against the Turks in 1055/6. Another Aaron governed Mesopotamia in 1112. Seals of Radomir Aaron, *strategos* and *doux*, are preserved, but his identification remains problematic; he probably belonged to the family, since Radomir was also the name of Maria's fifth son. The Aaronioi were in double affinity with the KOMNENOI: Isaac I married Maria's daughter, Catherine, and Alexios I married the granddaughter of Troian, IRENE DOUKAINA. In 1107, however, the Aaronioi were exiled for participation in a plot against Alexios I. THEOPHYLAKTOS of Ohrid dedicated two epigrams to a certain Aaron whose relationship with the lineage remains unclear. After Alexios I's reign, the family became obscure; Isaac Aaron from Corinth, interpreter at Manuel I's court, apparently did not belong to the aristocracy. In 1393 Alexios Aaron went as ambassador to Russia. The Alousianoι belonged to this lineage. (See genealogical table.)

LIT. M. Lascaris, "Sceau de Radomir Aaron," *BS* 3 (1931) 404–13; rev. I. Dujčev, *IzvIstDr* 11–12 (1931–32) 375–84. I. Dujčev, "Presiam-Persian," *Ezikovedsko-etnografski izsledov.*



vanija v pamet na akademik Stojan Romanski (Sofia 1960) 479–82. *PLP*, nos. 3–7. —A.K.

ABASGIA. See **ABCHASIA**.

‘ABBĀSID CALIPHATE (750–1258), ruled by a dynasty whose members were descendants of the uncle of Muḥammad, al-‘Abbās ibn ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib ibn Hāshim. His great-grandson Muḥammad and his son Ibrāhīm prepared the revolt in Khurāsān against the **UMAYYAD CALIPHATE**. Although the Umayyads captured Ibrāhīm, his brothers Abu’l ‘Abbās and Abū Ja’far energetically continued the struggle. Proclaimed caliph in 749, Abu’l ‘Abbās became known as al-Saffāh, “the Bloody.” His brother, Abū Ja’far al-Manṣūr, made Baghdad his residence. The ‘Abbāsīd dynasty counted among its most illustrious caliphs HĀRŪN AL-RASHĪD. The dynasty weakened after Turkish mercenaries became important in the caliphate of Muṭṭaṣim in the 830s, and the Mongols under Hulagu destroyed it at Baghdad in 1258. (See table for a list of ‘Abbāsīd caliphs of Baghdad.) A few of the ‘Abbāsīd family escaped to Egypt, where one became nominal caliph under the name of al-Mustanṣir. The last ‘Abbāsīd caliph was al-Mutawakkil, who surrendered all civil and religious authority to the Ottoman sultan Selim I in 1517 and died in 1538.

The early ‘Abbāsīd caliphs, culminating in Hārūn, showed zeal in fighting the Byz. The last

major campaign by an ‘Abbāsīd caliph against Byz. occurred under al-Muṭṭaṣim in 838. Yet there were important cultural contacts, including embassies in which such scholars as **PHOTIOS** and **JOHN (VII) GRAMMATIKOS** participated. These contacts led to exchanges of information and copying of MSS on mathematics, astronomy, astrology (esp. in the caliphate of al-MA’MŪN), literature, and music (and probably musical instruments, such as water organs). This intercourse probably reached its zenith in the 9th-C. Muslim geographers (see **ARAB GEOGRAPHERS**) who wrote important descriptions of Byz. during the ‘Abbāsīd caliphate. The deterioration of central authority in Baghdad reduced Byz. diplomatic contact with Baghdad and increased it with the border emirs.

LIT. Kennedy, *Abbasid Caliphate*. J. Lassner, *The Shaping of Abbasid Rule* (Princeton 1980). Vasiliev, *Byz. Arabes* 1, 2, pts. 1–2. —W.E.K.

ABBREVIATIONS (sometimes called compendia), found in inscriptions, papyri, and MSS, were frequently substituted for words, syllables, or the ending of words or single letters to save time and space. Sometimes the abbreviations include recognizable Greek letters, usually in **LIGATURE**; more commonly they are composed of a variety of strokes and dots, similar to modern shorthand. The breathings and accents are often included. A particular kind of abbreviation is the *nomina sacra*, first used for Christian sacred names in papyri

εἶναι	ⲉⲓⲛⲁⲓ	καὶ	ⲕⲁⲓ
ἐστί	ⲉⲥⲧⲓ	κατὰ	ⲕⲁⲧⲁ
εἰσὶ	ⲉⲓⲥⲓ	τῆς	ⲧⲉⲥ
ἵνα	ⲓⲛⲁ	τοῖς	ⲧⲟⲓⲥ

ABBREVIATIONS. Sample abbreviations.

and **UNCIAL MSS**, for example, XC for *Χριστός*. In **MINUSCULE MSS** from the 9th C. onward, the *nomina sacra* occur in nonbiblical contexts also (e.g., *anthropos*, *pater*), even for compounds like *patriarches* or *philanthropia*. The abbreviations for endings in book script are sometimes identical with elements from **TACHYGRAPHY**. **MONOGRAMS** sometimes use an abbreviated form of a name.

LIT. T.W. Allen, *Notes on Abbreviations in Greek Manuscripts* (Oxford 1889; rp. Amsterdam 1967). L. Traube, *Nomina Sacra: Versuch einer Geschichte der christlichen Kürzung* (Munich 1907; rp. Darmstadt 1967). C.H. Roberts, *Manuscript, Society and Belief in Early Christian Egypt* (London 1979) 26–48. A. Paap, *Nomina sacra in the Greek Papyri of the First Five Centuries A.D.* (Leiden 1959). Devreesse, *Manuscripts* 39–43. —E.G., A.M.T.

ABCHASIA (Ἀβασγία), northern portion of ancient Colchis bordering on the eastern shore of the Black Sea. In the 4th C. Abchasia became part of the kingdom of **LAZIKA**; it probably developed only in the 6th C., even though Theodoret of Cyrrhus mentioned its existence in 423. Similarly, though the Arabic version of **AGATHANGELOS** claims that Abchasia was christianized at the order of St. **GREGORY THE ILLUMINATOR**, the surviving Armenian version lacks this information, pointing again to a post-6th-C. date.

Byz. became familiar with Abchasia during the Lazic wars of the 6th C. when they built the fortresses of **SEBASTOPOLIS** and **Pitiunt** (mod. Pitzunda); a large proportion of Byz. eunuchs were said to have come from this region. The empire maintained some sovereignty over this area from the period of Justinian I to that of Herakleios and of the Arab invasions, when power passed to the native Anch’abadze *eristavi*, who assumed the title of kings of Abchasia late in the 8th C. They expanded their territories toward western Iberia (K’art’li) until checked by the **BAGRATIDS** of Tao in the 10th C. In 989 Bagrat III, son of Gurgan, *kouropalates* of K’art’li, inherited Abchasia through

his mother Guranduxt Anch’abadze. Although Basil II prevented his inheriting from his adoptive father **DAVID OF TAYK’/TAO** in 1000/1, Bagrat received the title of *kouropalates* from Byz. His inheritance of K’art’li from his natural father in 1008 joined the crowns of Abchasia and K’art’li to form the first united kingdom of Georgia.

LIT. A. Kollautz, *RB* 1:21–49. C. Toumanoff, *Studies in Christian Caucasian History* (Washington, D.C., 1963) 203, 256, 269, 497f. W.E.D. Allen, *A History of the Georgian People* (London 1932) 80–83. —N.G.G.

‘ABD AL-MALIK, son of Marwan I; Umayyad caliph (685–705); born 646/7, died 9 Oct. 705. Campaigning already at 16 under Mu’āwīya, ‘Abd al-Malik was a determined foe of Byz. throughout his reign. He particularly aimed at eliminating Byz. influence in the caliphate: Arabs replaced bureaucrats of Greek descent, Arabic became the official language, and coins were minted without Greek inscriptions or Byz. images. After his accession, internal opposition, the invasion of Armenia by **LEONTIOS**, and raids by the **MARDAITES** compelled him to renew the agreement that had been made between Constantine IV and Mu’āwīya. The ten-year treaty, signed most likely in 688, required Justinian II to withdraw the Mardaites from Lebanon and ‘Abd al-Malik to pay a weekly tribute of 1,000 solidi, one horse, and one slave, and stipulated that the revenues from Cyprus, Armenia, and Georgia be shared equally. During this period ‘Abd al-Malik probably received Byz. help in building the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem.

In the early 690s hostilities flared. Although Theophanes the Confessor (Theoph. 365.8–21) blames Justinian for attempting to resettle Cyprus and refusing to accept ‘Abd al-Malik’s new coinage, the aggressor was likely ‘Abd al-Malik, who eliminated his final domestic rival in 692 and may have resented the appearance of Christ’s image on Justinian’s own coinage. His brother Muḥammad defeated Justinian in 693 as a result of the desertion from the Byz. ranks of **NEBOULOS** and his Slavic troops. ‘Abd al-Malik’s son, ‘Ubayd Allāh, invaded Armenia and captured Theodosiopolis in 700, and in 702 Muḥammad attacked Armenia IV and took Martyropolis. Despite a Byz. invasion of Syria, ‘Abd al-Malik had effectively subdued Armenia by 703. During a lull in the fighting the caliph reportedly allowed Tiberios II

‘Abbāsīd Caliphs of Baghdad

Caliph	Date of Accession (A.D./A.H.)	Caliph	Date of Accession (A.D./A.H.)	Caliph	Date of Accession (A.D./A.H.)
al-Saffāh	750/132	al-Muhtadī	869/255	al-Muhtadī	1075/467
al-Manṣūr	754/136	al-Mu’tamid	870/256	al-Mustazhir	1094/487
al-Mahdī	775/158	al-Mu’tadid	892/279	al-Mustarshid	1118/512
al-Hādī	785/169	al-Muktafi	902/289	al-Rāshid	1135/529
al-Rashīd	786/170	al-Muhtadir	908/295	al-Muktafi	1136/530
al-Amin	809/193	al-Kāhir	932/320	al-Mustandjīd	1160/555
AL-MA’MŪN	813/198	al-Rādī	934/322	al-Mustaḍī	1170/566
AL-MUṭṬAṢIM	833/218	al-Muttaḳī	940/329	al-Nāṣir	1180/575
al-Wāthiq	842/227	al-Mustakfi	944/333	al-Zāhir	1225/622
al-Mutawakkil	847/232	al-Mutī	946/334	al-Mustanṣir	1226/623
al-Muntaṣir	861/247	al-Tā’ī	974/363	al-Mustaṣim	1242/640
al-Masta’in	862/248	al-Ḳādir	991/381		
al-Mu’tazz	866/252	al-Ḳā’im	1031/422		

to repatriate Cypriot captives and repopulate Cyprus with them. He also attacked Byz. lands in the West; armies sent from Egypt in 694–98 captured Carthage (see JOHN PATRIKIOS) and ended Byz. control of North Africa.

LIT. Stratos, *Byzantium* 5:19–40, 77–84. P. Grierson, "The Monetary Reforms of 'Abd al-Malik," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 3 (1960) 241–64. —P.A.H.

'ABDĪSHŌ' BAR BERĪKĀ, or Ebedjesus, a polymath monk, Nestorian metropolitan of Šōbā (Nisibis) and Armenia, and prolific writer in Syriac; died 1318. 'Abdīshō' composed influential works of biblical commentary, theology, and liturgical poetry. For the Byzantinist, his most important writings are the *List of all the Ecclesiastical Writers* and the *Collection of the Synodical Canons*. The former is a bibliography of church books, metrically composed and arranged in four parts: books of the Old Testament, books of the New Testament, books of the Greek fathers, and books of the Syrian fathers. The *Collection of the Synodical Canons*, in the form that goes back to 'Abdīshō', bears the name *Nomokanon* and is a systematic presentation of the church laws: the first division gives laws affecting lay persons; it is followed by a second part containing laws dealing with church organization and the clergy. Some MSS also include a Syriac version of the Apostolic Canons, and the canons of the synod of the Nestorian *katholikos* Timothy I (780–823).

ED. J.S. Assemani, *Bibliotheca Orientalis Clementino-Vaticana* 3.1 (Rome 1725) 3–362. G.P. Badger, *The Nestorians and their Rituals*, vol. 2 (London 1852) 361–79. Mai, *Script-VetNovaColl* 10:1–331.

LIT. J. Dauvillier, *DDC* 5 (1953) 91–134. Graf, *Literatur* 2:214–16. W. Selb, *Orientalisches Kirchenrecht*, vol. 1 (Vienna 1981) 76–78, 223–26. —S.H.G.

ABEL. See CAIN AND ABEL.

ABGAR. See MANDYLION.

ABINNAEUS ARCHIVE, the papyri of Flavius Abinnaeus, Roman *praefectus alae* of Dionysias in the Fayyūm, covering the years 340/1–351. The documents, 80 in Greek and two in Latin, probably came from Philadelphia in the Fayyūm and were acquired in 1893 by the British Museum and the University of Geneva. They include letters, petitions, contracts, accounts, and Abinnaeus's

narrative of his appearance before Constantius II and Constans at Constantinople in 337/8. He had accompanied envoys from the BLEMMYES to the capital and later was stationed among them for three years. He served as garrison commander at Dionysias, was dismissed, but sought successfully to be reinstated. He married Aurelia Nonna, an Alexandrian. His papers illustrate the extent to which 4th-C. civilians in Egypt appealed to the military power for justice. His correspondents include Christian clerics and lay people, soldiers, and ordinary inhabitants of his district. His archive forms a small but rich source for provincial administration in the post-Constantinian period.

ED. H.I. Bell et al., *The Abinnaeus Archive* (Oxford 1962), corr. *Berichtigungsliste der griechischen Papyrusurkunden aus Ägypten*, vol. 5 (Leiden 1969) 1–3. —L.S.B. MacC.

ABIOTIKION (ἀβιωτικίον, from *abiotos*, lit. "unlivable"), a charge on the transfer of the property of an individual who died intestate and without children. Andronikos II's novel of May 1306 (*Reg* 4, no.2295) states that in this case the property of the deceased should not be divided solely between the fisc and "those churches or monasteries that held [the person] as *paroikos*" (*Zepos, Jus* 1:534.31–32), but a third part must go to the surviving spouse. It is unclear from the novel whether the ecclesiastical institution was granted its share as the *paroikos*'s lord or for memorial rites (*mnemosyne*). A charter of 1311 shows that the lord could replace the fisc: a certain Doukopoulos confirmed the transfer to the Docheiariou monastery of two-thirds of the property of "his inherited *paroikoi*" (i.e., the *mnemosyne* and the lord's share) and transmitted to the monastery another third part (*meridikon triton*) that he had received from another *paroikos* who had died without children (*Docheiar.*, no.11.1–8). The term *abiotikion* is known from 1259 on (*Lavra* 2, no.71.80) as a tax on the childless recipients of an inheritance: thus an act of 1400 (?) mentions the collectors of *abiotikion* (MM 2:342.28) who demanded that a widow display "the hyperpyra listed in the will." *Abiotikion* is mentioned in several chrysobulls, usually together with the PHONIKON and PARTHENOPHTHORIA. In 1440 the *abiotikion* in Monemvasia was used for the repair of the fortifications (E. Vranoussi, *EtBalk* 14 [1978] no.4:83–85).

The right of the state and the church to inherit the property of a person who died intestate was

recognized by Byz. law: Constantine VII enjoined that in such a case two-thirds of the *hypostasis* be given to the relatives or the fisc and one-third to God for the salvation of the soul of the deceased (*Zepos, Jus* 1:237.3–6). The novel of 1306 prescribed that after the death of a child who had only one parent his property was to be divided between the surviving parent, the parents of the deceased parent, and the church. This regulation, dubbed *trimoiria* by modern legal historians, probably originated from local customs (N. Matzes, *BNJbb* 21 [1971–74] 177–92). (See also *INTESTATE SUCCESSION*.)

LIT. P. Lemerle, "Un chrysobulle d'Andronic II Paléologue pour le monastère de Karakala," *BCH* 60 (1936) 440–42. A. Karpozelos, "Abiotikion," *Dodone* 8 (1979) 73–80. M. Tourtoglou, "To 'abiotikion,'" in *Xenion: Festschrift für P.J. Zepos*, vol. 1 (Athens–Freiburg im Breisgau–Cologne 1973) 633–46. —A.K.

ABLABIUS (Ἀβλάβιος), an influential family in the eastern part of the later Roman Empire. The family founder was Flavius Ablabius, a Cretan. A man of humble origin, he served under the governor of Crete, then went to Constantinople where he amassed a fortune. He became a member of the senate under Constantine I and was praetorian prefect from 329 to 337 (*PLRE* 1:3) or after 326 (O. Seeck, *RE* 1 [1894] 103). Constantius II dismissed Ablabius and banished him to his estates in Bithynia; he was eventually executed. In 354 his daughter Olympias married Aršak III, king of Armenia. Flavius's son Seleukos, a pagan, supported Julian, but Seleukos's daughter OLYMPIAS became the staunchest ally of John Chrysostom. The family was still influential at court in 431 when Cyril of Alexandria proposed to bribe Ablabius, *domestikos* of the quaestor.

The Ablabii were an educated and intelligent family: although none of their works survives, it is known that Flavius wrote verses on Constantine; Seleukos reportedly composed a history of Julian's Persian campaign; a certain Ablabius compiled a history of the Goths based on Gothic legends; and the death of a physician Ablabius was lamented by Theosebeia, a poet of the 5th/6th C. (*AnthGr*, bk.7, no.559). The Ablabii are a rare example of a relatively stable aristocratic family in the East.

LIT. *PLRE* 1:2–4, 1132; 2:1–2. M. Arnheim, *The Senatorial Aristocracy in the Later Roman Empire* (Oxford 1972) 66. —A.K.

ABORTION (ἄμβλωσις), usually motivated by illegitimate conception, was practiced in Byz. but condemned by both imperial legislation and church canons. Justinian's *DIGEST* included excerpts of early Roman law that frowned on the practice; both those who concocted abortifacient potions and the women who underwent the abortion were punished. Especially among prostitutes, however, the use of abortifacients persisted; according to the scurrilous account of the young THEODORA by PROKOPIOS (*SH* 17.16), ingredients for these drugs were well known and easily available in the 6th C. Abortion spikes are preserved in collections of Roman *SURGICAL INSTRUMENTS*; Aetios of Amida records recipes for abortifacient drugs in his 16th *Sermo* (ed. S. Zervos, *Aetios: Peri tou en metra pathous* [Leipzig 1901] 18–22). ZONARAS mentions the use of a weight to compress the abdomen (Rhalles-Potles, *Syntagma* 3:63f). In the 14th C. the price of an abortifacient drug was five hyperpyra, a cloak, and a glass vase (MM 1:548.25–26). Significantly, 6th-C. Byz. medical thought held that abortion was impossible after the fetus had taken on "human form." Aetios writes that abortifacients were to be used only in the third month of pregnancy. Civil and canon law, however, and lay opinion equated abortion with murder, notwithstanding the age of the embryo. (See also *CONTRACEPTION*.)

LIT. C. Cupane, E. Kislinger, "Bemerkungen zur Abtreibung in Byzanz," *JÖB* 35 (1985) 21–49. S. Troianos, "He amblose sto byzantino dikaios," *Byzantiaka* 4 (1984) 171–89. M.-H. Congourdeau, "Un procès d'avortement au 14e siècle," *REB* 40 (1982) 103–15. —J.S., A.M.T.

ABRAHA (Ἀβραῆς), Axumite ruler of HİMYAR in South Arabia, from 535–58 (Lundin, *infra* 86). According to Prokopios (*Wars* 1.20.4), Abraha was a Christian, the slave of a Roman trader in ADULIS in Ethiopia. A soldier or officer in the Axumite army occupying Hİmyar, he led a revolt against Esimphaïos (probably Sumayfa' Ashwa'), the representative of ELESBOAM in South Arabia. He assumed power but acknowledged vassalage to Axum by paying tribute. Abraha consolidated Hİmyar and in 547 carried out a successful expedition in central Arabia.

Abraha maintained an alliance with the Roman Empire, and Justinian I attempted to use him in military operations against Iran; although the emperor sent several embassies to Hİmyar, he could not persuade Abraha to act. Abraha possibly shifted South Arabia from Monophysitism to Orthodoxy;

he built a pilgrimage church (al-Qalis, from *ekkle-sia*) at Šan'a' (I. Shahid, *DOP* 33 [1979] 27, 81f).

LIT. A. Lundin, *Južnaja Aravija v VI veke* (Moscow-Leningrad 1961) 61–87. S. Smith, "Events in Arabia in the 6th c.," *BSOAS* 16 (1954) 431–41. —A.K.

ABRAHAM (Ἀβραάμ), Old Testament patriarch (Gen 11–25). In patristic literature Abraham was interpreted as an ideal of asceticism and obedience to God: his departure from Canaan indicated the necessity of purification in order to achieve the Promised Land. He is said to have lived 175 years in *hesychia*, *praotes*, and justice, and his demise is described in an apocryphal Testament of Abraham.

From the early period, Abraham appears in a number of scenes, such as the PHILOXENIA. The most popular seems to have been the Sacrifice of Isaac (Gen 22), found already in the Synagogue at DURA EUROPOS and included in the COMMENDATIO ANIMAE. The dramatic nature of this scene was explored, for example, by Gregory of Nyssa, in terms that imply familiarity with an image (PG 46:572CD). This text was cited in support of holy images at the Second Council of Nicaea (Mansi 13:9C–12A). John Chrysostom (PG 54:432.38–433.8) and others emphasized that Christ was both the beloved son (like Isaac) and the sacrificial lamb. These eucharistic connotations were sometimes exploited visually, as at S. Vitale in Ravenna. Narrative cycles of Abraham's life are found, notably at S. Maria Maggiore in Rome (432–40), in 5th/6th-C. GENESIS MSS, and in the later KOSMAS INDIKOPLEUSTES and OCTATEUCH MSS, which may derive from earlier sources. Christ's parable of the rich man and of Lazarus in Abraham's bosom (Lk 16:19–31) provided Abraham with a place in New Testament illustration, notably in the iconography of the LAST JUDGMENT. On the basis of his appearance, St. DAVID OF THESSALONIKE was described by his 8th-C. biographer as a new Abraham (vita, ed. Rose, 11.2, 12.28–29).

SOURCE. *Le Testament grec d'Abraham*, ed. F. Schmidt (Tübingen 1986).

LIT. K. Wessel, *RBK* 1:11–22. E. Lucchesi-Palli, *LCI* 1:20–35. F. Cocchini, F. Bisconti, *DPAC* 1:12–16.

—J.H.L.

ABRAMIOS, JOHN, astrologer and astronomer; fl. Constantinople and Mytilene, 1370–90. Abramios (Ἀβράμιος) practiced magic and cast HOR-

OSCOPES on behalf of Andronikos IV and his son John VII, in their quarrels with John V and Manuel II. His most important role was as the editor of texts of classical ASTROLOGY, the author of treatises on ASTRONOMY (opposed to the Ptolemaic tradition of Theodore METOCHITES, Nikephoros GREGORAS, and Isaac ARGYROS, Abramios followed the Islamic tradition of Gregory CHIONIADIS, George CHRYSOKOKKES, and Theodore MELITENIOTES), and as the founder of a school in which these activities were continued until ca. 1410. His successors were Eleutherios Zebelenos, also known as Eleutherios Elias (born 1343), and Dionysios (*PLP*, nos. 6012, 5441).

A number of MSS of astronomical, astrological, medical, magical, and rhetorical content produced by Abramios and his school survive. They produced editions of PTOLEMY, pseudo-Ptolemy, HEPHAISTION OF THEBES, OLYMPIODOROS OF ALEXANDRIA, and RHETORIOS OF EGYPT. These editions are characterized by changes in both the grammar and the order of the presentation of the technical material of the original texts, and by the insertion of extraneous material into them. These MSS also contain some examples of Greek translations of Arabic astrological texts, notably the *Mysteries* of Abū Ma'shar and the *Introduction* of Aḥmad the Persian.

In 1376 Abramios wrote a treatise on the conjunctions and oppositions of the sun and moon based on the *New Tables* of Isaac Argyros, but criticized his source because he followed Ptolemy rather than the *Persian Tables* popularized by Chrysokokkes. This led to the computation by both sets of tables of the dates, and sometimes the details, of 39 lunar and solar ECLIPSES between 1376 and 1408, and an inept attempt to prove that the Islamic value for the rate of precession of the equinoxes is superior to that of Ptolemy.

LIT. Pingree, "Astrological School" 191–215. Idem, "The Horoscope of CP," in *Prismata* 305–15. *PLP*, no. 57.

—D.P.

ABRITUS (Ἀβρίττος), late Roman city at Hisarlük near Razgrad in northeastern Bulgaria, where in 251 Decius was defeated and killed. The city continued to exist despite successive invasions until the end of the 6th C., when the Avars destroyed it. In the 7th or 8th C. a Bulgarian settlement was established on the ruins of the Roman city, but it

was abandoned in the late 10th C. as a result of an attack by the Pechenegs or Rus'.

Excavations since 1953 have revealed a city built on the typical Roman grid pattern, with Ionic colonnades along the principal streets. Many statues, reliefs, mosaics, and inscriptions bear witness to the prosperity and culture of Abritus in Roman times, but little is known of the Bulgarian site.

LIT. T. Ivanov, *Abritus: Rimski kastel i rannovizantijski grad v Dolna Mizija*, vol. 1 (Sofia 1980). S. Stojanov, *Zlatno monetno sükrovišče ot Abritus V v. na n.e.* (Sofia 1982). Hodinot, *Bulgaria* 156–65, 259.

—R.B.

ABŪ AL-FIDĀ', more fully Ismā'il ibn 'Alī Abū al-Fidā', Syrian scholar-prince related to the Ayyūbid rulers of Ḥamāh; born Damascus Nov./Dec. 1273, died Ḥamāh (EPIPHANEIA) 27 Oct. 1331. A man of wide-ranging military and political experience, he participated in the campaigns against the Franks and established a political position in Ḥamāh (1299), becoming governor in 1310. Invested as sultan of Ḥamāh in 1320, he retained the title until his death. A generous patron, he was also esteemed for his poetry and learning. He may have known some Greek; he was certainly interested in Byz. affairs and Greek culture, about which he sought information from travelers and pilgrims.

His two extant Arabic works, though largely derivative, remain useful. The *Concise History of Mankind*, a universal history based on IBN AL-ATHĪR, ends with the memoirs of Abū al-Fidā' (1285–1329). Though preoccupied with the Franks and Mongols, he discusses developments in ARMENIA and CAPPADOCIA in the Palaiologan period, provides valuable details on the social relations between Christians and Muslims in Asia Minor, and recounts the fall of RHODES to the Hospitaliers in 1308. In his descriptive geography, *Survey of the Countries* (written in 1321), material on SYRIA includes well-informed personal observations. For Byz. lands, he relies on eyewitnesses for the topography and monuments of Constantinople, the cities of Asia Minor, and possibly details on Byz. administrative geography.

ED. Al-Mukhtaṣar fī akhbār al-bashar (Cairo 1907). *The Memoirs of a Syrian Prince*, tr. P.M. Holt (Wiesbaden 1983). *Taqwīm al-buldān*, ed. J.T. Reinaud, L.M. de Slane (Paris 1840). *Géographie d'Aboulféda*, tr. J.T. Reinaud, S. Guyard, 2 vols. in 3 pts. (Paris 1848–83).

LIT. Brockelmann, *Litteratur* 2:44–46, supp. 2:44. H.A.R. Gibb, *ET* 1:118f.

—L.I.C.

ABU BAKR (Ἀβουβάχαρος, Ἀποπάκρης), first caliph and successor of Muḥammad from 8 June 632; born shortly after 570, died Madīna 22/3 Aug. 634. After crushing rebels in the Riddah Wars following the death of Muḥammad, Abu Bakr's armies scored major early successes against the Byz., including the battles in the 'Arabah (May 633) and at al-Fuṣṭāt or the camp of Areopolis (Ar. Māb, mod. Rabba), and at Dathin and Ajnādayn (July 634), as well as the occupation of much of the land east of the Dead Sea; in his lifetime the Muslims seized Transjordan and southern Palestine from the Byz. Abu Bakr skillfully selected his generals and directed them from Madīna, but did not personally fight against Byz. armies or visit conquered Byz. territories or towns. He possessed great leadership qualities, which contributed significantly to the consolidation and advance of Islam. He also showed a sense for military strategy and operations, although Herakleios and contemporary Byz. commanders probably did not consider him a serious opponent. His motives and calculations concerning Byz. can only be inferred, for no contemporary source details his decision to invade Byz. Syria. The invasion of Iraq also took much of his attention. Most scholars now accept the historicity of his caliphate, which Crone and others had challenged (P. Crone, M. Cook, *Hagarism* [Cambridge 1977] 28, 178, n.72, partly retracted in P. Crone, M. Hinds, *God's Caliph* [Cambridge 1986] 111–13).

LIT. Donner, *Conquests* 82–90, 127–34. W.M. Watt, *ET* 1:109–11. Caetani, *Islam* 2.1:510–719; 3:1–119.

—W.E.K.

ABŪ FIRĀS, more fully al-Ḥārith ibn Sa'īd ibn Hamdān al-Taghlibī, Arab prince, warrior, and poet; born Iraq 932, died Syria 4 Apr. 968. His mother was of Byz. origin, and after his father's death in 935 he grew up under her care and the patronage of his Ḥamdānid cousin SAYF AL-DAWLA at Aleppo. He participated in several expeditions against Byz. and in 962 was wounded and captured by Theodosios Phokas. Kept in chains at Charsianon, he later enjoyed princely treatment in Constantinople, was focal in negotiating a general exchange of prisoners, and was finally released in 966. Legend credits him with a spectacular escape from an alleged earlier imprisonment. While governor of Manbij, he was killed during his unsuccessful revolt against Sayf al-Dawla's son.

As poet-warrior Abū Firās reflected the ideal of Arab chivalry and sincerity; spontaneity and verve characterize his poetry. He is most esteemed for his *Byzantine Poems* (*Rūmiyyāt*) composed during his captivity, expressing defiance in adversity, yearning for loved ones, and reproach to Sayf al-Dawla for delay in ransoming him. His poems, often with his own illuminating historical notes, provide important information on expeditions, frontier toponymy, Byz. prosopography (e.g., the PHOKAS and MALEINOS families), conditions of prisoners, and Byz.-Arab mutual perceptions, as in his debate with Nikephoros Phokas on the fighting abilities of Byz. and Arabs.

ED. *Dīwān* [Collected Poems], ed. S. Dahhan (Beirut 1944).

LIT. Vasiliev, *Byz. Arabes* 2.2:349–70. M. Canard, "Quelques noms de personnages byzantins dans une pièce du poète arabe Abu Firas (X^e siècle)," in *Byzance et les musulmans* (London 1973), pt.IX (1936), 451–60 (with N. Adontz). Sezgin, *GAS* 2:480–83. H.A.R. Gibb, *ET* 2 1:119f. —A.Sh.

ABŪ MĪNĀ, famous Early Christian settlement (the ancient name is unknown) and pilgrimage center in Mareotis, west of ALEXANDRIA, where the underground tomb of St. MENAS was venerated from the late 4th C. onward. The inner core consists of a large square, with XENODOCHEIA on the north and churches on the south. The MARTYRION over the saint's tomb is the most important of the churches. Its earliest foundations date from the late 4th C.; enlarged several times, it was rebuilt under Justinian I as a tetraconch. To the east is a large transept basilica (early 6th C.), to the west a baptistery. At the south rear lies an unusual semicircular structure which probably held INCUBATION rooms for sick pilgrims. There are also two baths within the town, colonnaded streets, and many private houses. Other churches have been found in the environs of Abū Mīnā. A basilica to the north is a very regular building *extra muros*, closely connected with a residential quarter that perhaps served as the residence for non-Chalcedonians. A church to the east, another tetraconch, is surrounded by several houses for anachoretes. All churches and official buildings were built of local limestone. For their decoration extensive use was made of marble *spolia* from destroyed buildings in Alexandria. The famous MENAS FLASKS were produced as pilgrim souvenirs at Abū Mīnā from the early 6th C. onward.

During the Persian invasions of 616–20 Abū Mīnā was almost totally destroyed, and it was rebuilt only modestly afterwards. After the Arab conquest (639–42) the town, which was formerly Chalcedonian, came into the hands of the Coptic Monophysite church, and presumably about the time of the Coptic patriarch Michael I (744–68) the *martyrion* was rebuilt as a five-aisled basilica. The site was finally abandoned after the 10th C.

LIT. C.-M. Kaufmann, *Die Menasstadt I* (Leipzig 1910). P. Grossmann, "Abū Mīnā," *MDAI K* 38 (1982) 131–54. Idem, *Abū Mīnā: A Guide to the Ancient Pilgrimage Center* (Cairo 1986). —P.Gr.

ABYDIKOS (ἀβυδικός), an official in control of navigation. The name is evidently derived from ABYDOS and originally designated the inspector of sea traffic through the Hellespont. Ahrweiler suggests that he was a successor to the *archon* or *komes* of the Straits (*ton Stenon*) or of Abydos, known from an edict of Anastasios I, from Prokopios, and other sources. The term later acquired a generic meaning; *abydikoi* of Thessalonike, Amisos, Chrepos, and Euripos are mentioned on seals. His function could be combined with that of KOMMERKIARIOS. A military rank on the staff of the DROUNGARIOS TOU PLOIMOU, *abydikos* was equivalent to, and commonly replaced, the rank of KOMES. It remains under discussion whether the *abydikos* was the same official as the PARAPHYLAX of Abydos mentioned frequently on seals. *Abydikoi* are attested until the early 11th C.

LIT. Ahrweiler, *Structures*, pt.II (1961), 239–46. Antoniadis-Bibicou, *Douanes* 179–81. Zacos, *Seals* 1.2:1200f. —A.K., E.M.

ABYDOS (Ἀβυδός), city on the Hellespont, near modern Çanakkale. Abydos and HIERON were the two customs posts where taxes were assessed on shipping to and from Constantinople. Abydos was administered by an *archon* or *komes ton Stenon* who commanded a small fleet, stopped illegal transport of weapons, checked travel documents, and collected taxes. The amounts were fixed by a decree of Anastasios I that forbade excessive charges (J. Durliat, A. Guillou, *BCH* 108 [1984] 581–98). Justinian I replaced this system with a customs house (*demosion teloneion*) under a *komes* with a fixed salary. Abydos long retained its function: its *archon* or *komes* is attested through the

10th C. Taxes collected there were reduced by Empress Irene in 801; the Venetians won a special reduction in 992. This function was so important that the name ABYDIKOS was applied to similar officials throughout the empire. Abydos was a strategic naval base subordinate to the theme of the Aegean Sea; it later became a separate command under its own *strategos* (or *katepano*, mentioned in 1086: *Lavra* 1, no.48.3). Its role and location made Abydos the frequent target of foreign and domestic enemies from the 7th through the 12th C. It was taken by the Venetians in 1204 and remained Latin until its reconquest by John III Vatatzes. By that time it had yielded in importance to KALLIPOLIS; the last period of its history is obscure. Originally a suffragan bishopric of KYZIKOS, Abydos became a metropolis in 1084. No remains have been reported.

LIT. H. Ahrweiler, "Fonctionnaires et bureaux maritimes à Byzance," *REB* 19 (1960) 239–46. Antoniadis-Bibicou, *Douanes* 179–81. —C.F.

ACADEMY OF ATHENS, a school of higher education, claiming descent from Plato's Academy, which preserved the traditions of NEOPLATONISM. It flourished in the 4th C. and attracted both pagan and Christian students, including Basil the Great, Gregory of Nazianzos, and Julian the Apostate. STUDENTS formed close groups around their TEACHERS, and fights between different groups were common. By the end of the 4th C. and in the 5th C. the Academy had acquired a predominantly pagan character with such teachers as Ploutarchos, Syrianos, and the philosopher PROKLOS. The teachers emphasized the importance of ancient traditions and the role of the "divine philosopher" as opposed to the "tyrant." After the death of Proklos (485), Alexandria briefly evolved into the leading center of philosophical study, but at the beginning of the 6th C., under DAMASKIOS, the Academy again became the most influential pagan school. Malalas (Malal. 451.16–18) records that in 529 Justinian I forbade the teaching of philosophy and law in Athens, but some teaching continued there. Circa 532 leading philosophers from Athens emigrated to Persia; disappointed in CHOSROES I, who turned out not to be an ideal philosopher-king, they came back to the Byz. Empire. Damaskios, however, returned not to Athens but to Emesa in his native

Syria. The Academy continued to function and, despite confiscations, still possessed substantial funds in the 560s. According to the autobiography of ANANIAS OF ŠIRAK, an anonymous "doctor from Athens" was a famous teacher in Constantinople at the beginning of the 7th C. (Lemerle, *Humanism* 92f).

The commentaries on Plato and Aristotle by such teachers as Proklos and Simplicios provide an idea of the range and quality of teaching in Athens. The *Life of Proklos* by Marinos and the *Life of Isidore* by Damaskios give a picture of the activity and attitudes of teachers at the Academy.

LIT. Cameron, *Literature*, pt.XIII (1969), 7–30. F. Schemmel, "Die Hochschule von Athen im IV. und V. Jahrhundert p. Ch. n.," *Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum* 22 (1908) 494–513. G. Fernandez, "Justiniano y la clausura de la escuela de Atenas," *Erytheia* 2.2 (1983) 24–30. —A.K., R.B.

ACANTHUS (ἄκανθος), classical Greek term for a perennial plant, common to the Mediterranean, whose leaf form inspired decorative motifs in architectural sculpture, particularly the Corinthian CAPITAL. In the 5th and 6th C., the traditional, naturalistic form of the acanthus was modified by flattening the leaves against a deeply undercut ground and creating a lacy texture of light and dark, solid and void, punctuated by deeply drilled points (Grabar, *Sculptures I*, pls. XIX–XX). The organic Roman form thus became an abstract motif used as an element of overall pattern. "Wind-blown" capitals of the 5th C. preserve the naturalistic treatment of the individual leaves but twist the entire form, denying its mass. The motif was further applied to a wide range of architectural features—IMPOST BLOCKS, capitals, architraves, and archivols. The acanthus remained an abiding decorative feature in sculpture and other media. Delicate, lacy friezes decorated arcades and marked interior divisions between domes, drums, and bodies of churches. Acanthus motifs were also used on ICON FRAMES, ARCOSOLIA, and templon barriers, as at HOSIOS LOUKAS and the CHORA (Grabar, *Sculptures II*, pls. XVII–XX, CVIf).

LIT. R. Kautsch, *Kapitellstudien* (Berlin-Leipzig 1936) 5–152. —K.M.K.

ACCIAJUOLI (Ἀτζαϊώλης), name of a Florentine banking family, one branch of which rose to

prominence in 14th-15th-C. Greece; etym. Ital. *acciaio* ("steel"). The Acciajuolis first made their fortune in Italy in the 12th C. through the operation of a steel foundry; they then turned to banking. By the 14th C. they had amassed considerable wealth and were closely linked with the Angevins of Naples. In addition to holdings in Italy, Niccolò Acciajuoli (died 8 Nov. 1365) acquired extensive lands in Greece, particularly in Elis, Messenia, and Kephallenia (P. Topping, *Studies on Latin Greece A.D. 1205-1715* [London 1977] pts. V, VI). In 1358 he was granted the CORINTH region by Robert II, son of Catherine of Valois. He undertook the repair of fortifications at the Isthmus of Corinth.

The family reached its height in Greece during the reign of Nerio I Acciajuoli (died 25 Sept. 1394), lord of Corinth (1371-94), who took ATHENS from the CATALANS on 2 May 1388 and founded a Florentine duchy of Athens (which included THEBES). Nerio I was succeeded as duke of Athens by his illegitimate son Antonio I, who enjoyed a lengthy and relatively peaceful reign (1403-35). The Acciajuoli family maintained its rule over Athens until 4 June 1456, when the city fell to the Turks. Franco Acciajuoli, the last duke of Athens (1455-56), spent his final years as lord of Thebes (1456-60) until he was murdered at the command of MEHMED II. The Greek branch of the family intermarried with the PALAIOLOGOS and TOCCO families.

The Acciajuoli property in the Morea, known from acts of donation, included fields, vineyards, meadows, forestland, etc. The documents list the *paroikoi* who were attached to the land, as well as their animals, and enumerate the rental payment owed by each peasant, usually in cash.

LIT. C. Ugurgieri della Berardenga, *Gli Acciaiuoli di Firenze nella luce dei loro tempi (1160-1834)*, 2 vols. (Florence 1962). Setton, *Catalan Domination* 66-68 and n.5, 174-211. PLP, no.1606-15. J. Longnon, P. Topping, *Documents sur le régime des terres dans la principauté de Morée au XIVe siècle* (Paris-The Hague 1969). —A.M.T.

ACCIDIE. See AKEDIA.

ACCLAMATIONS (sing. *εὐφημία, πολυχρόνιον*). Cadenced unison shouts, which applauded or criticized magnates and esp. emperors, characterized Byz. public life. Against the silence attending the

emperor's appearances or the reading of his words, acclamations manifested public reaction. Thus, acclamations by the army and people formed the key consensual act in an imperial CORONATION. Acclamations at public meetings (e.g., church councils) were increasingly written down, painted, or inscribed in public places in the 4th-5th C. and developed their own iconography. Chants or loyal petitions improvised at the circus offered Byz. crowds a rare channel of communication with their rulers; acclamations concerning provincial officials were forwarded to the prince as evidence of public opinion (*Cod.Theod.* I 16.6).

Acclamations grew more complex and formalized as the FACTIONS orchestrated their performance. The 9th- and 10th-C. acclamations of *De ceremoniis* show uniformly obsequious texts performed at every ceremony by imperial employees under the *praepositos* (McCormick, *Eternal Victory* 223-25). This elaborateness and professional performance pushed acclamations toward political poetry and culminated, for example, in Theodore PRODRAMOS. The army and public continued to voice shorter, more formulaic shouts, like those appearing on coins (e.g., *DOC* 3.1:177), as responses to the factions' acclamations and esp. to demonstrate loyalty in crises. Usurpers supposedly extorted them by force (John MAUROPOUS, no.186.25, ed. Lagarde, p.183) and their potential insincerity fooled no one (THEMISTIOS, *Orationes* 8, 1:156.1-3). At 9th- and 10th-C. state banquets and AUDIENCES, organs gave the cue for all to stand and join the factions in acclaiming the emperor (Oikonomides, *Listes* 203.31-34).

In all periods LEGITIMACY, divine support, orthodoxy, victory, and long life were favorite themes. Acclamations often observed a responsorial pattern, whereby persons were acclaimed, starting with God or the emperor and proceeding in order of precedence, followed by specific praises or requests. Acclamations' content thereby illuminates the ceremonies they accompanied. Late Roman acclamations mixed Greek and Latin, but gave way to overwhelmingly Greek texts by the 10th C.; a few fossilized Latin acclamations continued to be performed on special occasions. Rough isosyllaby and rhythm of stress accent determined the metrical structure of acclamations (P. Maas, *BZ* 21 [1912] 28-51; Cameron, *Circus Factions* 329-33) and anticipated developments of Byz. prosody like POLITICAL VERSE.

LIT. T. Klauser, *RAC* 1:216-33. C. Roueché, "Acclamations in the Later Roman Empire: New Evidence from Aphrodisias," *JRS* 74 (1984) 181-99. —M.McC.

ACCLAMATIONS, APOTROPAIC, words or phrases expressing religious conviction in brief, exclamatory form, often found on AMULETS. At first simple utterances of shared religious feeling, such acclamations lent themselves naturally—because of the frequency with which they invoke the power of the deity—to eventual apotropaic use; for instance, praise of God invokes his aid against demons. Some (e.g., *Hygieia*, "health") are little more than banal expressions of good luck, while others (e.g., *Heis Theos ho nikon ta kaka*, "One God conquering evil!") are more specifically directed against evil spirits. The roots of Christian apotropaic acclamations lie in the ceremonial protocol of the Hellenistic and Roman imperial courts, for example, the TRISAGION (*Hagios, Hagios, Hagios*), which appears frequently on amulets of the 5th through 7th C.

LIT. E. Peterson, *Heis Theos* (Göttingen 1926). —G.V.

ACHAIA (Ἀχαΐα). The toponym Achaia has several meanings in the Byz. period.

1. It was a late Roman province embracing the PELOPONNESOS and central GREECE south of Thermopylai, identified by HIEROKLES with HELLAS and credited with 79 cities. The capital was CORINTH. Under Diocletian, Achaia was part of the diocese of Moesia, but it was later transferred to Macedonia under the praetorian prefect of ILLYRICUM. Most of the province (with the exception of its western parts) was eventually included in the theme of Hellas. The ecclesiastical province of Achaia survived, but presumably designated only the Peloponnesos; PATRAS is listed as its metropolitan see from the 8th or 9th C.

2. In a general geographic sense, the term refers to the northwestern Peloponnesos, whose main city was Patras. Aside from a narrow coastal strip along the Gulf of Corinth, Achaia is mountainous and sparsely populated. Among the churches of the region is the Panagia at Mentzaina, a timber-roofed basilica, dated to the mid-10th C. (A.G. Moutzale, *Archaiologika Analekta Athenon* 17 [1984] 21-42).

3. Achaia was also the name of a Frankish prin-

cipality founded in southern Greece after the Fourth Crusade (see ACHAIA, PRINCIPALITY OF). —T.E.G.

ACHAIA, PRINCIPALITY OF, sometimes called principality of Morea (to be distinguished from the Byz.-controlled despotate of the MOREA), the Frankish territory in the Peloponnesos ruled by the princes of Achaia from 1205 to 1430. In the aftermath of the Fourth Crusade and the Latin conquest of Constantinople in 1204, two Frankish Crusaders, WILLIAM (I) OF CHAMPLITTE and GEOFFREY (I) VILLEHARDOUIN, seized control of virtually the entire Byz. Peloponnesos and became the first two princes of Achaia. The Frankish principality reached the peak of its power under WILLIAM II VILLEHARDOUIN, who constructed fortresses at MISTRA, MAINA, and MONEMVASIA. After William II was captured by the Byz. at the battle of PELAGONIA (1259), however, and forced to cede the castles to Emp. Michael VIII Palaiologos, the Byz. regained a foothold in the Morea. During their remaining 170 years of empire, the Byz. gradually reconquered the Peloponnesos, until finally bringing an end to the principality only 30 years before the despotate of Morea fell, in turn, to the Ottomans. Both the Western and Greek versions of the CHRONICLE OF THE MOREA are important sources for the first century of the principality.

The French conquerors imposed a feudal system upon their Greek territory. The prince of Achaia was nominally a vassal of the Latin emperor of Constantinople; in reality, however, he controlled more territory than his suzerain and was supported by a larger army. His chief residence was ANDRAVIDA. The prince had the right to mint coins, which were produced at the active port of Clarenza (see CHLEMOUTSI). The prince's authority was limited by the power of his barons, who were considered his peers; they had private armies and built (or restored) castles throughout the principality at such sites as Old Navarino, Kyparissia, and Karytaina. After Achaia became a dependency of the kingdom of Sicily in 1267 and after the death of William II in 1278, many princes of Achaia held the title only nominally and rarely, if ever, visited the Peloponnesos. The French settlers were always outnumbered by their Greek subjects, who sometimes preferred the tolerant French rule to Byz. administration, but were

Princes of Achaia

Ruler	Reign Dates
WILLIAM I OF CHAMPLITTE	1205-1209
GEOFFREY I VILLEHARDOUIN	1209-1226/31
GEOFFREY II VILLEHARDOUIN	1226/31-1246
WILLIAM II VILLEHARDOUIN	1246-1278
CHARLES I OF ANJOU	1278-1285
Charles II of Anjou	1285-1289
Florent of Hainaut	1289-1297
Isabeau de Villehardouin	1297-1301
Philip of Savoy	1301-1307
PHILIP I OF TARANTO	1307-1313
Louis of Burgundy	1313-1316
Mahaut de Hainaut	1316-1321
John of Gravina	1322-1333
Robert of Taranto	1333-1364
Philip II of Taranto in rivalry with Marie de Bourbon	1364-1370
Philip II of Taranto	1370-1373
Jeanne of Naples	1373-1381
Jacques de Baux	1381-1383
Period of competition between Marie de Bretagne, Hospitallers, Louis II of Clermont, Pope Urban VI, Amadeo of Savoy, and Mahiot de Coquerel	1383-1396
Pierre de Saint-Superan (NAVARRESE COMPANY)	1396-1402
Marie Zaccaria	1402-1404
Centurione II ZACCARIA	1404-1430

Source: Based on Bon, *Morée franque* 696.

reluctant to relinquish their Orthodoxy. A Latin ecclesiastical hierarchy was established with the principal archbishop at Patras, subordinate to the Latin patriarch of Constantinople; Greek priests came under the jurisdiction of Latin bishops. (See table for a list of the princes of Achaia.)

LIT. A. Bon, *La Morée franque*, 2 vols. (Paris 1969). Longnon, *Empire latin* 187-355. Idem, *HC* 2:235-74. P. Topping, *HC* 3:104-66. D. Jacoby, *La féodalité en Grèce médiévale* (Paris 1971). G. Dmitriev, "K voprosu o položenii krest'jan v latinskoj Grecii," *ZRVI* 14-15 (1973) 55-64. K. Andrews, *Castles of the Morea* (Athens 1953; rp. Amsterdam 1978). —A.M.T.

ACHEIROPOIETA (ἀχειροποίητα, lit. [objects] "not made by hands"). First used by the Apostle

Paul (2 Cor 5:1) to describe metaphorically the resurrected body of Christ, the term *acheiropoieta* was applied to images of sacred persons that came into existence miraculously, usually at the will of that person. The most famous *acheiropoieta* not only appeared miraculously, they could also replicate themselves miraculously. *Acheiropoieta* are cited first and most often in the period between Justinian I and Iconoclasm, the most important of them emerging in the context of the Persian Wars: the MANDYLION, the KERAMION, and the images of the KAMOULIANAI Christ, which Herakleios carried into battle like a new LABARUM. The same period yields reports of other *acheiropoieta*: the imprint of Christ's face on a cloth in Memphis, his imprint on the column of his flagellation in Jerusalem, and an *acheiropoieta* of the Virgin Mary at Lydda (Diospolis). Several of these are described in the LETTER OF THE THREE PATRIARCHS, but only the Mandylion and Keramion continued to be represented after Iconoclasm. Few other *acheiropoieta* are known. With rare exceptions they represent either Christ or Mary. It is no longer possible to associate the shroud described by Nicholas MESARITES in 12th-C. Constantinople with that most enigmatic of *acheiropoieta*, the imprinted linen cloth known as the Shroud of Turin.

LIT. E. von Dobschütz, *Christusbilder* (Leipzig 1899). Grabar, *Iconoclasm* 37-59. G. Vikan, "Ruminations on Edible Icons: Originals and Copies in the Art of Byzantium," *Studies in the History of Art* 20 (1989) 47-59. Av. Cameron, *The Sceptic and the Shroud* (London 1980). —A.W.C.

ACHEIROPOIETOS CHURCH. The Church of the Acheiropoieta (Ἀχειροποίητος, lit. "not-made-by-hands") in Thessalonike is so named because it housed a miraculous icon (see ACHEIROPOIETA) of the Virgin Hodegetria (A. Xyngopoulos, *Hellenika* 13 [1954] 256-62). Dedicated to the Virgin, the Acheiropoieta was a wooden-roofed, three-aisled basilica, approximately 28 m wide and 36.5 m long (nave alone). The aisles are screened from the nave by high stylobates, there are galleries above the two side aisles, and the outer narthex was flanked by towers. Perhaps the earliest of the churches still standing in the city, it was probably built between 450 and 470; bricks from the fabric of the building have been dated to ca.450 (M. Vickers, *BSA* 68 [1973] 285-94) and the mosaics of birds, chalices, and crosses in the soffits of the nave arcade in the church are assigned to the period 450-60 (Ch. Bakirtzes in *Aphieroma ste*

mneme St. Pelekanide [Thessalonike 1983] 310-29). The present marble pavement dates from the time of the church, but floor mosaics from two earlier buildings, probably of secular character, lie under it. Fine (but damaged) frescoes of the 13th C. (figures of the Forty Martyrs of Sebasteia) adorn the south aisle (A. Xyngopoulos, *ArchEph* [1957] 6-30).

LIT. Krautheimer, *ECBArch* 99-102. S. Pelekanides, *Palaiochristianika mnemeia Thessalonikes. Acheiropoieta. Mone Latomou*² (Thessalonike 1973) 11-41. D. De Bernardi Ferrero, "La Panagia Acheiropoieta di Salonicco," *CorsiRav* 22 (1975) 157-69. A. Xyngopoulos, "Peri ten Acheiropoieta Thessalonikes," *Makedonika* 2 (1941-52) 472-87.

—T.E.G., N.P.S.

ACHELOUS (Ἀχελῷος), a river (or, according to Skyl. 203.95, a fortress) near ANCHIALOS where SYMEON OF BULGARIA won a decisive victory over the Byz. on 20 Aug. 917 (in Skyl., 6 Aug.). The Byz. army, commanded by Leo PHOKAS, *domestikos ton scholon*, was accompanied by the fleet under ROMANOS (I) LEKAPENOS. Romanos headed for the mouth of the Danube, where he expected to find Pecheneg auxiliaries; the Serbian prince Peter was also expected to join the Byz. Symeon launched his attack before these forces could unite. Skylitzes (Skyl. 203.94-204.37) provides two explanations of the defeat. According to the first version, Leo Phokas's horse bolted and returned riderless to camp, causing the soldiers to think that Leo had fallen in battle. The second version recounts that Leo was pursuing the Bulgarians when he heard a rumor that Romanos Lekapenos had diverted to Constantinople in order to seize the imperial power; immediately Leo headed for camp to learn the truth. Whatever the cause, the Byz. were routed, many commanders were killed (including Constantine LIPS), and Leo barely escaped to MESEMBRIA.

LIT. Zlatarski, *Ist.* 1.2:380-91. Runciman, *Romanus* 55f. —A.K.

ACHILLEIS (Ἀχιλλεύς), an anonymous late Byz. romance of chivalry, written in unrhymed political verse and surviving in three versions (N [Naples]: 1,820 lines; L [London, British Museum]: 1,363, but with lacunas; O [Oxford]: 761); all apparently derive from a single, lost archetype. The romance describes the birth of Achilles late in his parents' marriage, his precocious childhood (cf. DIGENES AKRITAS and IMBERIOS AND MARGA-

RONA), his experience of the power of Eros, courtship, marriage, and intense grief at his wife's death. Although the hero is named Achilles, his companion Patroklos and his people the Myrmidons, the romance has no other connection with the world of antiquity (Naples version, vv. 1759-1820 on Achilles' role in the Trojan War, based on Constantine MANASSES, are a later addition). Rather, the world which the *Achilleis* reflects, with its tournaments and jousting, is the mixed Frankish-Greek society of the 14th C., which is also part of the background of BELTHANDROS AND CHRYSANTZA and LIBISTROS AND RHODAMNE. The language, like that of the other verse romances of chivalry, is mixed, but closer to the popular speech of the day than the learned.

ED. L and N—*L'Achilleide byzantine*, ed. D.C. Hesseling (Amsterdam 1919). O—S. Lampros, ed., *NE* 15 (1921) 367-408. Ital. tr. P. Stomeo, "Achilleide, poema bizantino anonimo," *Studi Salentini* 7 (1959) 155-97.

LIT. Beck, *Volksliteratur* 129-32. R. Keydell, "Achilleis. Zur Problematik und Geschichte eines griechischen Romans," *ByzF* 6 (1979) 83-99. A.F. van Gemert, W.F. Bakker, "He Achilleida kai he Historia tou Belisariou," *Hellenika* 33 (1981) 82-97. O.L. Smith, "Versions and Manuscripts of the *Achilleid*," *Neograeca Medii Aevi: Texte und Ausgabe*, ed. H. Eideneier (Cologne 1986) 315-24. —E.M.J., M.J.J.

ACHILLES, the principal Greek hero of the *Iliad*. Achilles retained his popularity well beyond late antiquity. This popularity can be explained by the search for the ideal warrior, still as apparent in the 11th-C. *Kyngetikia* (Weitzmann, *Gr. Myth.*, fig. 103) as in the 5th-C. illustrated *Iliad* in Milan (Ambros. F 205 inf.). The education (PAIDEIA) of Achilles by the centaur Cheiron was contrasted with Christian principles of upbringing (M. Hengel, *Achilleus in Jerusalem* [Heidelberg 1982] 45-47), but still literally depicted on bone caskets and in MSS of the homilies of Gregory of Nazianzos (Weitzmann, *Gr. Myth.* 165-68). Later, Christian rhetoricians (e.g., PROKOPIOS OF GAZA) tried to adapt the theme of the *paideia* of Achilles to their own moralistic ideas; it appears as an exemplary education in many Byz. writers.

The Byz. gradually divested Achilles of his military prowess: in similes of Niketas Choniates, in the *Histories* of Tzetzes, even in the commentary of Eustathios of Thessalonike on the *Iliad*, Achilles is primarily a physician, a musician, a sober man. In his commentary on the *Odyssey* (*Eust. Comm. Od.* 1696.65, vol. 1:431), Eustathios critically notes that Homer was *pany philachilleus*, "too pro-Achil-

lean." Already in Homer, Achilles had some features of a semibarbarian prince; Leo the Deacon (Leo Diac. 150.4–20) developed the idea that Achilles was "Tauroscythian," endowed with the typical cruelty of the Rus'.

LIT. D. Kemp-Lindemann, *Darstellungen des Achilleus in griechischer und römischer Kunst* (Bern 1975) 248–51. C. Delvoye, "Éléments classiques et innovations dans l'illustration de la légende d'Achille au Bas-Empire," *AntCl* 53 (1984) 184–99. —A.C., A.K.

ACHILLES TATIUS (Ἀχιλλεύς Τάτιος), author of the novel *Leukippe and Kleitophon* and, according to the *Souda*, other works of varied scope; born Alexandria, fl. end of 2nd C. The *Souda* also states, almost certainly incorrectly, that he became a Christian and a bishop. The *ROMANCE*, in carefully wrought prose with many *EKPHRASEIS*, is narrated throughout in the first person; it relates the lurid adventures and dramatic separations (by pirates, shipwrecks, false deaths, and so on) of the hero and heroine before they can be reunited and married. A papyrus roll of the 3rd to 4th C. containing the romance is being edited at the university libraries of Duke and Cologne (W.H. Willis in *XVII Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia* [Naples 1984] 1:163–66). Despite reservations about the romance's moral qualities (see, e.g., Photios, *Bibl.*, cod.87; Psellos, *De Chariclea et Leucippe iudicium*), the novel seems to have maintained an intermittent readership, perhaps because of its potential for allegorical interpretation in terms of the salvation of a Christian soul as well as its Atticist prose style. When in the 12th C. novels began to be written once more, that of Achilles was taken as a model by Eustathios *MAKREMBOLITES*, used by Theodore *PRODROMOS*, and quoted in the *Grottaferrata* version of *DIGENES AKRITAS*.

ED. *Leucippe and Kleitophon*, ed. E. Vilborg, 2 vols. (Stockholm 1955, 1962). Eng. tr., S. Gaselee, *Achilles Tattius* (Cambridge-London 1969).

LIT. T. Hägg, *The Novel in Antiquity* (Oxford 1983) 41–54. Hunger, *Lit.* 2:121–25. S.V. Poljakova, "Evmatij i Achill Tatij," *Antičnost' i sovremennost'* (Moscow 1972) 380–86. —E.M.J., M.J.J.

ACHMET BEN SIRIN (Ἀχμέτ ὁ υἱὸς Σηρείμ), author of the longest and most important Byz. tract on *DREAMS*. Achmet is the pseudonym of a Christian Greek who used in his *ONEIROKRITIKON* widely divergent sources: Arabic (N. Bland, *JRAS* 16 [1856] 118–71; M. Steinschneider, *ZDMG* 17

[1863] 227–44), Byz. (dream books of *ASTRAMPSYCHOS* and the prophet *DANIEL*), late Roman (Artemidoros, 2nd C.), and his own dream material. The pagan material, particularly in the first 14 chapters, has been reworked to conform to Christian orthodoxy. The treatise is dedicated to "the *protosymboulos* Ma'mūn," the caliph of "Babylon," whose dream interpreter Achmet purports to be, and contains the interpretations of hundreds of dream symbols attributed to Persian, Egyptian, and Indian seers. These attributions, patently false, are a scheme to project cosmopolitan erudition. The date of composition lies somewhere between 813 (the year of ascent of Caliph Ma'mūn) and the early 11th C., when the dream book appears in the marginalia and text of two MSS (D. Gigli, *Prometheus* 4 [1978] 65–86, 173–88; S.M. Oberhelman, *BZ* 74 [1981] 326f). The name Achmet also appears as the author of an astrological treatise, datable to the end of the 8th or the beginning of the 9th C. (E. Riess, *RE* 1 [1894] 248).

ED. *Oneirocriticon*, ed. F. Drexler (Leipzig 1925). *The Oneirocriticon of Achmet*, tr. S.M. Oberhelman (Binghamton 1989).

LIT. F. Drexler, *Achmet's Traumbuch* (Freising 1909). Idem, "Studien zum Text des Achmet," *BZ* 33 (1933) 13–31, 271–92. —S.M.O.

ACHYRAOUS (Ἀχυράους, Lat. Esseron), fortress of Mysia overlooking the Makestos River in northwestern Anatolia, near modern Balıkesir. First mentioned in 812 as a village by *THEODORE OF STOUDIOS*, Achyraous became important only in 1139, when John II Komnenos made it a powerful and strategic fortified city to assure control of the region and its roads. Achyraous was then made a bishopric, under *KYZIKOS*, and, in the late 12th C., an ecclesiastical metropolis. At that time, it apparently became the center of a separate civil province. After Latin occupation in 1204–20, Achyraous was a major *Laskarid* fortress. Although strengthened by Michael VIII in 1282, it barely survived a Turkish attack in 1302, was temporarily rescued by the Catalans in 1304, but fell to the Turks of *KARASI* soon after. The well-preserved fortress is built in a distinctive masonry with much brick decoration. Mt. Kyminas in the immediate vicinity contained important monastic settlements in the 9th–10th C.

LIT. C. Foss, "The Defenses of Asia Minor against the Turks," *GOrThR* 27 (1982) 161–66. Hasluck, *Cyzicus* 93f. —C.F.

ACOLYTE (ἀκόλουθος), the "follower" in a *FUNERAL* cortege. Justinian's novel 59, regulating the payment of funeral expenses out of the endowments of the *GREAT CHURCH*, mentions *akolouthoi* among the various corporations that specialized in the performance of the necessary obsequies. There were to be three *akolouthoi* per cortege (*asketrion*). The acolytes who constituted the lowest clerical order in the Roman church (H. Leclercq in *DACL* 1:348–56) apparently did not have a counterpart in Byz.

—P.M.

ACQUISITION. The most common legal means of obtaining property were transfer (Lat. *translatio*; Gr. *paradosis*), possession by prescriptive right (*LONGI TEMPORIS PRAESCRIPTIO*), *occupatio*, and acquisition *ex lege*. Property was obtained, for example, in fulfillment of a sale-, gift-, or dowry-*CONTRACT* through a physical transfer; from the time of Justinian I this transfer could take place informally, in contrast to the earlier formal act, the *mancipatio*. In case of a purchase (*SALE*), payment had to accompany the transfer in order for the acquisition of the property to be complete. *Occupatio*, appropriation with the intent to keep the object as property, was the legal basis for the acquisition of an object which had no owner. Acquisition *ex lege* (i.e., an acquisition where the acquirer does not participate in the transaction), involved primarily the acquisition of an inheritance by the lawful heir of the testator. The acquisition of possession was based on the effective tenure of an object and by the wish to have it: *corpore et animo* (Gr. *somati kai psyche*, lit. "in body and soul").

—M.Th.F.

ACRE, KINGDOM OF. After the Third Crusade recovered Acre from Saladin (12 July 1191) but failed to regain Jerusalem, Acre became the capital of the kings of Jerusalem and a major center for the production of *CRUSADER ART*. John of Brienne was king there (1210–25) before becoming Latin emperor in Constantinople. Restricted to a coastal strip, the kingdom of Acre was dominated by Italian merchant communities in the cities. A conflict between Venetians and Genoese over a house belonging to the Church of St. Sabas in Acre (1256–70) drove Genoa to ally itself with *MICHAEL VIII*, thereby facilitating his seizure of Constantinople. The Venetian-Genoese struggles, however, spread into Byz. waters, where much

harm was done to Byz. Acre fell to the Mamlūks on 18 May 1291.

LIT. Prawer, *Royaume latin*.

—C.M.B.

ACROCORINTH. See *CORINTH*.

ACROSTIC (ἀκροστιχίς), a composition in prose or verse in which the initial letters of each section form a word, phrase, or alphabetic sequence. Acrostics are regularly found in hymns, both *KONTAKIA* and *KANONES*, where the first letters of each *OIKOS*, or verse, are linked to form the author's name (e.g., Τοῦ Ρωμανοῦ), an indication of the subject matter (e.g., Εἰς τὸν Ἰωσήφ Ρωμανοῦ ἔπος), or to make an alphabet (as in the *AKATHISTOS HYMN*); letters can be doubled to allow the text to expand (e.g., Εἰς τὸν Χρῆνονσοοσσπτομον) and some phonetic spelling is permissible (e.g., ταπινοῦ). Alphabetic acrostics link chapters and entries in the *gnomologia* (see *GNOME*) and *MIRRORS OF PRINCES*, hortatory works to which are related a series of shorter penitential alphabets in prose and verse and in the vernacular as well as the learned languages (Krumbacher, *GBL* 717–20). Acrostics are found in secular *enkomia*, spelling the name of the recipient (e.g., in the works of *DIOSKOROS OF APHRODITO*). Alphabetic acrostics are also used for love songs, as in the *EROTOPAIGNIA*.

LIT. K. Krumbacher, "Die Akrostichis in der griechischen Kirchenpoesie," *SBAW* (1903) 551–691. W. Weyh, "Die Akrostichis in der byzantinischen Kanonesdichtung," *BZ* 17 (1908) 1–69. Hunger, *Lit.* 2:165. —E.M.J.

ACTA ARCHELAI, anti-Manichaean document in the form of a disputation involving, on the Christian side, Archelaos, bishop of Kaschara in Mesopotamia (ca.270), and for the Manichaeans Turbo and MANI himself. Although the dispute is certainly not historical, the text contains authentic documents and genuine tradition concerning *MANICHAEANISM*. The *Acta* were written before 350 by an otherwise unknown Hegemonios and were cited by authors such as *EPIPHANIOS* of Salamis and *SOKRATES*. Only a few fragments of the original Greek version survive, but the full text exists in a defective Latin translation.

ED. PG 10:1405–1528. *Hegemonios: Acta Archelai*, ed. C.H. Beeson (Leipzig 1906).

LIT. G. Hansen, "Zu den Evangelienziten in den 'Acta Archelai,'" *StP* 7 (1966) 473–85. A.L. Kac, "Manichejstvo

v Rimskoj imperii po dannym Acta Archelai," *VDI*, no.3 (1955) 168-79. —T.E.G.

ACTIONS (*ἀγῶναι*). Under the classical formulary procedure of Rome, actions were written statements of grievance (*formulae*) that were allotted to the parties by the *PRAETOR* on the basis of their descriptions of the conflict, so that they could bring their lawsuit before the judge. The substantive claims set forth in this formal statement were closely connected with the relevant *OBLIGATION*; as a rule every *obligatio* had its own *actio* and, inversely, where there was no *obligatio* (see *PACTA*) there was no *actio*. With the elimination of the formulary system in 342 (*Cod. Just.* II 57.1), the procedural aspect of the action became irrelevant. Action became the name for the substantive claim (*obligatio*) that a plaintiff brought against a defendant. The name of the action had to be mentioned in the first sentence of the plaintiff's writ (*editio actionis*). Consequently, lists were compiled of the names of actions; of these, only the work *DE ACTIONIBUS* from the 6th C. has been edited.

Actions in the Post-Justinianic Period. The Byz. developed a detailed system of classification of actions (e.g., *Synopsis Basilicorum* A. 24.1). In charters, however, the term (which is common) has a vague meaning of "claim," with the connotation of an illegal procedure. It is used primarily in formulas assuring legal protection for a buyer or grantee against the seller (grantor) or a third person who was thus prohibited from initiating any claims concerning the transferred object (e.g., *Iur.* 1, no.3.19-20; *Xénoph.*, no.9.45, etc.). A document of 1377 (*Lavra* 3, no.148) describes a *nomimos agoge* (with no further definition) brought against the monastery; the plaintiffs eventually dropped the claim, refusing to turn to "any Christian *agoge*" that could assist them, and they subsequently guaranteed the property of the *Lavra*. There is a difference between the elaborate categorization of actions in legal texts and the simple interpretation of the *agoge* in documents as a claim in general. —A.K.

ACTOR. In Roman law actors (Lat. *histriones*) and *MIMES* were considered as belonging to an infamous profession and were classified with those whom the emperor expelled from the army for

shameful behavior (*Digest* 3:2.1). Despite the defense of actors by some intellectuals (*LIBANIOS*, *CHORIKIOS OF GAZA*), this negative attitude toward actors prevailed in Byz.: clerics were forbidden not only to participate in performances, but even to see a show. Various decrees, secular and ecclesiastical alike (esp. the rules of the Council in *TRULLO*), restricted theatrical performances. As late as the 15th C. Manuel II characterized the theatrical show as typical of the Ottoman court and found it reprehensible. The principal accusation against actors was the sexual promiscuity allegedly characteristic of their way of life: musicians, dancers, and actors are frequently mentioned in the same context as prostitutes. Nevertheless, in the late Roman Empire actors were to be found everywhere; a law of 409 prevented local urban authorities from transferring actors, charioteers, and wild animals from their cities and thus lessening the appeal of popular festivities (*Cod. Just.* XI 41.5). With the decline of the *THEATER*, actors assumed the role of clowns and jesters.

LIT. F. Tinnefeld, "Zum profanen Mimos in Byzanz nach dem Verdikt des Trullanums (691)," *Byzantina* 6 (1974) 321-43. W. Puchner, "Byzantinischer Mimos, Pantomimos und Mummenschanz im Spiegel der griechischen Patristik und ekklesiastischer Synodalverordnungen," *Maske und Kothurn* 29 (1983) 311-17. —Ap.K., A.K.

ACTS (*Πράξεις τῶν ἀποστόλων*), the historical portion of the *NEW TESTAMENT* that describes events after Christ's Crucifixion. The Byz. unanimously considered *LUKE* to be the author of the Acts, but MS tradition links it more closely to the Epistles than to the Gospels: among almost 3,000 uncial and minuscule MSS of the New Testament listed by K. Aland (*Kurzgefasste Liste der griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments* [Berlin 1963]), approximately 335 contain the Acts together with the Epistles, but without the Gospels, while only ten contain the Gospels and Acts without the Epistles. The major Byz. commentary on Acts is that of *JOHN CHRYSOSTOM*. A full exegesis of Acts was falsely attributed to the 10th-C. Thessalian bishop Oikoumenios—Beck (*Kirche* 418) dates it to the end of the 8th C. Another complete commentary, by *THEOPHYLAKTOS OF OHRID*, draws upon that of Chrysostom. Other commentaries are known in fragments from *CATENAE*.

Chrysostom highly appreciated the book of Acts:

it is no less beneficial for us, he says (PG 60:13f), than the Gospels, since it demonstrates the realization (*ergon*) of what was prophesied by Christ and presented in the Gospels. The book, he continues (col.15.15-16), related the acts of *PAUL*, who labored more than any other; Chrysostom completes his work with a panegyric of Paul. Chrysostom's interpretation of Acts is permeated by his ethical ideals of poverty over wealth and pious ignorance over pseudophilosophy; he uses his material for attacks on theatrical performances. The commentary of *DIDYMOS THE BLIND*, on the other hand, emphasizes Christological problems. Referring to Chrysostom, Didymos (PG 39:1672AB) discusses the contradiction between Acts and Paul in the story of the miracle on the road to Damascus. The contradiction is resolved by pointing out that in one case the text states that his companions heard Paul's voice, while in the other they saw only the light and did not hear the voice of the Lord. Lectures from Acts (together with the Epistles) formed the liturgical book called the *PRAXAPOSTOLOS*. Various *APOCRYPHAL* acts described the exploits of individual apostles.

Acts Illustration. Illustration of Acts is rare in Byz. art. In monumental painting, only the 21-scene cycle in the narthex at Dečani (14th c.) in Serbia illustrates Acts itself, rather than episodes from hagiographical cycles, such as the scenes of *PETER* and Paul at *MONREALE*. Only two MSS of Acts—both 12th C.—contain anything more than a prefatory portrait of its author, Luke: Paris, B.N. gr. 102, fol. 7v (see Kessler, *infra*), has a grid of four scenes—Peter and *JOHN* at the Beautiful Gate, the martyrdom of *JAMES*, Peter liberated from prison, and the stoning of Stephen—and Chicago, Univ. Lib. 965, preserves 13 of its original 19 framed illustrations. The earlier *SACRA PARALLELA* contains 17 vignettes illustrating episodes from Acts. These four monuments, though chronologically diverse, reveal consistencies in the selection and interpretation of subject matter that occur also in byzantinizing cycles from Italy and indicate that a coherent Byz. tradition of Acts illustration did exist. It was extensive, settling on particular passages and illustrating them densely: *ASCENSION*, *PENTECOST*, activities of Peter, Paul, *PHILIP*, and Stephen. In contrast to the illustration of hagiographical cycles, Acts illustration was strictly canonical.

LIT. A.W. Carr, "Chicago 2400 and the Byzantine Acts Cycle," *BS/EB* 3.2 (1976) 1-29. L. Eleen, "Acts Illustration in Italy and Byzantium," *DOP* 31 (1977) 253-78. H. Kessler, "Paris. gr. 102: A Rare Illustrated Acts of the Apostles," *DOP* 27 (1973) 209-16. —J.I., A.K., A.W.C.

ACTS, DOCUMENTARY, documents of a formal nature, preserved in original or in copy, and varying according to their author and the nature and importance of the question they concern.

Physical Characteristics. Normally acts were written on *PAPYRUS*, *PARCHMENT*, or *PAPER* in black or brown ink; emperors (and later *despotai*) used purple ink for their signatures (and for some other words, esp. in *CHRYSOBULLS*); the *SEBASTOKRATORS* and *CAESARS* used blue ink, the *PROTOVESTIARIOS* green ink. Purple parchment, use of gold or silver ink, and documents with miniatures (12th, 14th C.) or with decorated initials (12th C.) are rare. The script varies. In the 10th-12th C. a notarial script is typical of official chanceries. Normally acts were written in Greek; the language varies from moderately educated (chanceries) to popular (some private deeds). Letters of foreign relations were written in other languages (above all in Latin) or were accompanied by translations (few mentions of cryptographic or coded letters survive). The contents of the document were guaranteed by the author's autograph signature at the bottom, or by his *protaxis*, i.e., writing his name at the top of the document; if the author was illiterate, *protaxis* and subscription could be replaced by a *signon*, i.e., an autograph cross in the quarters of which the notary wrote the author's name and titles. Some public documents and most private ones bear also the signatures (autograph, if possible) of witnesses and, if one took part, of the *tabellion* or *taboullarios* (see *NOTARY*) who signed as a privileged witness. In some cases, the transaction was further confirmed by the signature of a bishop or an official, obviously with the hope that thus the document would receive public *fides*. The authenticity of the document was also guaranteed by a *SEAL*, hanging from a string of variable value and color at the bottom of an open document or securing a folded one: the seals were made of gold (only the emperor), of silver (rare; some *despotai*), lead and wax (general use, including emperors and *despotai*). Several annotations also survive; their interpretation is not always sure: recognition that the contents of

the act reflect what was intended to be said; registration; or MONOCONDYLES on the place where two different sheets were glued together. Major chanceries had secret signs guaranteeing the authenticity of their acts, such as having the final word (*kratos*) of the CHRYSOBULLS written at the beginning of a line; other secrets of the patriarchal chancery (place of seal, way of folding, etc.) are described in the EKTESIS NEA.

Composition. Most acts contain some (if not all) of the following parts. At the very beginning (protocol) and at the very end (eschatocol) of the document are formulas and pieces of information identifying author, addressee, and date. At the beginning is an *invocatio*, usually to the Holy Trinity; the *intitulatio*, with the name and titles of the author (emperors, patriarchs, certain officials) or the *protaxis* or *signon* (in private deeds); eventually indication of the addressees (*inscriptio*). The date is part of the protocol in certain documents, such as excerpts from decisions of the synod, some acts of public officials (until the 11th C.), as well as some private deeds of the late Roman period and, in southern Italy, of the 10th–14th C. Justinian I required a ready-made protocol with the date on which it was drafted. The eschatocol contains the date on which the document was written (*egraphe*) or issued (*datum*, Gr. *apelythe*) and the subscription(s). The date is expressed according to one of several CHRONOLOGIES: by consular years (until the 8th C.), regnal years (introduced in 537 and still used in the 11th C. in Italy), *anno mundi* (year of the creation), and INDICTIO. The body of the act is composed of the PROOIMION (*arenga*), a rhetorical introduction with philosophical and/or political considerations; the exposition of the affair (*narratio*); the decision or arrangement or order (*dispositio*); eventual spiritual or temporal sanctions for recalcitrants; and special clauses.

Probatory Value. The value of an act as evidence was limited, since its authenticity and validity could be contested at any time. An act of a state authority (*instrumentum publicum*) could be contested by the state itself (e.g., the privileges granted by an authentic imperial chrysobull would not be recognized by the authorities unless the chrysobull had been registered in time at the appropriate government services). An individual, however, could contest only its formal authenticity and bore the onus of proof. In the absence of notarial RECORDS (minutes) with probatory value,

the diplomatic authenticity as well as the contents of private deeds could be contested in court. In such cases proof had to be brought in order to support them: testimony of the parties themselves, witnesses (including, first of all, the *taboularios* who drafted the deeds), judicial oaths, and graphological examination of the signatures (for the deceased).

Types of Acts. All chanceries and public or ecclesiastical authorities issued simple letters (*grammata pittakia*; see PITTAKIA), which, when sealed, were called SIGILLIA. The imperial chancery also issued chrysobulls, EDICTS, NOVELS (*novellae*), *pragmaticae sanctiones*, *sacrae* (*sakrai*), PROTAGMATA, *prostaxeis*, HORISMOI, RESCRIPTA, *lyseis*, etc. *Horismoi* and *parakeleuseis* were also issued by *despotai* and other state or church dignitaries (caesars, patriarchs); *entalmata*, SEMEIOMATA, and HYPOMNEMATA were documents typical of the patriarchal chancery and of that of public servants, who also issued fiscal acts, such as *apographika grammata*, PRAKTIKA, *periorismoi*, *isokodika* (see KODIX), etc. All kinds of private documents survive: WILLS, deeds confirming SALES, exchanges, and DONATIONS as well as documents that offer guarantees, make special agreements, etc.

LIT. Dölger, *Schatz*. Dölger-Karayannopoulos, *Urkundenlehre* 23–56. Oikonomides, "Chancellerie" 174–89. Svoronos, "Actes des fonctionnaires" 423–27. Falkenhausen-Amelotti, "Notariato & documento" 40–62. A. Guillou et al., "Table ronde," in *PGEB* 532f. —N.O.

ADAM AND EVE, the original ancestors of humankind, occupied an important place in Byz. theological doctrine. Adam (Ἀδάμ), whose name was interpreted as "man" or "earth," was created perfect, but committed grave sin (ORIGINAL SIN) by his own free will; his sin was considered more serious than that of Eve (Εὔα). Adam's sin led to the loss of grace and to death, but Christ came to redeem his fall. Thus Christ was proclaimed a Second Adam, and Adam the prefiguration (*typos*) of Christ—either through similarity (created without human father) or in contrast (obedience versus disobedience, damnation versus salvation). Exegetes ascribed double prefigurative significance to Eve: as the *typos* of the church, since she was created from Adam's rib and the church emerged from the open wound of Christ on the Cross, and as an antithesis to the VIRGIN MARY.

Representation in Art. Adam and Eve are depicted already at the Christian building at DURA EUROPOS and play a significant role in art of the pre-Justinianic period, culminating in extensive cycles in the illustrated Cotton and Vienna GENESIS MSS. Later they continue to occur in cycles which presumably reflect early models, such as the illustrated OCTATEUCHS, the nave mosaics of the Cappella Palatina at Palermo and the cathedral at Monreale, and the narthex mosaics at S. Marco in Venice. Brief cycles, closely related iconographically, also appear on ivory CASKETS (Goldschmidt-Weitzmann, *Elfenbeinskulpt.* I, e.g., nos. 67–69, 84), where their function is unclear. From the 9th C., the ANASTASIS provided an important new context for Adam and Eve with the youthful Adam of Genesis now a white-bearded patriarch; from the 12th C. the idealized features of Eve become lined and wrinkled.

LIT. A. Kartsonis, *Anastasis: The Making of an Image* (Princeton 1986). K. Wessel, *RBK* 1:40–54. S.E. Robinson, *The Testament of Adam: An Examination of the Syriac and Greek Traditions* (Chico, Calif., 1982). H. Maguire, "Adam and the Animals: Allegory and Literal Sense in Early Christian Art," *DOP* 41 (1987) 363–73. —A.K., J.H.L.

ADDAI, DOCTRINE OF. See DOCTRINE OF ADDAI.

ADDRESS, FORMS OF, various modes of exclamation, appeal, harangue, and greeting, preserved primarily in letters (both papyri and collections) as well as in documents and speeches; on rare occasions narrative texts preserve traces of formulas of oral address while recreating dialogues. Zilliaceus (*infra*) suggests that in the 4th–6th C. a radical change of the form of addressing people took place, because of the bureaucratization of society, on the one hand, and its christianization, on the other. "Classicizing" authors, such as Libanios and Julian, retain the traditional literary forms of address: *agathe*, *anthrope*, *kale*, etc. In the papyri of the 5th–6th C., however, ancient forms of address practically disappear, being replaced by pious epithets (*theotimetos*, *theophylaktos*) or complicated adjectives with prefixes *pan-* and *hyper-*. The usage of the *pluralis reverentiae* ("plural of reverence"), unknown in the Christian milieu before the 4th C., was established thereafter, and from the 5th C. onward it became the rule in addressing the emperor. Some ancient epithets

(*philos*, *philtatos*, etc.) continued to be used throughout the Byz. period, while at the same time formulaic addresses were established: the emperor was "your majesty" (*basileia sou*), the bishop, "the most holy lord" (*hagiotate despota*). Terms of family relationship, father, brother, nephew, were also common, strictly distinguishing the type of connection between the correspondents. Platonizing forms of address (ὦ λῶστέ) continue in works of high style until the end of the empire.

LIT. H. Zilliaceus, "Anredeformen," *RAC*, Supp.-Lieferung 4 (1986) 481–97. —A.K.

ADELPHATON (ἀδελφᾶτον), a "fellowship" in a monastery, which provided the holder (*adelphatarios*) with a living allowance (*siteresio*) for life. An *adelphaton* was normally granted in return for a gift of immovables or money (100 nomismata was the going rate in the 14th C.—N. Oikonomides in *Dionys.* 59) and guaranteed in a contract between the monastery and the beneficiary. *Adelphata* might also, however, be in the gift of the monastery's patron, as with the *adelphaton* at the MANGANA, which Manuel I gave to Manganeios PRODRAMOS. There were two categories of *adelphatarioi*: *esomonitai*, who joined the monastic community in some capacity, and *exomonitai*, who continued to live outside it. The institution is first attested in the 11th C. It always aroused some disapproval because it was seen to involve and encourage SIMONY and lack of commitment to the monastic life; hence periodic attempts to restrict it to *esomonitai*, to keep it nonhereditary, and even, in some monastic *typika*, to prohibit it altogether (e.g., *Typikon* of Charsianeites, *EEBS* 45 [1981–82] 491f, 497, 510).

LIT. E. Herman, "Die Regelung der Armut in den byzantinischen Klöstern," *OrChrP* 7 (1941) 444–49. M. Živojinović, "Adelfati u Vizantiji i srednjovekovnoj Srbiji," *ZRV* 11 (1968) 241–70. I. Konidaris, *Nomike theorese ton monasteriakon typikon* (Athens 1984) 223–30. A.-M.M. Talbot, "Old Age in Byzantium," *BZ* 77 (1984) 276f. —P.M.

ADELPHOPOIIA (ἀδελφοποιία), the adoption of a brother or sister. Like ADOPTION and baptismal sponsorship (see GODPARENTS), with which it is always mentioned in treatises on prohibited degrees of marriage, *adelphopoia* was considered a SPIRITUAL RELATIONSHIP between two people, cre-

ated by the prayers of a ritual (Goar, *Euchologion* 706–08). Unlike these other spiritual relationships, however, *adelphopoiia* was not recognized by civil or canon law and was therefore inconsequential with regard to rights of inheritance and MARRIAGE IMPEDIMENTS (Demetrios CHOMATENOS, ed. Pitra, cols. 31–32, 725–26; John PEDIASIMOS, ed. A. Schminck, *FM* 1 [1976] 156.375–81). A statement in the *Peira* (49.11), however, indicates that *adelphopoiia* could be acknowledged as creating a marriage impediment between the two people who had contracted the tie. Repeated prohibitions against *adelphopoiia*, including those in monastic ΤΥΠΙΚΑ, show that the practice was widespread. *Adelphopoiia* was contracted by members of the ecclesiastical hierarchy (e.g., the patriarch Thomas I of Constantinople [607–10] and Theodore of Sykeon: *Life of Theodore of Sykeon*, ed. Festugière, 106.1–6). It could confirm a friendship, as in the case of Romanos IV Diogenes and Nikephoros Bryennios (An.Komn. 2:196.10–16) and carried with it an obligation of mutual help and support (e.g., DANELIS's son John and Basil I: *TheophCont* 228.6–7).

LIT. G. Michailides-Nouaros, "Peri tes adelphopoiias en te archaia Helladi kai en to Byzantio," *Tomos Konstantinou Harmenopoulou* (Thessalonike 1952) 284–90. Patlagean, *Structure*, pt.XII (1978), 625–36. —R.J.M.

ADLOCUTIO (lit. "address"), public address of the emperor to his soldiers or the civilian populace, usually at the conclusion of a campaign. Two depictions of *adlocutio* survive from the period of the TETRARCHY. On the ARCH OF GALERIUS in Thessalonike the emperor stands frontally on a platform in the center of the composition and addresses his army, represented by cavalry and footsoldiers assembled on both sides of him. On a relief on the ARCH OF CONSTANTINE in Rome the emperor proclaims to the Roman citizens the new era to follow his victory over Maxentius (312). He stands on the Rostra in the Forum Romanum and is flanked by senators on either side. In both reliefs the viewer, because of the symmetry of the composition and the frontality of the emperor, becomes the direct recipient of the imperial message. These are the latest extant examples in monumental art; the last-known numismatic representation of *adlocutio* is on a silver medallion of Constantine I dated to 315. Thereafter the subject

disappears from the repertoire of Late Antique art.

LIT. R. Brilliant, *Gesture and Rank in Roman Art* (New Haven 1963) 165–73. H.P. L'Orange, A. von Gerkan, *Der spätantike Bildschmuck des Konstantinsbogens* (Berlin 1939) 80–89. H.P. Laubscher, *Der Reliefschmuck des Galeriusbogens in Thessaloniki* (Berlin 1975) 47f, 99f, 127–30. —I.K.

ADMIRAL. See AMERALIOS.

ADMONITION (παραινεσις, νουθεσία, νουθέτησις), a genre of didactic literature. To designate its products, Gregory of Nazianzos and John Chrysostom used the term *parainetikos* (other church fathers considered parts of the Bible "paraenetic"), while KEKAUMENOS used the title *logos nouthetikos* for a section of his work, going back to Xenophon and to the theoretician of rhetoric, Demetrios (both 4th C. B.C.). Byz. "paraenetic" speech differed from late Roman deliberative oratory (Kennedy, *Rhetoric* 19–23) in that it was ethically rather than politically oriented and was presented in written form. The BASILIKOS LOGOS, a kind of *enkomiastion*, in fact contained substantial elements of admonition. So did the MIRRORS OF PRINCES, as indicated by the title *kephalaia parainetika* of the *Mirror* attributed to Emp. Basil I. In the 11th and 12th C. admonitions were produced addressing various sectors of society (e.g., the so-called *Strategikon* by Kekaumenos, SPANEAS): biblical and ancient precepts were mixed with contemporary anecdotes, and the language was plain and even close to the VERNACULAR. The paraenetic genre flourished in the monastic milieu from the 4th C. onward and usually affected the standard language: CHAPTERS (*kephalaia*) of sentences (GNOMAI) inculcated rules of ascetic conduct, SERMONS had a didactic purpose, and HAGIOGRAPHY also aimed at ethical indoctrination.

LIT. I. Rosenthal-Kamarinea, "Die byzantinische Mahnrede im 12. Jahrhundert," *FoliaN* 4 (1982) 182–89. —A.K., I.Š.

ADNOUMIASTES (ἀδνουμιαστής), always used with the epithet *megas*, described by a 14th-C. ceremonial book (pseudo-Kod. 250.13–20) as a subaltern of the MEGAS DOMESTIKOS; his function was to issue horses and weapons to soldiers. In documents from 1290 onward the *megas adnoumi-*

astes appears as an administrator of land donations. There could be at least two *adnoumiastai* at one time, as shown in a synodal decision (of 1337/8?) involving two *megaloi adnoumiastai*, Alexios Hyaleas and George Kokalas. The last known *megas adnoumiastes* is not George Katzaras in 1351 (*Docheiar.*, no.27.1–2), as stated by Guiland, but John Marachas in 1402 (*PLP*, no.16829).

LIT. Guiland, *Institutions* 1:594–96. Raybaud, *Gouvernement* 240. Maksimović, *Administration* 191f. —A.K.

ADNOUMION (ἀδνούμιον, from Lat. *ad nomen*), an annual census and mobilization to enumerate and inspect soldiers of the provincial armies (*themata*). The Life of St. PHILARETOS THE MERCIFUL, referring to a campaign against the Arabs in the later 8th C., describes an *adnoumion* at which soldiers were expected to present themselves with their horse and weapons (ed. M.-H. Fourmy, M. Leroy, *Byzantion* 9 [1934] 125.34–127.26). The 10th-C. DE RE MILITARI (ed. Dennis, *Military Treatises* 320.3–322.41) recommends general *adnoumia* before and after campaigns to maintain accurate records of available manpower and equipment. The muster-lists recording these totals were kept at the bureau of the LOGOTHETES TOU STRATIOTIKOU. The *megas adnoumiastes*, marshaller, was in the 14th C. responsible for horses and equipment; he assisted the *megas domestikos* during the display of troops (pseudo-Kod. 250.13–20); the sign of his office was a silver staff with a dove on its haft.

LIT. Ahrweiler, *Structures*, pt.VIII (1960), 8f. —E.M.

ADOMNAN or Adamnan of Hy, Irish churchman and writer; abbot on the island of Iona, the Inner Hebrides (from 679); born ca.624, died 23 Sept. 704. His works, in Latin, include a treatise *On the Holy Places* (*De locis sanctis*), written before 686 or 688. It relies chiefly on eyewitness testimony dictated by Arculf, bishop of an unidentified see in Gaul, whose ship was blown off course and landed on Britain's west coast. Arculf visited the Holy Land in or before 683 or 684, traveled to Alexandria and from there, via Crete, to Constantinople, where he stayed for some eight months. He then sailed to Rome, probably via Sicily (whence his information on travel conditions, e.g., 211.8–10, 221.20–21, 222.8–10). Book 1, on the churches

(Arculf sketched plans preserved in later MSS) and relics (E. Nestle, *BZ* 4 [1895] 338–42) of Jerusalem and its environs, is based almost exclusively on Arculf's nine-month stay there, while book 2's description of other sites depends more on written sources: e.g., the bustling shipping at Alexandria (223.55–60) is borrowed from "Hegesippus." Book 3 relates information Arculf collected in Constantinople on the city's legendary foundation (227.2–36), on Iconoclastic incidents involving an icon of St. George and its cult among the army at Diospolis, and on an icon of the Virgin (229.1–231.58, 233.1–31). It also describes Arculf's impression of Hagia Sophia (J. Strzygowski, *BZ* 10 [1901] 704f) and the ceremony of the veneration of the relic of the cross by the emperor and his court (228.21–38).

ED. L. Bieler, *Itineraria et alia geographica* [= CChr, ser. lat. 175] (Turnhout 1965) 175–234. Wilkinson, *Pilgrims* 93–116, 192–97.

LIT. F. Brunhölzl, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*, vol. 1 (Munich 1975) 173–78. —M.McC.

ADOPTIANISM, Christologies that depict Christ as a man whom God assumes or adopts as his Son, either at his baptism or resurrection. The adoption may be likened to the Servant of God in Deutero-Isaiah, or to the bestowal of the spirit on the Old Testament prophets. Or, it may conform to certain Hellenistic concepts (e.g., apotheosis) often associated with docetic or Gnostic views (see GNOSTICISM). All of these forms share a strictly monotheistic conception of God, and for that reason they have been viewed in connection with MONARCHIANISM. Adoptianism, in contrast to MODALISM, retains the transcendence of God the Father while the Son is solely a reality within history, and the Spirit, in the history of salvation, is the unique gift of God, but not God himself.

To the extent that the Christology of the ANTIOCHENE SCHOOL emphasized the full reality of Jesus' humanity, it could easily tend toward Adoptianism, as confirmed in Paul of Samosata (condemned in 268: H. de Riedmatten, *Les actes du procès de Paul de Samosate* [Fribourg 1952]). Later Antiochenes (Diodoros of Tarsos, Theodore of Mopsuestia, Nestorios), however, established their notions on the basis of the consubstantiality (see HOMOUSIOS) of the Father and the Son/Logos. Nevertheless, in their Christology they preferred

the image of "indwelling" (*enoikesis*), which lends itself to an Adoptianist interpretation.

LIT. G. Bardy, *Paul de Samosate*² (Louvain 1929). A. Grillmeier, *Christ in Christian Tradition, From the Apostolic Age to Chalcedon (451)*² (Atlanta 1975). —K.-H.U.

ADOPTION (*νιοθεσία*). In Byz. legal practice adoption did not establish PATRIA POTESTAS; the adopted child/adult could inherit from an adoptive parent only if the latter died intestate (*Epanagoge aucta* 15.9) or expressly designated the adopted child as heir (Sathas, *MB* 6:628–31). Leo VI extended the right to adopt to eunuchs and unmarried women (novs. 26, 27) and stipulated that an ecclesiastical blessing, not any civil procedure, was to be the essential constitutive act of adoption (nov.24; Balsamon in commentary on canon 53 of Trullo—Rhalles-Potles, *Syntagma* 2:429–31). Adoption thus became a SPIRITUAL RELATIONSHIP "above those of the flesh," like baptismal sponsorship (see GODPARENT) with which it shared a common terminology and similar MARRIAGE IMPEDIMENTS. From notarial contract formulas and case histories it emerges that children were given up for adoption by widows/widowers who could not afford to raise their offspring, while children were adopted by childless couples in order to obtain descendants and heirs. Michael PSELLOS's adoption of a daughter is the best documented case (A. Leroy-Molinghen, *Byzantion* 39 [1969] 284–317). Couples with children of their own might also adopt (D. Simon, S. Troianos, *FM* 2 [1977] 276–83; G. Ferrari, *Bollettino dell'Istituto storico italiano* 33 [1913] 65, 81f). A series of (proposed) adoptions by childless imperial couples in the 11th C. indicates a desire to provide an heir to the throne (Zoe's adoption of MICHAEL [V] KALAPHATES, nephew of her husband Michael IV), but also an attempt to forestall coups by their prospective adopted sons (Michael VI's adoption of Isaac Komnenos; Nikephoros Botaneiates' adoption of Nikephoros Bryennios).

In painting, the legitimization of paternity was expressed by the act of holding an adopted child upon the "father's" knees. Probably derived from images of Abraham and Lazarus, as in the PARIS GREGORY (Omont, *Miniatures*, pl.XXXIV), by the 11th C. this pose was used for the "Ancient of Days" (see CHRIST) and, from the 12th C., in images of the TRINITY. A political extension of

the motif occurs in the Madrid MS of John SKYLITZES (Papadopoulos, *infra*, figs. 1, 2) where both foreign princes adopted by the emperor and Byz. adopted by foreign rulers are shown on the knees of their "parents."

LIT. A.P. Christophilopoulos, *Scheseis goneon kai teknon kata to Byzantinon dikaion* (Athens 1946) 75–84. S.A. Papadopoulos, "Essai d'interprétation du thème iconographique de la paternité dans l'art byzantin," *CahArch* 18 (1968) 121–136. —R.J.M., A.C.

ADOPTIVE BROTHERS. See ADELPHOPHIA.

ADORATION OF THE MAGI. According to Matthew 2:1–12, the Magi (*Máγoi*) led by a star arrived at Jerusalem in search of the child who was born to become the Messiah or the king of the Jews; they were directed to Bethlehem, found Mary and Jesus, paid homage to him, and gave him three gifts: gold, frankincense, and myrrh. Matthew says only that they came from the Orient; some church fathers (e.g., Epiphanius) considered them as coming from Arabia, others (Diodoros of Tarsos, Cyril of Alexandria) from Persia, and others (e.g., the 5th-C. theologian Theodotos of Ankyra—PG 77:1364C) from Chaldaea. The number of the Magi was usually stated as three (primarily on the basis of the number of gifts), but the Syrian and Armenian tradition counts a dozen Magi. Later exegetes invented various names for the Magi; thus the 12th-C. writer Zacharias of Chrysopolis (Besançon in France) writes that their Greek names were Apellius, Amerus, and Damascus, meaning faithful, humble, and merciful, respectively (PL 186:83D).

Identified as kings already in the 3rd C., the Magi were interpreted as symbols of the conversion of the Gentiles, and so figured prominently in Early Christian art. As in Matthew, they were at first depicted as approaching the enthroned Virgin and Child, independent of the scene of the NATIVITY. Frequent pairings of the Adoration and Nativity on sarcophagus lids, ivories, and ampullae proclaim their common theme (the theophany of the Incarnation), not their narrative unity. The Adoration appears independently of the Nativity still in certain 11th–12th-C. monuments (churches in GÖREME; DAPHNI) and, more frequently, in Palaiologan imagery influenced by the AKATHISTOS HYMN. Usually, however, post-

Iconoclastic art integrates the Adoration and even the journey and departure of the Magi with the Nativity, because the Magi were commemorated on Christmas. Their original Persian costume is later assimilated to that of Old Testament priests; they mount horses, acquire names (Melchior, Balthasar, Kaspar) representing three races descending from Noah, and are extensively depicted in the FRIEZE GOSPELS. A homily by JOHN OF EUBOEA in Jerusalem, Gr. Patr. Taphou 14 (11th C.) and Athos, Esphig. 14 (12th C.) (*Treasures II* figs. 342–392), is illustrated with 17 images of the Magi, many of them otherwise unparalleled.

LIT. Millet, *Recherches* 136–51. G. Vezin, *L'Adoration et le cycle des Mages dans l'art chrétien primitif* (Paris 1950). H. Lesêtre, *Dict Bibl* 4.1:543–52. —A.W.C., A.K.

ADRAMYTTION. See ATRAMYTTION.

ADRIANOPLE (*Ἀδριανούπολις*, also Orestias, mod. Edirne), city in Thrace on the middle HE-BROS River (navigable from Adrianople to the sea) and on the major military road Belgrade-Sofia-Constantinople. It was an important stronghold protecting Constantinople from invasions from the north, but is rarely mentioned as an administrative center: the 10th-C. *Taktikon of Escorial* lists the *doux* of Adrianople immediately after that of Thessalonike; in the 1040s the *magistros* Constantine Arianites held that position (Skyl. 458.48–49). As a bishopric Adrianople is known from the end of the 4th C., but its place in the ecclesiastical hierarchy declined from 27th in the 7th C. to 40th in the 10th C., despite its growing number of suffragans—from 5 to 11 (Laurent, *Corpus* 5.1:544). A center of the Macedonian nobility, esp. in the 11th and 12th C., Adrianople produced at least three usurpers: Leo TORNİKIOS, Nikephoros BRYENNİOS, and Alexios BRANAS; on the other hand, Macedonian troops supported Constantinople against eastern generals during the revolts of Nikephoros Phokas and Isaac Komnenos. In the 14th C. the *demos* of Adrianople became active, and in 1341 its revolt preceded the outbreak of the ZEALOTS in Thessalonike.

Located at the intersection of important strategic routes, Adrianople was often the center of military activity: on 3 July 324 Constantine I defeated Licinius near Adrianople, on 9 August 378 Valens was routed here by the Goths (see ADRI-

ANOPLE, BATTLE OF), in 586 the Avars besieged Adrianople in vain. In the 9th–10th C. Adrianople was a strong point in wars against the Bulgarians: Emp. Nikephoros I reportedly appointed an Arab experienced in "mechanics" to help defend the city, but to no avail (Theoph. 498.7–11); both Krum and Symeon managed to seize Adrianople temporarily. In the 11th C. resistance to the Pechenegs was based at Adrianople. Frederick I Barbarossa occupied the city and in 1190 signed there a treaty with Constantinople. Kalojan defeated Baldwin I of Constantinople at Adrianople on 14 Apr. 1205. In the 13th C. the city changed hands several times, being captured by the armies of Nicaea, Epiros, and Bulgaria. John III Vatatzes established Nicaean rule over Adrianople in 1242–46. In 1307 the Catalan Grand Company besieged it. Turkish *begs* seized it probably ca.1369, but the Ottoman sultan Murad I did not enter Adrianople before the winter of 1376–77 (I. Steinherr-Beldiceanu, *TM* 1 [1965] 439–61). It served as the Ottoman capital until their capture of Constantinople in 1453.

Hagia Sophia, an important domed quatrefoil church of the 5th–6th C., with ambulatories and galleries, was photographed in the 19th C., but no longer exists (N. Mavrodinov, 6 *CEB*, vol. 2 [Paris 1951] 286–90).

LIT. P. Axiotes, *He Adrianoupolis apo ton archaiotaton chronon mechri tou 1922* (Thessalonike 1922). Asdracha, *Rhodopes* 137–48. E.A. Zachariadou, "The Conquest of Adrianople by the Turks," *StVen* 12 (1970) 211–17. *Kleinchroniken* 2:297–99. —T.E.G., N.P.S.

ADRIANOPLE, BATTLE OF, the scene of a major defeat of the Roman army by the GOTHs on 9 Aug. 378. In 376 the Goths, under pressure from the HUNS, crossed the Danube, probably in the area of DOROSTOLON, and were allowed to settle as FOEDERATI on Roman territory. Harsh treatment by Roman officials led the Goths to rebel, and some common people from Adrianople joined them. In 377 Valens left Antioch for Constantinople and sought assistance from Gratian, the emperor in the West. Valens led his troops to Adrianople, while Gratian's army was marching from Gallia to Sirmium. Relying on false reconnaissance information that the Gothic force was only 10,000 strong, Valens decided to launch an attack before the arrival of the Western army. Fritigern, the Gothic commander, sent envoys

proposing an eternal peace treaty, but his overtures were rejected. The Roman cavalry, which at first attacked successfully, was soon exhausted, and the counterattack of Ostrogothic and Alan mounted warriors destroyed the Roman infantry. Valens stood firm for a while, with his select infantry, but then had to retreat.

The defeat was overwhelming; probably only a third of the Roman army was able to escape, and Valens was killed. According to one version, he was killed by an arrow, his body was stripped on the spot and later could not be recognized; another version relates that he was wounded, brought to a hut, and burned with the hut by his pursuers. Even though Fritigern was unable to take Adrianople, the Goths rampaged all over Thrace and reached the walls of Constantinople; only lavish gifts diverted them from the siege of the city. At news of the defeat, Gratian recalled his troops to the upper Rhine. Orthodox tradition connects Valens' defeat with his Arian persuasion.

LIT. W. Ensslin, *RE* 2.R. 7 (1948) 2118–26. J. Irmscher, H. Paratore, M. Rambaudo, *De pugna apud Hadrianopolim quibusque de causis Romani imperii opes laborare coeperint* (Rome 1979). —A.K.

ADRIATIC SEA (Ἀδριατικὸν πέλαγος), the narrow waterway extending north of the IONIAN SEA from the Straits of Otranto; it lies between Italy on the west and Dalmatia on the east. Along the Italian coast there are few harbors between BARI and RAVENNA, and steep mountains rise along the eastern shore, but there are many islands and harbors on this side, with major entrepôts at ZARA, DUBROVNIK, and DYRRACHION. At the northern end of the Adriatic Sea are AQUILEIA and VENICE. Byz. maintained control of most of the cities along the east coast until the late 11th C., despite Slavic settlement and Arab raids as far north as Dubrovnik. The developing maritime power of Venice, from the 11th C. onward, made the Adriatic Sea a virtual Venetian lake.

LIT. A. Ducellier, *La façade maritime de l'Albanie au moyen âge* (Thessalonike 1981). A. Carile, "La presenza bizantina nell'Alto Adriatico fra VII e IX secolo," in *Studi Jesolani* (Udine 1985) 107–29. A. Guillou, "La presenza bizantina nell'arco Adriatico," in *Aquileia nella "Venetia et Histria"* (Udine 1986) 407–21. —T.E.G.

ADSCRIPTICII (ἐναπόγραφοι, "registered"), landless cultivators recorded in census registers

under the name of the owner on whose estate they lived and who was responsible for their tax liabilities; the term first appears in 451 (ACO, tom.II, vol. 1, pt.2:353.9). Tenant *adscripticii* formed one type of COLONI, but adscript status also encompassed some agricultural slaves and day laborers. Children of *adscripticii* normally inherited this status, while free proprietors could become *adscripticii* by alienating all their land or possibly through PATROCINIUM VICORUM. According to 5th- and 6th-C. legal texts, the condition of *adscripticii* approximated that of SLAVERY (Cod.Just. XI 48.21): they could not possess personal property nor in most cases sue their masters (Cod.Just. XI 48.19; XI 50.1–2), they could not leave the land nor could an estate be sold without the *adscripticii* attached to it, and they could marry or receive ordination only with their master's consent (Cod.Just. I 3.36). In reality, their condition might differ substantially from such legal prescriptions; some 6th-C. Egyptian *adscripticii* not only owned personal property, but even entered into contractual agreements with their landlord (P.Oxy. 1896). The *adscripticii* disappeared during the 7th C., although the term occurs anachronistically in later law codes (e.g., *Ecloga ad Procheiron mutata* 10.15).

LIT. Lemerle, *Agr. Hist.* 19–24. A. Segré, "The Byzantine Colonate," *Traditio* 5 (1947) 103–33. W. Schmitz, "Appendix I der Justinianischen Novellen—eine Wende der Politik Justinians gegenüber Adscripticii und Coloni?" *Historia* 35 (1986) 381–86. I.F. Fichman, "Byli li objazany barščinoj egipetskie kolony-adscripticii?" *Klio* 63 (1981) 605–08. —A.J.C.

ADULIS (Ἀδουλῖς), an Axumite trading city and episcopal see, located at the foot of the bay south-east of Massawa on the Red Sea coast of Abyssinia. It was visited by KOSMAS INDIKOPLEUSTES, who transmits (2:49–50, 54–65) the Greek text of a victory inscription of Ptolemy III Euergetes from a monument there, a copy of which was requested by ELESBOAM from the ruler of Adulis. The bishop of Adulis attended the Council of Chalcedon. Archaeological excavation has unearthed Axumite coins and the remains of a church with a semicircular apse. The city appears to have been destroyed by the Arab navy in the early 8th C.

LIT. R. Paribeni, *Ricerche nel luogo dell'antica Adulis* (Rome 1908). F. Anfray, "Deux villes axoumites: Adoulis et Matara," in *IV Congresso Internazionale di Studi Etiopici*, vol. 1 (Rome 1974) 745–72. —L.S.B.MacC.

ADULTERY (μοιχεία), or marital infidelity, was contrasted with fornication or illicit sexual intercourse; Gregory of Nyssa (PG 45:228C) defined *porneia* as the satisfaction of desire without offending another person, whereas *moicheia* is "a plot (*epiboule*) and injury (*adikia*)." On the ladder of sins described in the vita of BASIL THE YOUNGER, the toll houses for *moicheia* and *porneia* were positioned separately (ed. Veselovskij 1:31.28, 33.16). Some authors, however, equated fornication and adultery, since the only permissible union was in marriage. Canon law condemned adultery; both *porneia* and *moicheia* were considered as grounds for DIVORCE, whereafter REMARRIAGE of the aggrieved partner was permissible.

Late Roman civil law introduced severe measures against adultery. In his law of 326 Constantine I (Cod.Just. IX 9.29.4) established the death penalty for adultery for both the guilty parties. Justinian I (nov.134.10) retained the principle of Constantine's legislation but emphasized the possibility of reconciliation of the married couple: within a two-year period the marriage could be restored, but if the husband died before the end of this period, the adulterous wife was to be confined in a monastery for life. The *Ecloga* (17.27) introduced MUTILATION (cutting-off of noses) as the punishment for both men and women who committed adultery, and the *Procheiron*—in overt contradiction of Christian morality—allowed the husband to murder his wife's lover if they were caught in *flagrante delicto* (Hunger, *Grundlagenforschung*, pt.XI [1967], 311). It is difficult to judge to what extent these strict laws were applied in practice: many conflicts of this kind were probably resolved within the family, as described in the vita of MARY THE YOUNGER, who was beaten by her husband on suspicion of infidelity. Cuckolds were mocked and deer antlers used as a symbol of their disgrace (Nik.Chon. 322.55–59). Adultery by men seems to have been rarely punished in actuality.

Adultery could lead to property problems. According to novel 32 of Leo VI the husband of an adulterous wife was to receive her DOWRY as a "consolation" for his dishonor; her remaining property was to be divided between her children and the convent to which she retired.

The history of imperial adultery suggests certain changes in Byz. attitudes toward marital infidelity: Constantine VI's open adultery provoked the MOECHIAN CONTROVERSY, and Leo VI's infidelity with Zoe, daughter of Stylianos Zaoutzes, initially had to be concealed; in the 11th C., however, Constantine IX overtly kept his mistress SKLERAINA in the palace. In the 12th C. Manuel I and Andronikos I officially promoted their ILLEGITIMATE CHILDREN.

LIT. Zhishman, *Eherecht* 578–600. Kazhdan-Constable, *Byzantium* 71–75. J. Beaucamp, "La situation juridique de la femme à Byzance," *CahCM* 20 (1977) 156–58. —J.H., A.K.

ADVENTUS (ἀπάντησις), ceremonial arrival rooted in ancient society and religion. Although Byz. *adventus* ceremonies were held to greet bishops, officials, and saints' relics, the most spectacular *adventus* welcomed the emperor into a city. The two main ritual elements of *adventus* were the *occursus* (*synantesis*, *hypanthesis*, etc.) of a delegation out of a city to welcome the arriving party and its escort (*propompe*) into the city. The point of encounter was carefully defined (e.g., *De cer.* 495.1–13), since distance from the city and the delegation's composition symbolized the participants' relationship. ACCLAMATIONS or *eisiterioi* poems (e.g., on AGNES OF FRANCE), panegyrics, incense, lights, and crown offerings were traditional components of Byz. imperial *adventus* ceremonies. The route of the PROCESSION was decorated, included a visit to a shrine, and might have concluded with a banquet. Because the *adventus* expressed the bonds between the welcoming community and arriving emperor, it took on a deeper meaning as a demonstration of loyalty and consensus, particularly at an emperor's first entry, for example, Nikephoros II Phokas (*De cer.* 437.20–440.11). This made *adventus* important in imperial propaganda and explains its role in art and on coins. The *adventus* of an imperial fiancée lent unusual prominence to aristocratic women, for example, Irene, the bride of Leo IV (Theoph. 444.15–19; cf. pseudo-Kod. 286f). The ceremony was also adapted to other circumstances such as triumphs or conditional surrenders. —M.McC.

Representation in Art. Depictions of the *adventus* ceremonies in Byz. art are very few. The monumental ARCH OF GALERIUS in Thessalonike and the ARCH OF CONSTANTINE in Rome show the standard Roman iconography: the emperor arriving in a chariot accompanied by cavalry and foot soldiers. On the silver LARGITIO DISH of Constantius II and on several commemorative medallions,

one as late as Justinian I, the scene is abbreviated, showing the emperor on horseback, led by a NIKE figure and followed by a soldier. A fresco in the Church of St. DEMETRIOS in Thessalonike, probably depicting the *adventus* of Emp. Justinian II into that city, is the last surviving representation commemorating a contemporary event. The two examples from the 11th C. usually interpreted as depictions of *adventus* deviate from the earlier examples. On a silk wall hanging in Bamberg a mounted emperor is flanked by two TYCHE figures who present him with a crown and a helmet. More problematical is a scene on the ivory casket in Troyes, since the two emperors shown may be riding away in opposite directions from a fortified city placed in the center; it may depict a departure ceremony (PROFECTIO). Of a different nature are the miniatures of triumphal entries in the Madrid MS of John SKYLITZES, since they illustrate a historical narrative and thus are not commemorative. Usually these show the emperors mounted and accompanied by horsemen approaching a city. The miniature depicting the triumphal arrival of John I Tzimiskes in Constantinople (Grabar-Manoussacas, *Skylitzès*, no.443) shows an icon of the Virgin and Child on a wagon leading the procession.

LIT. E.H. Kantorowicz, "The 'King's Advent' and the Enigmatic Panels in the Doors of Santa Sabina," *ArtB* 26 (1944) 207-31. S.G. MacCormack, *Art and Ceremony in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley 1981) 17-89, pls. 9-11, 13, 16, 22-23. Grabar, *L'empereur* 48, 50-54, pls. VI, X. -I.K.

AEDICULA (Lat., lit. "small building"), the architectural frame of an opening (door, window, or niche), consisting of two columns or pilasters supporting a pediment; more specifically a shrine framed by two or four columns supporting an entablature, a pediment, an arch, or a roof. The motif, commonly used in Roman architecture and popular in 5th- and 6th-C. Syria (e.g., the "Praetorium" at PHAINA) and Egypt (e.g., the White Monastery, or Deir-el-Abiad at SOHAG), was modified in Byz. From the 10th C. onward, the aedicle played a major role in the articulation of the TEMPLON screen, where it was often used for framing icons of Christ, the Virgin, and saints. These usually appeared in pairs, referred to as PROSKYNETARIA, that flanked the main section of the templon, as in the Theotokos Church at HOSIOS LOUKAS, at NEREZI, and at the CHORA. The aedi-

cula continued to be used in a more general decorative role, albeit less frequently, during the last centuries of Byz. architecture, for example, in the squinches under the main dome of the Paregoretissa at ARTA.

LIT. N. Okunev, "Altarnaja pregrada XII veka v Nereze," *SemKond* 3 (1929) 5-23. A.K. Orlandos, *He Paregoretissa tes Artes* (Athens 1963), figs. 64, 76. L. Bouras, *Ho glyptos diakosmos tou naou tes Panagias sto monasteri tou Hosiou Louka* (Athens 1980) 105-09. Ø. Hjort, "The Sculpture of Kariye Camii," *DOP* 33 (1979) 224-37. -S.C.

AEGEAN SEA (Αἰγαῖον πέλαγος), the Byz. *mare internum* between Asia Minor, Greece, and Crete, characterized by a rugged coastline and many islands that differ widely in size, physical condition, and economy. The larger islands seem to have been more densely populated than the smaller ones, at least in the later period (J. Koder, *ByzF* 5 [1977] 232f). Some islands (Crete, Lesbos, Lemnos) were rich in agricultural products, and in the later period the northern islands supplied Mt. Athos with grain; at the beginning of the 12th C. the pilgrim DANIIL IGUMEN from Rus' was surprised by the amount of livestock on the Aegean islands.

The natural protection of the islands made them into places of refuge during the Slavo-Avar invasion (S. Hood, *BSA* 65 [1970] 37-45), even though some Slav boats penetrated to individual islands. The Arab onslaught changed the situation, esp. when in the 820s they seized Crete—some islands (like Paros) were deserted and only occasional hermits inhabited them. From the 10th C. onward the Byz. constructed numerous fortresses to guard the islands: they were built on high rocks protected by nature and fortified with massive walls (H. Eberhard, *JÖB* 36 [1986] 188). Malamut (*infra*) suggested that in the 11th-12th C. the islands prospered economically, whereas Wirth (*infra*) noted that from the late 11th C. onward they were virtually dependent on Venice.

In late antiquity the islands were divided between the provinces of Achaia and Insulae (Islands); by the late 7th C. some were put under the command of the *strategos* of the KARABISIANOI and later included in the theme of the KIBYRRHAIOTAI. The 9th-C. TAKTIKON of Uspenskij (53.18-19) mentions the *droungarioi* of the Aegean Sea and of the Kolpos; according to Ahrweiler (*Mer* 77-81), the territory was divided into

two administrative units—the Aegean Sea in the north, and Kolpos, centered around Samos and including most of the Cyclades. The vita of DAVID, SYMEON, AND GEORGE OF MYTILENE mentions the *strategos* of the island [of Lesbos], but the extent of his power is unknown. In the late 11th C. the theme of Kyklades was administered by a *krites*; it included Chios, Kos, Karpathos, and Ikaria. In the 12th C. Rhodes, Chios, and Kos were separated from the theme, and each governed by a *doux*. In 1198 a province called "Dodecanese" is known, with its center probably in Naxos.

After 1204 most of the southern Aegean Sea fell under Venetian control, while the islands along the coast of Asia Minor were retained by the Latin Empire. The campaign of LICARIO against Euboea in 1275-76 restored much of the Aegean to Byz. control, although the duchy of Naxos maintained Latin power on that island and Andros. By the end of the 13th C., however, the Byz. navy had collapsed and the islands were lost to the Venetians, Genoese, the Hospitallers, and Turkish pirates.

LIT. E. Malamut, *Les îles de l'Empire byzantin: VIIIe-XIIe siècles*, 2 vols. (Paris 1988). P. Wirth, "Die mittelalterliche griechische Inselwelt im Lichte der byzantinischen Kaiserdiplome," *ByzF* 5 (1977) 415-31. -T.E.G.

AELIA CAPITOLINA. See JERUSALEM.

AELIANUS, CLAUDIUS, Roman rhetorician who wrote in Greek; born Praeneste ca. 170, died ca. 235. His *On the Characteristics of Animals*, an unsystematic collection of largely paradoxical animal stories, was a major source of Byz. zoological lore used by writers in many genres and esp. by TIMOTHEOS OF GAZA (the 12th-C. paraphrase of whose work contains 32 parallels), Theophylaktos SIMOKATTES, John TZETZES, Michael GLYKAS, Manuel PHILES (J.F. Kindstrand, *StItalFCl* 4 [1986] 119-39), and various anonymous zoological excerptors. A new Byz. edition, represented by the 15th-C. MS Florence, Laur. 86.8, rearranged the stories thematically. The surviving MSS of Aelianus's *Miscellaneous Stories* (*Varia Historia*), a similar collection of mainly human anecdotes, transmit a Byz. epitome of a fuller text that was known to STOBAIOS, the SOUDA, PSELLOS, and EUSTATHIOS OF THESSALONIKE. Aelianus's 20 surviving *Letters* of imaginary peasants were uninfluen-

tial but are contained in two independent MSS of the 10th and 15th C. *On Providence* and *On Divine Truths*, attributed to Aelianus by the *Souda*, are probably alternative titles of a single stoicizing treatise now lost. Aelianus is almost certainly to be distinguished from the author of the *Tactics*, a work seldom used in Byz. scholarship.

LIT. E.L. De Stefani, "Gli excerpta della 'Historia animalium' di Eliano," *StItalFCl* 12 (1904) 145-80. M.R. Dils, "The Testimonia of Aelian's *Varia historia*," *Manuscripta* 15 (1971) 3-12. -A.R.L.

AELIUS ARISTIDES. See ARISTEIDES, AILIOS.

AER (ἀήρ). The largest of three liturgical veils, the *aer* was carried in the GREAT ENTRANCE procession and placed over the eucharistic elements after their deposition on the altar. Liturgical commentaries interpret the *aer* as the shroud of Christ as well as the stone that sealed the Holy Sepulchre; later commentaries even refer to *aeres* as EPITAPHIOI (Symeon of Thessalonike, PG 155:288A). Initially, *aeres* were made of plain linen or silk (e.g., a white *aer* in *De cer.* 15.20; a silk *aer* in the Patmos INVENTORY [ed. Astruc 21.32-33]), but in the late 12th C. they began to be embroidered with images, esp. the AMNOS (H. Belting, *DOP* 34-35 [1980-81] 12-15).

All surviving *aeres* date from the late Byz. period. They are made of silk, gold-embroidered with images of the Dead Christ, angels, symbols of the evangelists and, by the end of the 14th C., the Lamentation (*threnos*), as well as with liturgical and dedicatory texts. The eucharistic phrases together with the specific designation of the cloths as *aeres* in the dedicatory inscriptions help to differentiate the *aeres* from *epitaphioi*, which are often similar in appearance. Important examples include the (lost) *aer* of Andronikos II Palaiologos, and that of Stefan Uroš II Milutin (Belgrade, Museum for Ecclesiastical Art), both from the early 14th C. The fine mid-14th-C. Thessalonike *aer* (Athens, Byz. Museum) is embroidered with a three-part composition: a central AMNOS panel flanked by two smaller side panels showing the Communion of the Apostles (see LORD'S SUPPER).

LIT. Soteriou, "Leitourgika amphia" 607-10. Millet, *Broderies* 86-109, pls. 176-216. Johnstone, *Church Embroidery* 25f, pls. 93-96. Taft, *Great Entrance* 216-19. -A.G.

AERIKON (ἀερικόν, also *aer*), a supplementary fiscal levy first mentioned by Prokopios (*SH* 21.1–2) as imposed by the praetorian prefect of Constantinople during Justinian I's reign. F. Dölger (*BZ* 30 [1929–30] 450–57) hypothesizes that the name originated from a fine for violating laws mandating sufficient distance (*aer*, "air") between buildings in cities (e.g., *Cod.Theod.* IV 24, *Cod.Just.* VIII 10, 12.5c). The **TAKTIKA** OF LEO VI (ch.20.71) indicates that the *stratiotai* were obliged to pay state taxes (*phoroi*) and *aerikon*. In the 11th C., *aerikon* appears either as a fine for felony (*ptaisma*) (novel of 1086—Zepos, *Jus* 1:312.15–24) collected by a bishop and/or a *praktor* or as a supplementary tax imposed on a village in the amount of 4–20 nomismata (*Skyl.* 404.56–58).

In 13th- and 14th-C. documents, the *aer* (*aerikon* in Trebizond) is frequently encountered as a supplementary charge alongside the **ENNOMION** of bees (*Docheiar.*, no.53.23), **ANGAREIAI**, and **MITATON** (*Koutloun.*, no.10.61–62), etc. The *aer* appears as a fixed sum, and the fine for murder and **PARTHENOPHTHORIA** as well as the tax for the **TREASURE TROVE** were considered its parts (e.g., *Chil.*, no.92.146–48). This suggests that for Byz. the distinction between "fine" and "tax" was far from absolute. *Aer* could be granted by the emperor to privileged monasteries. Ostrogorsky (*Féodalité* 362–64) hypothesizes, although without any source evidence, that the state grant of a monetized *aerikon* (*aer*) to a landowner also implied the transfer of the rights of [low] justice over the *paroikoi* held by the recipient.

LIT. B. Pančenko, "O Tajnoj istorii Prokopija," *VizVrem* 3 (1896) 507–11. Solovjev-Mošin, *Grčke povelje* 383–85. I. Tornarites, "To ainigma tou byzantinou aerikou," in *Archion Byzantinou Dikaion*, vol. 1 (1930) 3–212; vol. 2 (1931) 307–66 and *Pararrema*, no.1 (1933) 140–58. M.A. Tourtoglou, *To phonikon kai he apozeiosis tou pathontos* (Athens 1960). —M.B.

AESCHYLUS (Αἰσχύλος), Greek tragic poet; born Eleusis 525/24 B.C., died Sicily 456. The Attic tragedian least known in the Byz. period, Aeschylus was listed as an Athenian king in the chronicle of Malalas (*Malal.* 72.9) and was even ignored by the learned compiler of the *Souda*. The earliest MS of Aeschylus's seven extant plays dates from the 10th or early 11th C. Subsequent evidence of revived interest in Aeschylus is found in **PSellos**—who commends Aeschylus for his profun-

dity and gravity but finds him generally hard to understand (cf. A.R. Dyck, *The Essays on Euripides and George of Pisidia* [Vienna 1986] 44.58–64)—and in two dramatic works, **CHRISTOS PASCHON**, which contains some 20 quotations from Aeschylus, and the *Katomyomachia* of Theodore **PRODROMOS**, which shows some verbal borrowings. Annotated editions of Aeschylus's most widely studied plays, the triad of *The Persians*, *Prometheus*, and *Seven against Thebes*, were produced in the 14th C. by **THOMAS MAGISTROS** and **Demetrios TRIKLINIOS**. The latter also edited the *Eumenides* and *Agamemnon*. Triklinios's autograph MS (Naples, Bibl. Naz. 2 F 31) is the primary authority for most of the *Agamemnon*. The number of surviving MSS and of quotations in Byz. authors indicates that Aeschylus stood third in popularity after **EURIPIDES** and **SOPHOCLES**.

ED. *Demetrii Triclinii in Aeschyli Persas scholia*², ed. L. Massa Positano (Naples 1963). *Scholia graeca in Aeschylum quae extant omnia*, ed. O.L. Smith, 2 vols. (Leipzig 1976–82).

LIT. R.D. Dawe, *The Collation and Investigation of Manuscripts of Aeschylus* (Cambridge 1964). O.L. Smith, *Studies in the Scholia on Aeschylus I: The Recensions of Demetrius Triclinius* (Leiden 1975). K. Treu, "Zur Papyrusüberlieferung des Aischylos," in *Aischylos und Pindar: Werk und Nachwirkung*, ed. E.G. Schmidt (Berlin 1981) 166–69. —A.C.H.

AESOP (Αἰσωπος), a Phrygian slave who lived in Samos in the 6th C. B.C. and was renowned as the author of metaphorical animal **FABLES**, in prose, with a moral point. Originally traditional tales, but then a recognized literary device that was classed as a **PROGYMNASMA**, all such fables came to be attributed to Aesop, the fables of **APHTHONIOS** being an exception. The first collection, now lost but possibly known to **ARETHAS OF CAESAREA**, was made in the 4th C. B.C. Aesop's fables are known in three major revisions: (1) the Augustana, probably first compiled in the 2nd or 3rd C.; (2) the Vindobonensis, of uncertain date; and (3) the Accursiana, in which **Maximos PLANOUDES** had a hand. The fables of **SYNTIPAS** are Greek versions of a Syriac translation of Aesop. Similar moralizing anecdotes with animal characters exist in the **PHYSIOLOGOS** and the **ANIMAL EPICS**, while a scattering of late Byz. non-Aesopic fables attest to the enduring attraction of the genre. Also attributed to Aesop are a collection of **PROVERBS** and **GNOMAI**. The *Life of Aesop*, written originally in Egypt in the 2nd C., turns the legendary information on

Aesop's career into a diverting narrative, whose popularity continued into late Byz. and beyond; linguistically it provides useful evidence for the development of spoken Greek.

A MS in New York (Morgan Lib. 397), a significant witness for the text of the Aesopic corpus, includes an important series of miniatures (M. Avery, *ArtB* 23 [1941] 103–16). Accompanied by brief texts, incidents from at least three of Aesop's fables are depicted in a rock-cut chamber above the narthex at **ESKİ GÜMÜŞ** (M. Gough, *AnatSt* 15 [1965] 162–64).

ED. *Corpus fabularum Aesopiarum*, ed. A. Hausrath, H. Hunger, 2 vols. (Leipzig 1959–70). B.E. Perry, *Aesopica*, vol. 1 (Urbana, Ill., 1952).

LIT. B.E. Perry, *Babrius and Phaedrus* (Cambridge, Mass.—London 1965) xi–xlvi. Beck, *Volksliteratur* 28–31. —E.M.J., A.C.

AESTHETICS. The aesthetic principles of the Byz. were revealed both in works of literature (esp. **EKPHRASIS**, **EPIGRAM**, and literary portrait) and objects of visual art. The *ekphraseis* retained the ancient principle that an art object was to imitate nature, and even hagiography stressed the resemblance of the icon to the original (the stereotype of recognition of a saint by means of an icon). However, the concept of corporeal **BEAUTY** as a reflection of absolute (divine) beauty contradicted this naturalistic approach. The main goal of art was to represent the eternal, not the ephemeral; therefore, it focused on humans (placed in a conventional **LANDSCAPE**), on the spiritual elements of the human body (the face, esp. the eyes), on stability (movement and disorderly gestures were signs of barbaric character), on **FRONTALITY** (a rear or profile view was reserved for the devil or the enemy). In his ceremonial pose man was an "imitation of a statue," rather than the statue being a copy of a live human being. In literary portraits the person described was usually perceived not as an entity, but as a construction, consisting of certain parts (forehead, eyes, nose, etc., down to the soles of the feet), each element being characterized separately.

The idea of uniqueness was alien; even the drama of Christ's crucifixion and resurrection was miraculously repeated in liturgy and church decoration. Each event belonged not only to its historical place and time, but simultaneously to the ever-repeating cycle of the divine plan, and the

transfer from concrete historicity to eternal mystery was performed by symbolic interpretation, direct references to the Bible or classical texts, stylistic parallels, and use of stereotyped imagery and vocabulary. Since all events were symbolically or metaphorically interconnected, the world was an enormous enigma or **RIDDLE**, and both the author and the reader could reach a solution only through a thicket of obscurity. Because art was a demonstration of the divine plan, each phenomenon registered had its profound meaning, and each personage had his place on the moral scale. Art was didactic and interpretive, and seemingly distant events and images (including those of pagan gods) explained the fundamentals of contemporary politics and ideology.

Despite this black-and-white didactic approach, the Byz. recognized the artistic pleasure that could be conveyed by rhetorical skill, richness of vocabulary, nuanced imagery, descriptions of curiosities and miracles, conflict of opposites, and unexpected turns of the plot. General aesthetic principles underwent alterations due to historical changes in taste, individual **STYLE**, or particularities of genres.

LIT. P.A. Michelis, *An Aesthetic Approach to Byzantine Art* (London 1955). G. Mathew, *Byzantine Aesthetics* (London 1963). H. Maguire, *Art and Eloquence in Byzantium* (Princeton 1981). S. Averincev, *Poetika rannevizantijskoj literatury* (Moscow 1977). V. Byčkov, *Vizantijskaja estetika: teoretičeskie problemy* (Moscow 1977). A.F. Losev, *Istorija antičnoj estetiki: Poslednie veka*, 2 vols. (Moscow 1988). —A.K.

AETHERIA. See **EGERIA**.

AETHICUS ISTER, conventional name for the author of a Latin cosmography allegedly translated from Greek by the priest Hieronymus, sometimes identified with **JEROME**. The book was known by the 9th C., but neither the date of compilation nor the identity of the author and translator can be established. References to Constantinople and Augustine (as well as to some other 4th-C. theologians) suggest a *terminus post quem* of 400. It is plausible that the author originated from the area of the lower Danube (he calls himself "Scythian by nation") and emigrated to the West. The book describes the cosmos (including paradise, the Devil, and angels) and pays special attention to peoples not mentioned in Scripture and to marvelous countries and islands

at the edge of the earth; Alexander the Great's expedition is related in detail. Greece, Macedonia, Cyprus, and other islands of the "Great Sea" are presented in much greater depth than other regions of the Mediterranean, Asia Minor being only briefly described and Italy hardly mentioned. The author is interested in seafaring and characterizes various types of ships. His sobriquet "philosophus" has no relation to philosophy, but is reminiscent of the "wise philosophers" who serve as informants in the COSMOGRAPHER OF RAVENNA and in the PARASTASEIS SYNTOMOI CHRONIKAI.

ED. A. D'Avezac-Macaya, *Éthicus et les ouvrages cosmographiques intitulés de ce nom* (Paris 1852). For other ed. see *Tusculum-Lexikon* 14f.

LIT. N. Vornicescu, *Aethicus Histricus. Un filosof străromân de la Histria Dobrogeană* (Craiova 1986). —A.K.

AETIOS (Ἀέτιος), "Neo-Arian" (Anomoian) theologian; born Antioch? ca.300 or ca.313 (Kopeck, *infra*), died Chalcedon 366/7. Born to the family of a low official, he embarked on a career as a goldsmith or physician. He then became interested in "logical studies" (as Philostorgios puts it) and traveled throughout Cilicia (Anazarbos, Tarsos), making contacts with the Arian clergy and participating in theological discussions. In the 330s and 340s he taught in Antioch and Alexandria, inciting the enmity of the leaders of the Nicene party, esp. BASIL OF ANKYRA. As a friend of the caesar GALLUS he came under the suspicion of Constantius II and was exiled in 360; Julian, however, recalled Aetios from exile, appointed him bishop, and granted him an estate on Lesbos. He probably supported the rebellion of PROKOPIOS and was consequently forbidden to enter Constantinople in 366.

Aetios was reputed to be a talented debater with a gift for sarcasm; he held a radical position condemning any attempt to seek reconciliation with the Orthodox. He supported the doctrine of *anomoion* (unlikeness) in opposition to the theory of the HOMOOUSION: the Ingenerate God (the Father) had no common essence with the created deity of the Logos. Aetios further asserted that the Son had one nature, will, and energy, being different from the Father (V. Grumel, *EO* 28 [1929] 159–66). Little survives from Aetios's literary works: his manifesto of 359 or 360 (the

Syntagmaton) is preserved (in a revised form?) in EPIPHANIOS of Salamis (*Panarion*, bk. 76, ch.11); in addition a letter to a certain "Mazon tribunus" is known as are several fragments cited by later theologians.

ED. and LIT. L.R. Wickham, "The *Syntagmaton* of Aetius the Anomoean," *JThSt* n.s. 19 (1968) 532–69, with Eng. tr. Idem, "Aetius and the Doctrine of Divine Ingeneracy," *StP* 11.2 (1972) 259–63. G. Bardy, "L'héritage littéraire d'Aétius," *RHE* 24 (1928) 809–27. T.A. Kopeck, *A History of Neo-Arianism* (Philadelphia 1979) 1:61–297; 2:413–29.

—T.E.G., A.K.

AETIOS, eunuch and *patrikios*; died 26 July 811 (?). Aetios was *protospatharios* and trusted adviser of Empress Irene in 790, when Constantine VI exiled him. He regained influence after Irene's return in 792 and in 797 cleverly obtained the surrender of Caesar NIKEPHOROS and his brothers. After Irene deposed Constantine in 797 Aetios vied with STAUAKIOS to place relatives in power. In May 799 Aetios allied with Niketas, the *domestikos ton scholon*, against Staurakios; he became Irene's chief adviser, and, after the death of Staurakios in 800, probably *logothetes tou dromou* (D. Miller, *Byzantion* 36 [1966] 469). In 801 Aetios took command of the Opsikion and Anatolikon armies and appointed his brother Leo as *monstrategos* of the Macedonian and Thracian themes in hopes of making him emperor. Aetios is credited (Theoph. 475.30–32) with blocking the proposed marriage between Irene and CHARLEMAGNE. He likely lost power after Nikephoros I deposed Irene, but may have been the *patrikios* Aetios who perished with Nikephoros in battle against KRUM.

LIT. Guiland, *Titres*, pt. IX (1970), 326. —P.A.H.

AETIOS OF AMIDA, physician; born Amida, fl. ca.530–60 in Alexandria and Constantinople. Aetios compiled a 16-book encyclopedia of medicine, traditionally called the *Tetrabiblon* from its division into four sections. His encyclopedia is rich in quotations from many authors of Greek and Roman antiquity; it begins with a summary of pharmaceutical theory, simplifying the often obscure thinking of GALEN and ORIBASIOS on the topic (J. Scarborough, *DOP* 38 [1984] 224–26), followed by compactions of pharmacy, dietetics, general

therapeutics, hygiene, bloodletting, cathartic drugs, prognostics, general pathology, fever and urine lore, diseases of the head, ophthalmology, and cosmetics and dental matters (bks. 1–8). The account of ophthalmology is the finest before the European Enlightenment (cf. E. Savage-Smith, *DOP* 38 [1984] 178–80). The remaining books of the *Tetrabiblon*—which await modern editors—contain significant summaries of toxicology and poisonous creatures (bk.13) and gynecology and obstetrics (bk.16). Compared with ALEXANDER OF TRALLES, PAUL OF AEGINA, and Oribasios, Aetios is arid in style and more interested in medical theory than in practice, but his *Tetrabiblon* is fundamentally important in its careful selections of ancient authorities and in its shrewd amalgamations of traditional and contemporary medical theory.

ED. *Libri medicinales*, ed. A. Oliveri, 2 vols. (Leipzig 1935; Berlin 1950). J.V. Ricci, tr., *Aetios of Amida: The Gynaecology and Obstetrics of the VIth Century, A.D.* (Philadelphia-Toronto 1950).

LIT. I. Bloch, *HGM* 1:529–35. Hunger, *Lit.* 2:294–96. R. Romano, "Per l'edizione dei libri medicinali di Aezio Amideni, III," *Koinomia* 8 (1984) 93–100. —J.S.

AETIUS (Ἀέτιος), *magister militum*; born Durostorum (Dorostolon) ca.390, died Rome 21/2 Sept. 454. The son of an important military officer from Lower Moesia and an Italian noblewoman, Aetius in his youth was hostage to the Visigoths and Huns. After service under the usurper Ioannes he secured a military post from Valentinian III (ca.425) and was responsible for the defense of Gaul. In 432 he retired in temporary disgrace, but in 433 became *magister militum* of the West, a post he held continuously until his death. For years he was the most powerful figure in the Western provinces, dealing successfully with Visigoths, Burgundians, Alans, Franks, and others while supporting the throne of Valentinian III. His policy was to use various barbarian peoples (esp. Huns) against his enemies, both domestic and foreign. Aetius may have persuaded Valentinian not to give his sister Honoria in marriage to Attila. The Byz. sources allege that Attila's purpose in attacking the West was to remove Aetius. In 451 Aetius allied with Theodoric the Visigoth and defeated Attila at the battle of the CATALAUNIAN FIELDS, but he could not keep the

Huns out of Italy. With the death of Attila, however, Aetius's fortunes collapsed. In 454 he was assassinated by order of Valentinian, the emperor he had served so faithfully. Aetius made a great impression on contemporaries and was remembered by Prokopios (*Wars* 3.3.15) as one of the last of the Romans.

LIT. Bury, *LRE* 1:241–44, 249–53, 292–99. O'Flynn, *Generalissimos* 74–87. J.R. Moss, "The Effects of the Policies of Aetius on the History of Western Europe," *Historia* 22 (1973) 711–31. S.I. Oost, "Aëtius and Majorian," *ClPhil* 59 (1964) 23–29. —T.E.G.

AFRICA, CONTINENT OF. Byz. knowledge of the configuration of Africa (Ἀφρική) did not go beyond that of PROLEMY. The northern coast was thought to be straight. The west coast was known as far as Cape Bojador, the east coast as far as Zanzibar. The interior, except for EGYPT, NUBIA, and AXUM, was inaccessible or unexplored. The general name for the continent west of Egypt was Libya, although OLYMPIODOROS OF THEBES (ed. Blockley, fr.40) calls it Africa while Sozomenos (Sozom. *HE* 9.8.3) uses both terms interchangeably. EUNAPIOS OF SARDIS (ed. Wright 440) says that "Africa" is the Latin equivalent of "Libya." Byz. geographical descriptions are limited to east Africa. Prokopios of Caesarea and Kosmas Indikopleustes describe the Red Sea coast as far as Axum. PRISKOS of Panion (fr.21) traveled to the Egyptian-Nubian frontier; Olympiodoros (fr.35) penetrated five days' journey into Nubia and visited the El Kharga (or Dakhla) Oasis (fr.32). Lives of saints, histories, and nonliterary documents provide many details about Egypt. After the Muslim conquest, esp. under the Fātimids, Ayyūbids, and early Mamlūks (11th–13th C.), Byz. trade with Africa, focused at Alexandria, continued. IVORY was the most important trade commodity. Byz. itineraries written by EPIPHANIOS HAGIOPO-LITES and John ABRAMIOS included Alexandria, and those by Andrew LIBADENOS and AGATHANGELOS included the Thebaid (P. Schreiner, *XXII. Deutscher Orientalistentag* [= *ZDMG*, supp. 6] [1985] 141–49). (See also CORIPPUS.)

LIT. C. Diehl, *L'Afrique byzantine* (Paris 1896). P. Salama, "The Roman and Post-Roman Period in North Africa, Part II: From Rome to Islam," *UNESCO General History of Africa*, vol. 2 (Berkeley 1981) 459–510. P. Heine, "Transsaharahandelswege in antiker und frühislamischer Zeit," *Münstersche Beiträge zur antiken Handelsgeschichte* 2.1 (1983) 92–

98. W.H.C. Frend, "The Christian Period in Mediterranean Africa," in *CHAFr* 2:410-89.
-D.W.J.

AFRICA, PREFECTURE OF. The diocese of Africa was first raised to the level of a prefecture for a short period, between ca.332 and 337, perhaps in response to unrest sparked by the Donatist controversy. This action, attaching the prefecture to someone outside the imperial family, was unusual, for other prefectures were attached to the emperor Constantine I or his sons. A precedent was perhaps the earlier expedition (309) of Maxentius's praetorian prefect Caius Ceionius Rufus Volusianus to Africa to suppress Domitius Alexander. Apart from a brief revival in 412, the African prefecture was not again reconstituted as a separate entity until April 534, following the Byz. victory over the VANDALS and recovery of its territory. The revived prefecture included the provinces of AFRICA PROCONSULARIS, BYZACENA, TRIPOLITANIA, NUMIDIA, the two MAURITANIAS, and SARDINIA.

The primary function of the prefect of Africa was apparently to support the defense and ad-

ministration of the African provinces through revenues raised within the prefecture. This was not easily achieved in the early years after the reconquest, as the Vandals had destroyed Roman tax records. By 549, however, the revenues were evidently stable enough for SOLOMON, in his capacity as prefect, to undertake the construction of a number of fortifications. At the end of the 6th C. the prefecture of Africa was replaced by the EXARCHATE of Carthage. The exarch (first mentioned in a letter of Pope GREGORY I THE GREAT) was a military commander (probably replacing the *magister militum*) who was placed over the praetorian prefect and gradually assumed the latter's civil functions. By this time Tripolitania was transferred to the diocese of Egypt.

Archaeological evidence from Italy, Gaul, and Spain in the 6th and early 7th C. reveals continued imports of oil, wine, fish sauce, and pottery from Africa, suggesting that the prefecture was reasonably prosperous. From letters of Pope Gregory I the Great addressed to African prefects and the works of MAXIMUS THE CONFESSOR in the mid-7th C., one can deduce that prefects were

expected to maintain civil order, protect against corruption, and defend orthodoxy. The Arab invasions of the late 7th C. drained the exarchate financially, forcing Byz. abandonment of Africa by ca.687 except for Carthage (which fell to the Arabs in 698) and SEPTEM (which surrendered in 711).

LIT. Diehl, *L'Afrique* 97-107, 489-92. D. Pringle, *The Defence of Byzantine Africa* (Oxford 1981). J. Durliat, *Les dédicaces d'ouvrages de défense dans l'Afrique byzantine* (Rome-Paris 1981). T.D. Barnes, "Regional Prefectures," *Bonner Historia-Augusta Colloquium* (1985) 13-23.
-R.B.H.

AFRICANUS, SEXTUS JULIUS, Roman author; born Jerusalem ca.160, died ca.240. Circa 221 Africanus wrote his *Chronographies* in Greek, which is preserved now only in fragments; it was either a world history or tables of synchronies and genealogies designed to integrate the Old Testament with Greek and Oriental secular history. He espoused the belief that the world would last 6,000 years from the Creation; the birth of Christ was placed in 5500. Although rejecting its millenarianism, EUSEBIOS OF CAESAREA made much use of the work, both as model and source; an intermediary source may have been the similar *Chronika* of Hippolytus (ca.235), like Africanus an acquaintance of ORIGEN at Alexandria. Other late Roman and Byz. users and preservers of fragments include SOZOMENOS, the *CHRONICON PASCHALE*, and GEORGE THE SYNKELLOS. Fragmented also is Africanus's *Kestoi* (Amulets), an encyclopedia full of remarkable information. Byz. military writers used it for such things as cavalry techniques (F. Lammert, *BZ* 44 [1951] 362-69), while its sections on chemistry and explosives figured in the development of the so-called GREEK FIRE. Numerous extracts from its agricultural lore are preserved in the *GEOPONIKA*, while literary and magical items attracted the attention of PSELLOS.

ED. *Chronographies*—PG 10:63-94. *Les Cestes*, ed. J.-R. Vieillefond (Florence-Paris 1970), with Fr. tr. *Die Briefe*, ed. W. Reichardt (Leipzig 1909).

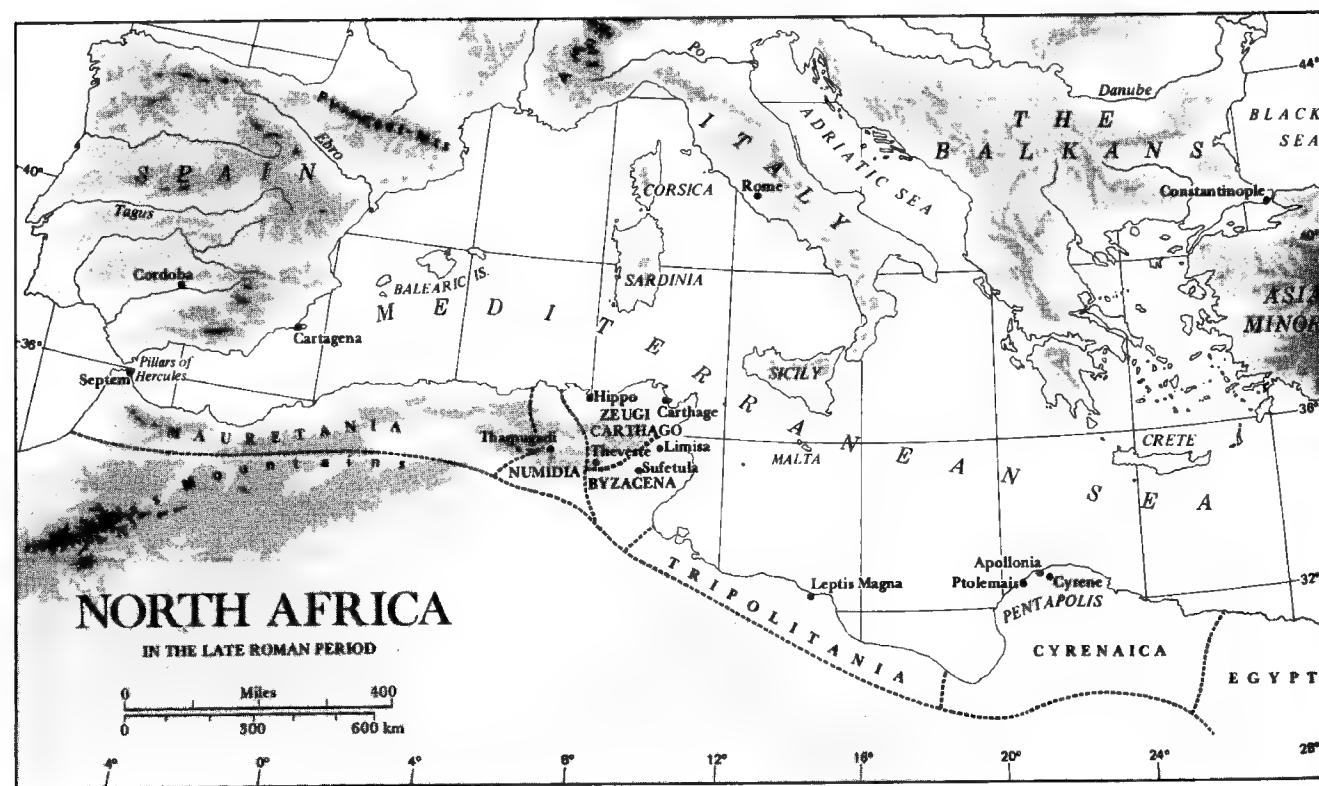
LIT. A.A. Mosshammer, *The Chronicle of Eusebius and Greek Chronographic Tradition* (Cranbury, N.J., 1979) 139-43, 146-57. B. Croke, "Origins of the Christian World Chronicle," in Croke-Emmett, *Historians* 116-31. H. Gelzer, *Sextus Julius Africanus und die byzantinische Chronographie* (Leipzig 1880-98). F.C.R. Thee, *Julius Africanus and the Early Christian View of Magic* (Tübingen 1984).
-B.B.

AFRICA PROCONSULARIS, PROVINCE OF. Under Diocletian the proconsular province of Africa was reduced in size; the boundary with Numidia was modified and the new provinces of BYZACENA and TRIPOLITANIA were formed out of the old proconsular province. The VERONA LIST makes reference to Zeugitana, the old name of the region around Carthage. This has generally been construed as an additional or alternative name for the proconsular province. The 4th C. saw an increase in urban building activity after a period of stagnation in the 3rd C. The ANNONA continued to provide the underpinning for trade in African exports, making the proconsular province among the richest in the empire. The arrival of the VANDALS in 439 terminated the strong social and economic links between the province and Rome, but increased trade with Gaul, Spain, and the East may have offset to some degree the loss of the *annona*. Vandal confiscations of the estates of African nobles may have undermined the prosperity of the province; the cities were clearly in decline during the 5th C.

The Byz. reconquest of the African provinces (533) led to the fortification of a number of towns in response to the razzias of the MAURI, which began under the Vandals. Although there is evidence of continued commercial activity between Constantinople, the East, and Africa in the 6th and 7th C. (largely in kind, it would seem), it is still to Gaul and Spain, and once again Italy, that the bulk of African goods seemed to be directed. The economy of the province appears, however, to have been in slow decline, if we are to believe some recent archaeological evidence that suggests a drop in rural settlement in the 6th C. Africa Proconsularis remained under Byz. control until Carthage was seized by the Arabs in 698.

LIT. Lepelley, *Cités* 1:29-46. C. Wickham, "Marx, Sherlock Holmes, and Late Roman Commerce," *JRS* 78 (1988) 183-93.
-R.B.H.

AGALLIANOS, THEODORE (also known as Theophanes of Medeia), patriarchal official and writer; born Constantinople ca.1400, died before Oct. 1474. A student of Mark EUGENIKOS, Agallianos (Ἀγαλλιανός) became a deacon in 1425 and was *hieromnemon* from 1437 to 1440 and again from 1443 to 1454. A staunch anti-Unionist, he



was temporarily suspended from office from 1440 to 1443. Taken captive by the Turks at the fall of Constantinople, he was released in 1454 and returned to the patriarchate. A friend of GENNADIOS II SCHOLARIOS, he was promoted to the office of *megas chartophylax* (1454) and in 1466 to *megas oikonomos*; twice, however, he was forced into retirement by a faction bitterly opposed to Gennadios's policy of *OIKONOMIA*. Circa 1468 he became bishop of Medeia and changed his name to Theophanes (Patrineles, *infra* 14–25).

The writings of Agallianos include treatises attacking Latins and Jews, a work titled *On Providence*, and 17 letters, four of which are addressed to George AMIROUTZES. Most significant are his two apologetic *Logoi* of 1463, which defend his policies at the patriarchate and provide important autobiographical data as well as information on the patriarchs in the turbulent decade following the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople. Agallianos was also a copyist of MSS who transcribed some of his own works and, for CYRIACUS OF ANCONA, the text of Strabo.

ED. Ch.G. Patrineles, ed., *Ho Theodoros Agallianos kai hoi anekdotoi logoi autou* (Athens 1966). For complete list of works, see Patrineles, 43–60.

LIT. C.J.G. Turner, "Notes on the Works of Theodore Agallianos Contained in the Codex Bodleianus Canonicus Graecus 49," *BZ* 61 (1968) 27–35. *PLP*, no.94. —A.M.T.

AGAPETOS (Ἀγαπητός), a 6th-C. deacon (probably of Hagia Sophia), and author of the *Ekthesis*, 72 chapters of advice to Justinian I on how to rule. The small work was written between 527 and 548, probably closer to the earlier date. The central message is that the emperor is God's representative on earth, unamenable to human pressure, but himself a mere man, who shapes his kingdom into an imitation of heaven by his own philosophy, purity, piety, and exercise of *PHILANTHROPY*. The *Ekthesis* combines classical notions of the philosopher king (culled, probably indirectly, from pseudo-Isocrates and Plato), and traditional methods of discreetly advising a ruler through panegyric and patristic tags and echoes of Eusebios's conceptions of kingship. The result is a very early example of the *MIRROR OF PRINCES*, a genre emulated at least a dozen times throughout the history of Byz. Agapetos influenced some Byz. *Mirrors of Princes*, particularly that by MANUEL

II, but his greatest impact was upon the political ideology of Orthodox Slavs, esp. Muscovy (I. Ševčenko, *Harvard Slavic Studies* 2 [1954] 141–79). He was the first secular author ever to be translated into a Slavic language (Bulgarian translation of ca.900). In western and eastern Europe, Agapetos was the most widely read and published Byz. author after the church fathers.

ED. PG 86.1:1163–85. Partial Eng. tr. E. Barker, *Social and Political Thought in Byzantium* (Oxford 1957) 54–63. Germ. tr. W. Blum, *Byzantinische Fürstenspiegel* (Stuttgart 1981) 59–80.

LIT. R. Frohne, *Agapetus Diaconus* (St. Gallen 1985). P. Henry, "A Mirror for Justinian: the *Ekthesis* of Agapetus Diaconus," *GRBS* 8 (1967) 281–308. Ševčenko, *Ideology*, pt.3 (1978), 3–44. D.G. Letsios, "E 'Ekthesis Kephalaion Parainetikon' tou diakonou Agapetou," *Dodone* 14 (1985) 175–210. —B.B., I.S.

AGAPETUS I, pope (from 8 or 13 May 535); died Constantinople 22 Apr. 536; Roman feastday formerly 20 Sept. (the day of his interment in Rome), now 22 Apr.; Byz. feastday 17 Apr. Born to an aristocratic Roman family, Agapetus belonged to the circle of CASSIODORUS and planned with the latter to found a Christian university in Rome. He worked to expand the authority of the Roman see; for example, he intervened in ecclesiastical controversies in Byz. Africa where, after Justinian I's reconquest, the situation of the Arian church (which had been supported by the Vandals) became threatened; Agapetus insisted on a hardline attitude toward former Arians converted to Orthodoxy (e.g., preventing them from holding clerical offices). He also took measures against the bishop of Larissa in Illyricum. His policy is reflected in a story told by John MOSCHOS and another author (probably GREGORY I THE GREAT) who resented the pope's intervention in the sphere of influence of an Italian bishop or abbot (A. de Vogüé, *AB* 100 [1982] 319–25). After the Byz. invasion of Ostrogothic Dalmatia and Sicily, the Ostrogothic king THEODAHAD sent Agapetus as his envoy to Justinian in an effort to end the war. In this the pope failed (if, indeed, he had ever tried to succeed), but he capitalized on the precarious situation to intervene in the disputes of the Byz. church. Using the canonical argument that the pro-Monophysite patriarch Anthimos had formerly been bishop of Trebizond, he forced his resignation and consecrated MENAS in his place.

The death of Agapetus and the Byz. reconquest of Italy checked the growth of the Roman see's influence over the church of Constantinople.

LIT. Caspar, *Papsttum* 2:199–228. W. Ensslin, "Papst Agapet I. und Kaiser Justinian I.," *HistJb* 77 (1958) 459–66. H.-I. Marrou, "Autour de la bibliothèque du pape Agapit," *MEFR* 48 (1931) 124–69. —A.K., M.McC.

AGAPIOS OF HIERAPOLIS, or Maḥbūb ibn Qusṭanṭīn, Melkite bishop of HIERAPOLIS in Osrhoene; died after 941. Agapios composed a universal history in Arabic, from Creation to his own time, entitled the *Book of the Title*. "It is," he explained, "the sort of book that is named 'Chronicle' in Greek." Although the work originally ended in 941, in its surviving form it extends only to 776. The history of Agapios preserves fragments of otherwise lost works, such as the Greek *Chronicle* of THEOPHILOS OF EDESSA (died 785). In turn, the work of Agapios was a source for the *Chronicle* of MICHAEL I THE SYRIAN.

ED. "Kitab al-'Unvan," ed. A. Vasiliev, *PO* 5 (1910) 557–692; 7 (1911) 457–591; 8 (1912) 397–550.

LIT. Graf, *Literatur* 2:39–41. Gero, *Leo III* 199–205. —S.H.G.

AGATHANGELOS, pseudonym for the author of the standard Armenian account of the life of St. GREGORY THE ILLUMINATOR and of the conversion of King TRDAT THE GREAT at the beginning of the 4th C. Although Agathangelos claims to have been an eyewitness, the work cannot have been composed before the 5th C.

The extant Armenian text is not the original. From an early, now lost, text Agathangelos was translated into Greek, Syriac, and Arabic. From a revised Armenian text—the standard "received" version—further Greek and Arabic translations were made. No other Armenian text ever circulated so widely outside Armenia.

The extant Armenian text covers the period from 224 to the death of St. Gregory after 325. It describes the early careers of Gregory and Trdat, the tortures and imprisonment of Gregory by the yet unconverted king, the martyrdom at VAZARŠAPAT of nuns (Hrip'simē and her companions) who had fled from DIOCLETIAN, the release of Gregory and ensuing conversion of Trdat and the court, and the destruction of pagan temples.

It also gives an account of Gregory's consecration in Cappadocian Caesarea, the founding of an organized Armenian church, the visit of Trdat and Gregory to Constantine I, and of the succession of Gregory's son to the patriarchate. The text in its present form includes a long theological document, the "Teaching of St. Gregory," which dates probably to the mid-6th C. (M. van Esbroeck, *AB* 102 [1984] 321–28).

Of particular interest are the information on pagan temple sites, the emphasis on the dependence of the early Armenian Church on Caesarea, and the identification of Vazaršapat with the main episcopal see. Syrian influence in early Christian Armenia is ignored, as is the fact that the original 4th-C. see was at Aštišat, west of Lake Van. Agathangelos thus represents a reworking of the Armenian ecclesiastical history to which pseudo-P'AWSTOS BUZAND bears earlier witness.

ED. *Agat'angelay Patmul' iwn Hayoc'*, ed. G. Ter-Mkrtyeanc', St. Kanayecanc' (Tbilisi 1909; rp. Erevan 1983); rp. with introd. R.W. Thomson (Delmar, N.Y., 1980). G. Lafontaine, *La version grecque ancienne du livre arménien d'Agathange* (Louvain 1973).

TR. R.W. Thomson, *Agathangelos: History of the Armenians* (Albany, N.Y., 1976). Idem, *The Teaching of St. Gregory: An Early Armenian Catechism* (Cambridge, Mass., 1970).

LIT. G. Garitte, *Documents pour l'étude du livre d'Agathange* (Vatican 1946). G. Winkler, "Our Present Knowledge of the History of Agat'angelos and its Oriental Versions," *REArm* n.s. 14 (1980) 125–41. —R.T.

AGATHIAS (Ἀγαθίας), writer; born Myrina, Asia Minor, ca.532, died ca.580. Early in his career Agathias was apparently *curator civitatis* (concerned with public buildings) at Smyrna. He later became a successful lawyer (*scholastikos*) at Constantinople. His early *Daphniaka*, short hexameter pieces on erotic and other themes, are lost; so are other unspecified prose and verse works. In the 560s Agathias collected contemporary epigrams (including 100 or so of his own) by various friends, often fellow lawyers, notably PAUL SILENTIARIOS, who may have been his father-in-law. This collection of hellenizing epigrams on classical and contemporary themes, called the *Cycle*, is incorporated in the GREEK ANTHOLOGY along with its preface addressed by Agathias to an emperor, either Justinian I or Justin II (Al. & Av. Cameron, *JHS* 86 [1966] 6–25).

Agathias's *History*, written in formal continuation of PROKOPIOS OF CAESAREA, stops after five books covering the years 552–59, apparently because he died. Eastern and western campaigns are described, with the general NARSES in Italy a major theme; Justinian gets a sensibly mixed press. Social and intellectual history also receives due attention, though church matters are played down or omitted. This, however, is stylistic affectation rather than paganism; despite some contrary opinions, Agathias was certainly a Christian.

ED. *Historiarum Libri Quinque*, ed. R. Keydell (Berlin 1967). Eng. tr. J.D. Frendo, *The Histories* (Berlin 1975). *Epigrammi*, ed. G. Viansino (Milan 1967), with It. tr.; Eng. tr. in Paton, *Greek Anth.*

LIT. A.M. Cameron, *Agathias* (Oxford 1970). R.C. McCail, "The Erotic and Ascetic Poetry of Agathias Scholasticus," *Byzantion* 41 (1971) 205–67. —B.B.

AGE (ἡλικία). The ancient Greeks and Romans often considered the life of man as consisting of seven periods that corresponded to the system of seven planets; MACROBIUS developed the idea of the hebdomadic (seven-year) rhythm in the life cycle, according to which 49 was the perfect age and 70 represented the complete life span. In contrast, AUGUSTINE rejected the mystical meaning of the hebdomadic rhythm and of the astral connections of the human ages and established the concept of six ages of man that correlated with the six ages of the world; Augustine's ages were infancy, childhood, adolescence, the periods of one's prime and of decline, and old age; senectitude, however, was to be followed by the new morning, the age of the future life that shall have no evening. The six-age theory was widely accepted in the West, by Isidore of Seville among others.

The Byz. knew the ancient seven-age theory but did not develop either it or Augustine's view. In their practical definitions the Byz. distinguished several ages of man: infancy, CHILDHOOD, puberty or marriageable age (marked by separation of the sexes), and old age. They did not precisely define the different stages, and the attitude toward them varied: the young Niketas Choniates, for instance, ridiculed old age, but later expressed indignation with impertinent and silly youth (A. Kazhdan, *Kniga i pisatel' v Vizantii* [Moscow 1973] 87f).

For the most part, society respected old age, partially because the average Byz. had a relatively

short LIFE EXPECTANCY. The elderly also commanded respect because they had accumulated wisdom and experience (*polypeira*) and understanding (*episteme*) that could be transmitted orally (*Sacra parallela*, PG 95:1305D–1308D). Village elders (*gerontes*, *protogeroi*) with a good recollection of local traditions often resolved disputes over boundaries and land ownership. Many elderly Byz. complained, however, of the infirmities of old age; NIKETAS MAGISTROS, for example, regretted the effects of age on his literary creativity (ep.22.2–4). The *Greek Anthology* (*AnthGr*, bk.5, no.76) includes an earlier poet Rufinus, who described the physical decline of the elderly—gray hair, wrinkles, colorless cheeks, and sagging breasts—as "a coffin-like galley about to sink," although Agathias noted cases where "time cannot subdue nature" (*AnthGr*, bk.5, no.282).

Elderly parents expected children to care for them; according to Neilos of Ankyra (PG 79:600C–601A), two children were sufficient for the needs of old age. Parents might disinherit children who failed to provide for them, as, for example, in the case of a spiritual son who had promised in writing to look after his aged mother (A. Guillou, *La Théotokos de Hagia-Agathe* [Vatican 1972] no.30.12–18). WIDOWS frequently lived with their children and might even act as heads of households. Some monasteries provided hospices for the elderly (GEROKOMEIA); as an alternative, many widows and widowers took monastic vows and received care in a monastery in exchange for a donation of cash or property (see ADELPHATON).

LIT. E. Sears, *The Ages of Man: Medieval Interpretations of the Life Cycle* (Princeton 1986) 39–69. A.-M. Talbot, "Old Age in Byzantium," *BZ* 77 (1984) 267–78. C. Gnllka, "Kalogeros: Die Idee 'guten Alters' bei den Christen," *JbAChr* 23 (1980) 5–21. R. Häusler, "Neues zum spätromischen Lebensaltervergleich," *Actes du VIIe Congrès de la Fédération internationale des associations d'études classiques*, vol. 2 (Budapest 1984) 183–91. E. Patlagean, "L'entrée dans l'âge adulte à Byzance aux XIIIe–XIVe siècles," in *Historicité de l'enfance et de la jeunesse* (1986) 263–70. —J.H., A.K.

AGENTES IN REBUS (ἀγγελιαφόροι, "messengers," or μαγιστριανοί, "magister's men"), a corps (*schola*) under the MAGISTER OFFICIORUM created, probably by Diocletian, to replace the former *frumentarii*. First mentioned in 319, their primary function was to carry imperial messages, which gave them the right to the *cursus publicus* (see DROMOS); they also had the duty to inspect this

service. Their broader responsibilities included supervision of the activity of any state functionary and reports to the emperor on subversion and administrative malpractice. Some *agentes in rebus*, called *curiosi*, were sent to the provinces as a kind of secret police. In addition to these functions, *agentes* acted as state prosecutors, inspectors of customs offices, state construction, and the billeting of soldiers; they also led diplomatic embassies. Their activity was closely interwoven with that of the *schola* of notaries (W. Sinnigen, *AJPh* 80 [1959] 238–54). The corps of *agentes* had a tendency to increase in size. While Julian tried to restrict their number, by Leo I's reign it had reached 1,248 (*Cod. Just.* XII 20.3). The enrollment of the relatives of *agentes* was welcomed, but Jews and Samaritans were expelled (Jones, *LRE* 2:948). *Agentes in rebus* were exempt from the jurisdiction of provincial governors and could be dismissed, originally, by the *magister officiorum*, but after 415 (in the East) only by the emperor. The *agentes in rebus* disappeared by the 7th C.

LIT. O. Seeck, *RE* 1 (1894) 776–79. Stein, *Op. minora* 71–115. G. Purpura, "I curiosi e la scuola agentium in rebus," *Annali del Seminario giuridico di Palermo* 34 (1973) 165–275. P.J. Sijpesteijn, "Another Curiosus," *ZPapEpig* 68 (1987) 149f. —A.K.

AGHT'AMAR. See AZT'AMAR.

AGNELLUS, also called Andreas; 9th-C. priest and abbot of S. Maria ad Blachernas and St. Bartholomew's in RAVENNA. He came from a leading family; his ancestor Ioannicius served in the central administration of JUSTINIAN II. Between 830/1 and the late 840s Agnellus composed the *Liber pontificalis ecclesiae Ravennatis* (Pontifical Book of the Church of Ravenna) in imitation of the Roman LIBER PONTIFICALIS. His biographies of the archbishops of Ravenna up to his own time champion Ravenna's pretensions vis-à-vis Rome. They also shed light on late antique Ravenna, the EXARCHATE, Justinian II, the adaptation of Eastern hagiographical legends to a Western context (F. Lanzoni, *FelRav* 8 [1912] 318–26; 17 [1915] 763f; 18 [1915] 795–97)—the issue of ICON veneration is alive in his account—and life in a Byz. provincial town, as remembered two or three generations after the imperial authorities' departure. His sources included the lost chronicle of Archbp.

Maximian (546–66), hagiography, occasional archival documents (including Byz. imperial privileges—K. Brandi, *Archiv für Urkundenforschung* 9 [1924–26] 11–13), oral tradition—particularly with respect to his own family—and a remarkably intensive, if uneven, use of the images and inscriptions of his city, many of which are now lost. The surviving text is corrupt and a few biographies are missing altogether (J.O. Tjäder, *ItMedUm* 2 [1959] 431–39).

ED. (partial) *Codex pontificalis ecclesiae Ravennatis*, ed. A. Testi Rasponi [= RIS 2.3] (Bologna 1924). Ed. O. Holder-Egger in *MGH SRL* 265–391.

LIT. Wattenbach, Levison, Löwe, *Deutsch. Gesch. Vorzeit u. Karol.* 428–31. C. Nauerth, *Agnellus von Ravenna* (Munich 1974). —M.McC.

AGNES OF FRANCE, Byz. empress (1180–85); born ca.1171/72, died after 1204; daughter of LOUIS VII and Adèle of Champagne. In 1179, as the result of an embassy of MANUEL I, she arrived in Constantinople; early in 1180, renamed "Anna," she was splendidly wedded to Manuel's heir, ALEXIOS II. After Alexios was killed, ANDRONIKOS I married her. When in 1185 his downfall seemed imminent, Andronikos attempted flight with Agnes and a favorite concubine, but they were apprehended. From 1185 to 1203, Agnes apparently lived in Constantinople, where she entered a relationship with Theodore BRANAS; they could not marry, lest she lose her dowry. Sought out in 1203 by members of the Fourth Crusade, she bitterly rejected them and spoke through an interpreter who claimed that she had forgotten French. During the sack of Constantinople she took refuge in the Great Palace. Subsequently she married Branas, who entered the service of the Latin emperors.

LIT. Brand, *Byzantium* 22f, 72f, 259. Barzos, *Genealogia* 2:457–60. —C.M.B.

AGONY IN THE GARDEN. Christ's prayer in the garden of Gethsemane before his arrest is first found depicted on the 4th-C. Brescia Casket (Volbach, *Early Christian Art*, pl.89). Christ's standing posture and the scene's place at the beginning of the PASSION cycle imply inspiration from John 17:1–13, which opens the HOLY WEEK liturgy. The ROSSANO GOSPELS, fol.8v, and Corpus Christi Gospels (F. Wormald, *The Miniatures in the Gospels*

of *St. Augustine* [Cambridge 1954] pl.I) show Christ twice, in PROSKYNESIS and upbraiding the sleeping disciples, reflecting Matthew 26:36–46 and Mark 14:32–42. All three Christ figures, the sleeping disciples, and the angel of Luke 22:39–46 appear in the superb 11th-C. miniature opening the Holy Week lections in Athos, Dion. 587 (*Treasures I*, fig.226). This conflation of the synoptic Gospels and John yielded the components that characterize the scene's subsequent iconography. An esp. exhaustive version appears in S. Marco, VENICE (ca.1220).

LIT. Demus, *Mosaics of S. Marco* 2:1:6–21. K. Wessel, *RBK* 2:783–91. —A.W.C.

AGORA (ἀγορά, “marketplace”; Lat. *forum*), the center of public life in many Byz. CITIES and large towns. The agora was generally laid out on a rectangular plan, though forms such as the oval (at GERASA and the Forum of Constantine in Constantinople) and the circle (JUSTINIANA PRIMA) are known. Lined with porticoes, or STOAS, and dominated by important religious, civic, and commercial buildings, an agora was often embellished with imperial statues, honorific COLUMNS, monumental ARCHES, and NYMPHAEA. Besides the seven major examples in the capital (see CONSTANTINOPLÉ, MONUMENTS OF) agoras also remained part of the urban scene at PHILIPPI and THESSALONIKE beyond the 5th C. Construction of buildings within forums was prohibited by a decree of 383 (*Cod.Theod.* XV 1.22), but it was not long before the agoras in most cities were encroached upon by new construction, a process that accelerated thereafter. The term, however, remained in usage.

LIT. D. Claude, *Die byzantinische Stadt im 6. Jahrhundert* (Munich 1969) 63–68. —M.J.

AGRARIAN RELATIONS, the fiscal, economic, political, and social interrelations between the owner of land and its cultivator as reflected factually in the form of RENT and COERCION and juridically in OWNERSHIP and POSSESSION. Byz. was an agricultural society, the basis of the economy being the soil. Like Rome, Byz. attached extreme importance to the status of land and the persons who cultivated or owned land. Consequently, to understand Byz. agrarian relations is to under-

stand both the Byz. economic system and state structure. Scholarship has tended to focus on issues such as the condition of the PEASANT, the emergence of the PAROIKOS, the origin and survival of the VILLAGE COMMUNITY, the conflict between the powerful (DYNATOS) and the POOR in the countryside, the reemergence of large-scale landholdings by laymen and by the church, particularly monasteries, and the connection between military service and land tenure. Study of these issues involves investigation of the types of real property (STASIS, PROASTEION), the types of land tenure, and state and private obligations burdening property and their owners. The most controversial problems of Byz. agrarian relations are the existence of STATE PROPERTY, the validity of the concept of Byz. FEUDALISM, and the nature of the village community.

LIT. P. Lemerle, *The Agrarian History of Byzantium from the Origins to the Twelfth Century* (Galway 1979). Litavrin, *VizObščestvo* 7–109. —M.B.

AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS. Besides the PLOW, Byz. farmers employed two similar TOOLS for tilling and weeding, the *makele* (mattock) and *dikella* (two-pronged drag-hoe). The former is depicted in an illustration from Hesiod's *Works and Days* (Venice, Marc. gr. 464, fol.34r) as a long-handled implement outfitted with a triangular blade set at an angle to the haft. In this instance it appears to resemble extant examples of the Italian *ligo* (see K.D. White, *Agricultural Implements of the Roman World* [Cambridge 1967] 39, fig.19). An illustration of the *dikella* is found in a 5th- or 6th-C. mosaic in Constantinople (*Great Palace, 2nd Report*, pl.47); here a farmer, grasping the handle of the implement, pulls the bifurcated blade, attached at right angles to the haft, slowly toward him, its two curving teeth digging lightly into the soil. For turning larger clumps of soil the *lisgarion* (spade-fork) was employed. This implement (as illustrated in Paris, B.N. gr. 2774, fol.36v) was shaped like the Greek letter π; the tool was manipulated by a handle attached in the center of the horizontal cover-bar.

At harvest time grain was reaped with a sickle (*drepanon*) rather than a scythe and threshed not with flails but with a threshing-sled (*doukane*); it was separated from the chaff with a winnowing-

fork (*likmeterion*) and/or winnowing-shovel (*ptyon*). The vinedresser's essential tool was the *klaudeuterion* or pruning knife, which (as illustrated in Venice, Marc. gr. 464, fol.34r, and Paris, B.N. gr. 2786, fol.140r) might have two blades—one in the shape of a half-moon and the other like a quarter-moon. This instrument could be used for hacking, cutting, or pulling back.

Except for MILLS and wine and OLIVE PRESSES, more complex devices were rare. The 4th-C. agriculturalist Rutilius Palladius (*Opus agriculturae*, ed. R.H. Rodgers [Leipzig 1975] bk.7.2.2–4) describes the reaper on two wheels pulled by an ox that was common in 4th-C. Gaul, but this *vehiculum* was not used in the East. A device for preparing dough operated by animal power was invented in the Great Lavra of Athanasios on Athos.

LIT. *Les outils dans les Balkans du Moyen âge à nos jours*, ed. A. Guillou, vol. 1 (Paris 1986). A. Bryer, “Byzantine Agricultural Implements: The Evidence of Medieval Illustrations of Hesiod's *Works and Days*,” *BSA* 81 (1986) 45–80. L. Cheetham, “Threshing and Winnowing—An Ethnographic Study,” *Antiquity* 56 (1982) 127–30. A. Kazhdan, “Vizantijskoe sel'skoe poselenie,” *VizVrem* 2 (1949) 218–22. J. Čangova, “Srednovekovni orūđija na truda v Būlgarija,” *Izvestija na Būlgarskata Akademija na Naukite* 25 (1962) 19–55. —J.W.N., A.K., A.C.

AGRICULTURE (γεωπονία). Byz. had a diversified soil and climate even after the loss of Syria, Egypt, and North Africa in the 7th C. Its lands ranged from the hot littoral of the Mediterranean, where olive trees and even cotton could grow, to the fertile valleys of Thrace producing barley and grapes, to the arid pastures of Cappadocia sustaining numerous flocks. The most general features were the predominance of rocky soil, scarcity of water supply, and warm summers. This resulted in the relatively small size of fields, in the development of HORTICULTURE and viticulture (which to some extent was detrimental to grain production), and in stock breeding characterized by TRANSHUMANCE.

Byz. agriculture was polycultural. The primary types of cultivated land were the CHORAPHION producing grain, the VINEYARD, and the GARDEN in which FRUIT and vegetables were planted; in addition, flax, cotton, and sesame were grown, and in Sicily and the Peloponnesos the silkworm was cultivated. OLIVE groves were typical of areas near the sea. There was no IRRIGATION on a large

scale (after the loss of Egypt), but gardens, vineyards, and sometimes olive trees were supplied with water by small conduits from natural sources or cisterns.

Agricultural TECHNOLOGY was predominantly a continuation of ancient and Mediterranean traditions, for instance, the sole-ard PLOW, supplemented on particularly stony soils and in gardens by hand cultivation with hoes and mattocks. AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS included the sickle (not scythe), which left high stalks in the fields as cattle fodder and as fertilizer. For the THRESHING of wheat, the grain was trampled by oxen or crushed by a threshing-sled, rather than flailed. Complex mechanical devices were limited to wine presses, OLIVE PRESSES, and MILLS, both animal- and water-driven; there is no mention of water-lifting devices or reapers in Asia Minor or Greece. The land was cultivated in both winter and summer, and in the warmest regions two crops were produced annually. For nurturing the land Byz. farmers employed a two-field rotation system. The degree to which lands were manured is problematic.

Some innovations took place after the end of the Roman Empire. The quality of grain improved: hard wheat spread in Asia Minor and rye was introduced in the Balkans. These types of GRAIN were more stable and easier to store. The system of harness changed around the 10th C., permitting the HORSE to be used for plowing. Windmills appeared, probably in the 13th C. The role of LIVESTOCK increased, and dairy products (esp. CHEESE) assumed greater importance in the Byz. DIET. By the 14th C. cattle and flocks of SHEEP and GOATS seem to have been a more significant indication of wealth than land.

Figures of agricultural yield are difficult to establish. A 12th-C. writer (Eust. Thess., *Opuscula* 155.69–71) asserted that on a small field he was able to harvest grain 20:1, but such high yield is atypical. In the estates of the ACCIAJUOLI in Greece in 1380 the yield ranged from 1.6:1 to 5:1 (Schilbach, *Metrologie* 57, n.6). In any case Western observers stressed the plentiful supply of agrarian products in Byz., and from the 12th C. onward Byz. exported grain, wine, and other agricultural products to Italy and Dubrovnik. The political situation in the 14th and 15th C. caused a drastic change in rural conditions—the abandonment of

lands and the impoverishment of households as reflected in the *praktika* of Mt. Athos. Byz. FARMS were small units managed by families using primitive techniques. Only from early 15th-C. Thessalonike is there evidence about large-scale husbandry aimed at the improvement of soil (in part by irrigation), subleasing to smaller tenants, and increasing income; this intensive exploitation of land met resistance from monastic landowners.

Apparently in the late Roman Empire there was more land than there were people to till it, and an important function of legislation was to persuade farmers to stay on their allotments. This situation had changed by the 10th C., and legislation tended to prevent (rich) neighbors from acquiring neighboring properties. Although reduced in extent from the 7th C., the empire still possessed territories that could provide enough grain and other victuals to feed its capital (and indeed allow it to grow in the 10th C.), to supply armies in the field that could counter Arab attacks and eventually reclaim lost lands, and to support a general increase in the population in the 9th and 10th C. There is little evidence on the clearing of forest land, but the will of Eustathios BOILAS suggests that some individuals tried to open up new lands, and Psellos (like some other landowners) expressed interest in expanding and improving his estates.

Around the 10th C. the most fertile regions of the empire, besides Thrace and southern Italy, were located in Asia Minor, esp. on the seacoast, while the main centers of cattle breeding were in Bulgaria, Thessaly, and the interior of Asia Minor. By the 12th C., while Balkan cities flourished, the rural character of Asia Minor grew more and more evident; under the Nicaean emperors in the 13th C. the west coast of Asia Minor produced abundant grain for export and became famous for its domestic fowl "industry." Asia Minor was soon lost, however, to the Ottomans, and the northern Balkans were either conquered or suffered from invasions. The Peloponnesos, on the other hand, maintained a prosperous agriculture to the end of Byz.

LIT. A. Kazhdan, *DMA* 1:76-79. G. Weiss, "Antike und Byzanz," *HistZ* 224 (1977) 559. C.E. Stevens, *CEH* 1:92-124. J. Teall, "The Grain Supply of the Byzantine Empire 330-1025," *DOP* 13 (1959) 87-139. J. Nesbitt, "Mechanisms of Agricultural Production on Estates of the Byzantine Praktika" (Ph.D. diss., Univ. of Wis., 1972). M. Blagojević, *Zemljoradnja u srednjovekovnoj Srbiji* (Belgrade

1973). J. Henning, "Untersuchungen zur Entwicklung der Landwirtschaft in Südosteuropa im Übergang von der Spätantike zum frühen Mittelalter," *Ethnographisch-archäologische Zeitschrift* 25 (1984) 123-30. -J.W.N., A.K.

AHIKAR (Ἀχιάρης), grand vizier of the Babylonian king Sennacherib (or Asarhaddon, in Aramaic). He was the hero of an oriental saga known in an Aramaic version of the 5th C. B.C. and alluded to in the Book of Tobit, an apocryphal book of the Old Testament; some ancient Greek authors (e.g., Aesop, in his fables) were familiar with the saga, as was the QUR'AN. The legend made Ahikar a victim of the slander of his adopted son Nadan; Ahikar miraculously escaped execution, however, and eventually emerged to save his king when the Egyptians imposed on the king the impossible task of building a castle in the air. Numerous GNOMAI and fables were added to the legend. The legend of Ahikar is preserved in Old Slavonic, beginning with a Glagolitic MS of 1468. A. Veselovskij (*Skazki tysjači odnoj noči* 2 [St. Petersburg 1890] xvi-xviii) and V. Jagić (*BZ* 1 [1892] 108-11) hypothesized that the Slavonic text was based on a Byz. version, but Grigor'ev (*infra*) suggested that it drew upon an Armenian original.

ED. F.C. Conybeare, J.R. Harris, A.S. Lewis, *The Story of Ahikar*² (Cambridge 1913) with Eng. tr.

LIT. A.D. Grigor'ev, *Povesť ob Ahikare premudrom kak chudozhestvennoe proizvedenie* (Moscow 1913). I.C. Chitiimia, "L' 'Histoire du sage Ahikar' dans les littératures slaves," *Romanoslavica* 9 (1963) 413-26. -J.I., A.K.

AIGINA (Αἴγινα), name of both an island in the Saronic Gulf southwest of ATHENS and of its principal city; it was located in the province of ACHAIA and eventually in the theme of HELLAS. Archaeological evidence shows that the ancient city site on the west coast was inhabited throughout the Byz. period, while the CHRONICLE OF MONEMVASIA (ed. Dujčev 12.94-95) says that Aigina served as a place of refuge for the inhabitants of CORINTH during the Slavic invasions. In the 9th C. Aigina suffered from Arab raids; probably at this time a new settlement was established at Palaiachora on a hill in the interior. In the 12th C. the island was used by pirates as a base for attacks on the surrounding coastlines (Mich.Akom. 43.17-18). Although originally granted to the Venetians after

1204, Aigina was ruled by the dukes of Athens until it fell under Catalan control in 1317. From 1425 it was Venetian.

The bishop of Aigina was originally a suffragan of Corinth. He was elevated to archbishop by 900, and briefly after 1371 was subject to Athens.

The hill of Colonna north of the modern town was fortified, perhaps as early as the 3rd C. but more probably later, and a large cistern was cut in the ancient temple. Several Early Christian basilicas have been found in the ancient city, one of them built up against the fortress wall; and a synagogue with inscribed mosaic (giving the cost of its decoration) was transformed into a church after the 7th C. East of the city is the Omorphe Ekklesia, a church dedicated to the Sts. Theodore (G.A. Soteriou, *EEBS* 2 [1925] 242-76), built in 1282 (M.Ch. Gketakos, *Anekdotoi epigraphai kai charagmata ek byzantinon kai metabyzantinon mne-meion tes Hellados* [Athens 1957] 67-69), or 1284 (M. Chatzedakis, *ArchDelt* 21.2.1 [1966] 20, n.16). Its frescoes are rather primitive in style and contain some unusual iconography, such as the Virgin nursing Christ in the Nativity scene. Of the 35 churches at Palaiachora, 10 date before 1450.

LIT. N. Moutsopoulos, *RBK* 1:54-61. Idem, *He Paleachora tes Aigines* (Athens 1962). F. Felten, *Alt-Ägina, Die christliche Siedlung* (Mainz 1975). -T.E.G.

AILIOS HERODIANOS. See HERODIAN.

AIMILIANOS (Αἰμιλιανός), patriarch of Antioch (from before 1074 to 1078). Aimilianos was patriarch long before 1074 when Nikephoros Bryennios (Bryen. 203.2-4) first mentions him as the moving spirit of the city's anti-imperial opposition. Because of Aimilianos's great popularity, MICHAEL VII DOUKAS had him escorted secretly from Antioch to Constantinople in 1074. NIKEPHORITZES, during his tenure as governor, had first suggested the removal, since he, too, had been opposed by the patriarch. The new governor of Antioch, Isaac Komnenos, orchestrated the execution of this difficult assignment. Even in Constantinople, however, Aimilianos did not resign his see or abandon his political activity. According to Bryennios, he was a "cunning and energetic" individual who eventually incited the people (*de-mos*) to rebellion (245.3-4). In effect, he became

the ringleader of the anti-imperial faction of churchmen and senators responsible for proclaiming NIKEPHOROS III BOTANEIATES emperor (25 March 1078).

LIT. Grumel, "Patriarcat" 144f. Papadopoulos, *Antioch*. 865-67. Polemis, "Chronology" 68-71. -A.P.

AINEIAS OF GAZA, teacher of rhetoric; fl. 5th or 6th C. After studying NEOPLATONISM under HIEROKLES at Alexandria and visiting Constantinople, Aineias (Αἰνεΐας) returned home to practice as a Christian sophist. His major work is the *Theophrastus*, a dialogue in which the Aristotelian philosopher of that name is defeated in arguments concerning immortality of the soul and the resurrection. Twenty-five letters also survive.

ED. Teofrasto, ed. M.E. Colonna (Naples 1958), with It. tr. *Epistole*², ed. L. Massa Positano (Naples 1962).

LIT. M. Wacht, *Aeneas von Gaza als Apologet: Seine Kosmologie im Verhältnis zum Platonismus* (Bonn 1969). -B.B.

AINOS (Αἶνος, mod. Enez), city in Thrace on the east bank of the HEBROS River near its mouth. Prokopios (*Buildings* 4.11.1-5) reports that Justinian I transformed its low city wall into an impregnable fortification, and the *Synekdemos* of Hierokles (Hierokl. 634.5) lists it as capital of the province of RHODOPE. Nothing is known about the city from the 7th to 11th C., but it did function as an ecclesiastical center: first as an autonomous archbishopric, and by 1032 a metropolis (Laurent, *Corpus* 5.1:614f). It reappears in historical narratives in 1090 when Alexios I established his headquarters there during his war against the Pechenegs (An.Komn. 2:135.27-29). Thereafter its role increased: in the 12th C. it was a market where monks of the Kosmosoteira monastery bought olive oil directly from boats (L. Petit, *IRAIK* 13 [1908] 50.1-4). A 15th-C. historian (Kritob. 193.6-11) characterizes Ainos as a large *polis* thriving on trade with the neighboring islands of Imbros and Lemnos (the description is partly borrowed from Herodotus). Strongly fortified, it withstood the attack of the Bulgarians and Tatars in 1265 and that of the Catalan Grand Company in 1307. According to Chalkokondyles (Chalk. 520f), ca. 1384 the people of Ainos invited a member of the family of Francesco GATTILUSIO to be their ruler, and it remained an important Genoese possession until it fell to the Turks in 1456; in

1460 Mehmed II granted Ainos to Demetrios Palaiologos, the deposed *despotes* of the Morea, but in 1468 it returned to Ottoman control.

LIT. Asdracha, *Rhodes* 120–24. Miller, *Essays* 298, 318, 334, 338f. —T.E.G.

AITOLIA (Αἰτωλία), a mountainous region in the western part of central Greece, between the Ambracian Gulf and the Gulf of Corinth; west of Aitolia lay Akarnania, a part of which occupied the fertile valley of the Acheloos River; the Akarnanian coast faced the islands of the Ionian Sea—Leukas, Ithaka, and Kephallenia. The region was a part of the theme of NIKOPOLIS, then of the despotate of EPIROS. The ancient names of Aitolia and Akarnania were still used in the 6th C., and Prokopios (*Buildings* 4.2.1) even speaks of Aitolians and Akarnanians; the *Synekdemos* of Hierokles (Hierokl. 648.4) mentions Aigion as the metropolis of Aitolia. The names then disappeared from Byz. nomenclature, but were revived by historians of the 14th–15th C. (Kantakouzenos, Gregoras, Laonikos Chalkokondyles), who often used them side by side with Epiros and sometimes as synonyms for the latter (*TIB* 3:39). The name Aitolia had been revived even earlier in ecclesiastical lists, and NAUPAKTOS was called “of Nikopolis” or “of Aitolia” (*Notitiae CP* 10.531). In the acts of the local council of 1367 the metropolitan of Naupaktos is titled “*hypertimos* and exarch of all Aitolia” and the bishopric of Arta defined as “in Akarnania” (*MM* 1:494.6, 13). —A.K.

AKAKIA (ἀκακία, lit. “guilelessness,” also ἀνεξικακία, “forbearance”), a cylindrical pouch of purple silk containing a handful of dust that the emperor carried in his right hand on ceremonial occasions; in his left he held a scepter, an orb, or a cross ornamented with precious stones (*De cer.* 25.20–22). In the *Kletorologion of Philotheos* (Oikonomides, *Listes* 201.13–16) the order of the hands is reversed. Two late Byz. writers (pseudo-Kod. 201.12–202.3; Symeon of Thessalonike, PG 155:356AB) both emphasized that the *akakia* symbolized the instability of temporal power and the humility of its mortal bearer. According to Hārūn ibn Yahya’s description of the emperor’s procession to Hagia Sophia on Ash Wednesday, the ruler went on foot carrying a golden box with a

bit of earth in it; at every two paces his “minister” exclaimed, “Be mindful of death!” and the emperor paused, opened the box, looked at the dust, and wept (A. Vasiliev, *SemKond* 5 [1932] 159).

A representation of the *akakia* can be seen on the mosaic of Emp. ALEXANDER in the gallery of Hagia Sophia (P.A. Underwood, E.J.W. Hawkins, *DOP* 15 [1961] 191, 195f and n.30, fig.1).

LIT. Treitinger, *Kaiseridee* 148. *DOC* 2.1:86f; 3.1:133f. N.P. Kondakov, “Mifičeskaja suma s zemnoj tjagoju,” *Spisanie na Bŭlgarskata Akademija na Naukite, Klon istoriko-filologičeski* 22.12 (1921) 53–66. —A.K.

AKAKIAN SCHISM, a temporary rift (484–519) between the church of Constantinople and the papacy, so named after the patriarch AKAKIOS. By the end of the 5th C. the bishop of the imperial capital faced resistance from East and West: on the one hand, the popes emphasized their primacy among the five archbishops as confirmed by canon 28 of the Council of Chalcedon in 451, and thus Pope Simplicius (468–83) entrusted Akakios with *legatio pro nobis* (PL 58:41C), treating him as the pope’s legate; on the other hand, the Eastern archbishops, irritated by the administrative decisions of Chalcedon (e.g., confirming for Constantinople the second place in the ecclesiastical hierarchy), tried in 477 to return to Ephesus the privilege of exarchate, to the detriment of the capital. The situation was aggravated by the theological split between Rome and the sees of Antioch and Alexandria that clung to Monophysitism, whereas Akakios wavered between the two creeds and kept shifting his allegiances.

In 482 Emp. Zeno and Akakios signed the HENOTIKON, a compromise with the Monophysite PETER MONGOS, but it was rejected by Kalandion of Antioch (479–84) and by Monophysite monks in Egypt. The new pope, FELIX III, sent envoys to Constantinople who regarded the compromise favorably. The AKOIMETOI monks, the anti-Monophysite activists in Constantinople, accused the papal legates of succumbing to bribery and betraying the Roman interests; in July 484 Felix convoked a synod of bishops in Rome, abrogated the legates’ decision, condemned Mongos, and deposed Akakios. The papal letter enumerating the “sins” of Akakios was delivered to the patriarch by an Akoimetos monk who paid with his life for this courageous action.

As a result of the schism the name of Felix was

removed from Constantinopolitan diptychs. Then Akakios moved against Kalandion, who was suspected of supporting the revolt of LEONTIOS and ILLOS—he was deposed and replaced by PETER THE FULLER; thereafter Martyrios of Jerusalem (478–86) signed the *Henotikon*.

Rome remained intransigent, however, and the pope had solid partisans in Constantinople; nor did the *Henotikon* find uncompromising adherents in Egypt, Syria, and Palestine. The revolt of VITALIAN was carried out under the banner of the Chalcedonians. Patriarchs Makedonios (496–511) and Timothy I (511–18) tried to curb the Monophysite movement, but they refused to denounce the *Henotikon* and to remove Akakios from the diptychs lest they thereby acknowledge the victory of Rome. Reconciliation was difficult since Emp. Anastasios I expressed obvious pro-Monophysite sympathies; he even found Makedonios insufficiently anti-Chalcedonian and deposed him. Only the predominance of the Orthodox party under Justin I and the search for an alliance with Rome brought an end to the Akakian schism: on 28 Mar. 519 Justin abrogated the *Henotikon* and ended the break with Rome; the names of Akakios and Zeno were removed from the diptychs.

LIT. W.H.C. Frend, *Town and Country* (London 1980), pt.XI (1975), 69–81. E. Schwartz, *Publizistische Sammlungen zum acacianischen Schisma* [ABAW, philos.-hist. Abt., n.s. 10] (Munich 1934). P. Charanis, *Church and State in the Later Roman Empire* (Thessalonike 1974). W.T. Townsend, “The Henoticon Schism and the Roman Church,” *The Journal of Religion* 16 (1936) 78–86. —A.K., T.E.G.

AKAKIOS (Ἀκάκιος), bishop of Berroia, Syria (from 378); born ca.322, died ca.433. Akakios became a monk at an early age, gaining a reputation for asceticism, kindness, and piety. He participated in the Council of Constantinople (381) and the Synod of the Oak (403). Because of his advanced age, he could not attend the Council of Ephesus (431) but played a mediating role behind the scenes. Contemporaries considered his only fault to be an implacable hostility toward JOHN CHRYSOSTOM, a former friend with whom he had broken over a supposed insult. His follower Balaeus extolled his virtues in five Syriac hymns. A few of his many letters survive, including one to Cyril of Alexandria in support of NESTORIOS; they show him to be a man of personal and theological compromise.

ED. PG 77:99–102. PG 84:647f, 658–60. ACO, tome I, vol. 1, pt.1:99f.

SOURCE. Germ. tr. of Balaeus’s hymns —P.S. Landersdorfer, *Ausgewählte Schriften der syrischen Dichter Cyrillonas, Baläus, Isaak von Antiochien und Jakob von Sarug* (Kempten-Munich 1913) 71–89.

LIT. G. Bardy, “Acace de Bérée et son rôle dans la controverse nestorienne,” *RSR* 18 (1938) 20–44. —B.B.

AKAKIOS (Ἀκάκιος), patriarch of Constantinople (Mar. 472–26 or 28 Nov. 489). Before his election Akakios was director of the orphanage in Constantinople. The first crisis he faced after ascending the patriarchal throne was the usurpation of BASILISKOS; after some hesitation, the patriarch joined the Orthodox party that was led by DANIEL THE STYLITE and supported by the majority of the population of the capital. At first Akakios followed a traditional ecclesiastical policy, seeking an alliance with Rome against Alexandria, and accordingly deposed the Monophysite Alexandrian patriarch PETER MONGOS. Then he realized that the unity of the eastern provinces was the crucial task and attempted to find a compromise with the Monophysites: Peter Mongos was reestablished in Alexandria, and Akakios composed the HENOTIKON on behalf of Zeno (482). This about-face caused anxiety in Rome and eventually led to the AKAKIAN SCHISM (484–519); even though Akakios managed to attract the support of two legates of Pope FELIX III, a Roman synod condemned the patriarch in 484. Felix III’s epistle of 28 July 484 first charged Akakios with usurping the rights of other provinces and criticized the growing role of Constantinople within the Eastern church; then the pope accused Akakios because of his reconciliation with the Monophysites, and esp. Peter Mongos. The policy of Akakios was no more successful in pacifying the Eastern church: the orthodox opposition was directed by the AKOIMETOI in Constantinople and found supporters in Alexandria and Antioch.

LIT. *RegPatr*, fasc. 1, nos. 148–72. E. Marin, *DTC* 1 (1935) 288–90. E. Schwartz, *Gesammelte Schriften*, vol. 4 (Berlin 1960) 144–46. —A.K.

AKAPNIOU MONASTERY, located in Thessalonike, perhaps on the acropolis. The date of its foundation is uncertain. V. Grumel (*EO* 30 [1931] 91–95) suggested that Akapniou (Ἀκαπνίου, “without smoke”) was established by St. Photios

of Thessaly in the early 11th C. on the evidence of a hymn by Demetrios Beaskos (end of 13th C.) that names a St. Photios as the *ktetor*. The relationship of the monastery to the 11th-C. Akapnes family of civil functionaries (Laurent, *Corpus* 2, nos. 107, 159, 202) cannot be determined. Sometime in the 11th or 12th C., an early *hegoumenos* of the monastery, Ignatios, wrote a treatise on the mosaic of Christ at the Latomos monastery (V. Grumel, *EO* 29 [1930] 165–67).

During the Latin occupation of the 13th C. Pope Innocent III placed Akapniou under the protection of the Holy See. In the 14th C. it was involved in a number of disputes over properties located in Macedonia and in Thessalonike proper. IGNATIJ OF SMOLENSK visited the monastery in 1405. After the Turkish conquest of Thessalonike in 1430 Akapniou lost most of its property (N. Oikonomides, *SüdostF* 35 [1976] 4).

LIT. Janin, *Églises centres* 347–49.

—A.M.T.

AKATHISTOS HYMN (Ἀκάθιστος Ὕμνος), an anonymous KONTAKION sung in honor of the Theotokos while the congregation stands (i.e., *akathistos*, “not seated”; a recollection of the all-night vigil during which, according to tradition, the Akathistos Hymn was first sung in thanksgiving for the lifting of the Avar siege of Constantinople in 626). Despite the liturgical developments of the 8th C., when performance of *kontakia* in their entirety was abandoned, the Akathistos Hymn continued in use, at first at the Feast of the ANNUNCIATION (25 March) and subsequently during LENT. The Akathistos Hymn consists of a *prooimion* (three of which, probably, exist) and 24 OIKOI, or stanzas, linked by an alphabetic ACROSTIC. The *oikoi* follow two alternating structures, one shorter with the refrain “Allelouia,” the other longer and with a set of 12 *Chairetismoi* (Salutations) to the Theotokos, ending in the refrain “Hail, wedded maiden and virgin.” The first 12 *oikoi* give the biblical narrative on the Incarnation; the remaining 12 meditate upon its mysteries. The whole coalesces to create a subtly interwoven net of images that is one of the high points of Byz. poetry. The author and date of composition remain uncertain. One *prooimion*, “To the defender and commander,” and hence the entire Akathistos Hymn, is attributed in the *synaxaria* to Patr. SERGIOS I in 626 and in the Latin translation (8th or

9th C.) to Patr. GERMANOS I in 717/18; metrical patterns and theological considerations, however, point rather to a date in the early 6th C. Despite the temptation to ascribe this masterpiece to another craftsman working in the same genre at approximately the same time, ROMANOS THE MELODE probably did not write the Akathistos Hymn. The hymn survives in a rich MS tradition.

Four illustrated copies of the Akathistos Hymn are preserved. Two are Greek: in Moscow (Hist. Mus., gr. 429), probably a product of the HODEGON monastery from the third quarter of the 14th C., and in Madrid (Escorial R.I. 19), whose late 14th- or early 15th-C. decoration shows Western influence. Two are in 14th-C. Slavonic Psalters: the Tomič Psalter in Moscow (Hist. Mus. M.2752) and the Serbian Psalter in Munich (Bayer. Staatsbibl., slav.4). The cycle is found somewhat earlier in monumental painting, but may be Palaiologan in origin. Illustrations of the first 12 *oikoi* rely on traditional iconography of the life of the Virgin and consequently are relatively standardized. The next 12 required greater imagination on the part of artists, and results varied.

ED. C.A. Trypanis, *Fourteen Early Byzantine Cantica* (Vienna 1968) 17–39. E. Wellesz, *The Akathistos Hymn* (Copenhagen 1957). Lat. version—M. Huglo, “L’ancienne version latine de l’Hymne Acathiste,” *Muséon* 64 (1951) 27–61.

LIT. Mitsakis, *Hymnographia* 483–509. J. Grosdidier de Matons, *Romanos le Mélode* (Paris 1977) 32–36. Szövérfy, *Hymnography* 1:116–35. T. Velmans, “Une illustration inédite de l’Acathiste et l’iconographie des hymnes liturgiques à Byzance,” *CahArch* 22 (1972) 131–65. J. Lafontaine-Dosogne, “L’illustration de la première partie de l’Hymne Akathiste et sa relation avec les mosaïques de l’Enfance de la Kariye Djami,” *Byzantion* 54 (1984) 648–702. E. Wellesz, “The ‘Akathistos’: A Study in Byzantine Hymnography,” *DOP* 9–10 (1956) 141–74. A. Pätzold, *Der Akathistos-Hymnos: die Bilderzyklen in der byzantinischen Wandmalerei des 14. Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart 1989). —E.M.J., R.S.N.

AKEDIA (ἀκηδία), accidie, sloth or torpor, term for a state of listlessness found in monks. It was recognized as a special problem for HERMITS who lacked the encouragement of brethren in a cenobitic community. Neilos of Ankyra defined it as the “weakness of a soul unable to withstand temptation” (PG 79:1157C). *Akedia* was thought to be the result of indulgence in vices such as laziness, loquaciousness, and absorption in the emotions but was sometimes attributed to preternatural causes, a demon that was active at the noon hour. The demon made monks restless, excitable, and

negligent with regard to prayer and reading. *Akedia* could be overcome through assiduous attention to prayer and study of the Scriptures, patience, avoidance of idle talk, and manual labor (PG 79:1456D–1460B). Theodore of Stoudios (PG 99:1724C) prescribed 40 days repentance as punishment for this vice, including three weeks without wine or oil and 250 penitent prostrations (*metanoiai*) daily, for if uncorrected the sin could lead to the depths of hell.

SOURCE. Jean Cassien, *Institutions cénobitiques*, ed. J.-C. Guy (Paris 1965) 382–425.

LIT. A. & C. Guillaumont in *Évagre le Pontique: Traité pratique ou le moine* (Paris 1971) 1:84–90, 2:520–26. H. Waddell, *The Desert Fathers* (London 1946) 157–60.

—A.M.T.

AKEPHALOI. See PETER MONGOS.

AKHMĪM (Panopolis, Πανὼν πόλις), metropolis of the Panopolite nome of Upper Egypt, a bishopric from the early 4th C. A church is mentioned in a text of 295–300 A.D. (P. Gen. inv. 108), but no early examples have survived. They may have been destroyed in the 14th C., since al-Nahrawālī (*Die Chroniken der Stadt Mekka*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld, vol. 3 [Leipzig 1857; rp. Beirut 1964] 109) indicates that many marble columns from Akhmīm were reused in the Ka’ba at Mecca. Akhmīm has been famous since the 5th C. for its TEXTILES, many of which were found in early Christian (5th–7th C.) tombs nearby. Other tombs have yielded small articles of daily use. Papyri attest to a flourishing classical literary culture in the 4th–5th C.

LIT. Timm, *Ägypten* 1:80–96. R. Forrer, *Die frühchristlichen Altertümer aus dem Gräberfelde von Achmim-Panopolis* (Strassburg 1893). S. McNally, “Excavations at Akhmim, Egypt 1978,” *American Research Center in Egypt Newsletter* 107 (1978–79) 22–28.

—P.G.

AKHNĀS, or Akhnāsiya (Ἡρακλεόπολις, Heracleopolis Magna), south of Fayyūm, approximately 15 miles west of Beni Suef, metropolis of the Heracleopolite nome of Egypt, site of a bishopric from 325. From Akhnās have come a number of 4th- to 5th-C. architectural sculptures, such as niche-heads, capitals, friezes, etc., which once adorned mausoleums in the cemetery; many of these are decorated with mythological scenes. The site is now deserted, a vast field of pottery hills

surrounded by several modern villages. Traces of a colonnaded street are visible. Spots where huge columns abound are currently referred to as *kanīsa* (“church”) but are more probably the remains of other public buildings.

LIT. U. Monneret de Villard, *La scultura ad Ahnās* (Milan 1923). H.-G. Severin, “Gli scavi eseguiti ad Ahnās, Bahnasa, Bawit e Saqqara,” *Corsi Rav* 28 (1981) 299–303. Timm, *Ägypten* 3:1161–72.

—P.G.

AKINDYNOS, GREGORY, anti-Palamite theologian; born Prilep ca. 1300?, died 1348. His baptismal name and original surname are unknown: Gregory was a monastic, Akindynos (Ἀκίνδυνος) an adopted name. Of humble, most probably Bulgarian, ancestry, Akindynos studied in Thessalonike with THOMAS MAGISTROS and subsequently became a schoolteacher in Berroia. There ca. 1330 he met Gregory PALAMAS and became a monk; he was, however, rejected by four Athonite monasteries, perhaps because of his reputation for secular learning. Akindynos returned to Thessalonike, where he became friendly with BARLAAM OF CALABRIA.

By 1337 Akindynos was in Constantinople and involved in the controversy over PALAMISM; in its early stages he played a mediating role between Barlaam and Palamas. By 1341, however, he began to question the orthodoxy of Palamite doctrine on divine grace, and threw his support to Barlaam. He was apparently condemned at the July session of the local council of Constantinople of 1341 (see under CONSTANTINOPLE, COUNCILS OF). Akindynos was a protégé of Irene CHOUMNAINA and the spokesman of Patr. JOHN XIV KALEKAS, who ordained him deacon and priest (1344). With the erosion of the authority of Kalekas and the victory of JOHN VI KANTAKOUZENOS, Akindynos fell into disgrace; he was excommunicated at the council of 1347 and died in exile soon after.

His correspondence provides important insights into the hesychast controversy from an anti-Palamite viewpoint; many of his theological treatises, including the *Antirrhetics* against Palamas, are still unpublished. Unlike later anti-Palamites, Akindynos was neither a Latin sympathizer nor influenced by Greek philosophy, as his opponents claimed. In his works he did not inveigh against the spirituality of the monks but against the Palamite doctrine of the divine energies, thus ex-

lands and the impoverishment of households as reflected in the *praktika* of Mt. Athos. Byz. FARMS were small units managed by families using primitive techniques. Only from early 15th-C. Thessalonike is there evidence about large-scale husbandry aimed at the improvement of soil (in part by irrigation), subleasing to smaller tenants, and increasing income; this intensive exploitation of land met resistance from monastic landowners.

Apparently in the late Roman Empire there was more land than there were people to till it, and an important function of legislation was to persuade farmers to stay on their allotments. This situation had changed by the 10th C., and legislation tended to prevent (rich) neighbors from acquiring neighboring properties. Although reduced in extent from the 7th C., the empire still possessed territories that could provide enough grain and other victuals to feed its capital (and indeed allow it to grow in the 10th C.), to supply armies in the field that could counter Arab attacks and eventually reclaim lost lands, and to support a general increase in the population in the 9th and 10th C. There is little evidence on the clearing of forest land, but the will of Eustathios BOILAS suggests that some individuals tried to open up new lands, and Psellos (like some other landowners) expressed interest in expanding and improving his estates.

Around the 10th C. the most fertile regions of the empire, besides Thrace and southern Italy, were located in Asia Minor, esp. on the seacoast, while the main centers of cattle breeding were in Bulgaria, Thessaly, and the interior of Asia Minor. By the 12th C., while Balkan cities flourished, the rural character of Asia Minor grew more and more evident; under the Nicaean emperors in the 13th C. the west coast of Asia Minor produced abundant grain for export and became famous for its domestic fowl "industry." Asia Minor was soon lost, however, to the Ottomans, and the northern Balkans were either conquered or suffered from invasions. The Peloponnesos, on the other hand, maintained a prosperous agriculture to the end of Byz.

LIT. A. Kazhdan, *DMA* 1:76-79. G. Weiss, "Antike und Byzanz," *HistZ* 224 (1977) 559. C.E. Stevens, *CEH* 1:92-124. J. Teall, "The Grain Supply of the Byzantine Empire 330-1025," *DOP* 13 (1959) 87-139. J. Nesbitt, "Mechanisms of Agricultural Production on Estates of the Byzantine Praktika" (Ph.D. diss., Univ. of Wis., 1972). M. Blagojević, *Zemljoradnja u srednjovekovnoj Srbiji* (Belgrade

1973). J. Henning, "Untersuchungen zur Entwicklung der Landwirtschaft in Südosteuropa im Übergang von der Spätantike zum frühen Mittelalter," *Ethnographisch-archäologische Zeitschrift* 25 (1984) 123-30. —J.W.N., A.K.

AHIKAR (Ἀχιάρης), grand vizier of the Babylonian king Sennacherib (or Asarhaddon, in Aramaic). He was the hero of an oriental saga known in an Aramaic version of the 5th C. B.C. and alluded to in the Book of Tobit, an apocryphal book of the Old Testament; some ancient Greek authors (e.g., AESOP, in his fables) were familiar with the saga, as was the QUR'AN. The legend made Ahikar a victim of the slander of his adopted son Nadan; Ahikar miraculously escaped execution, however, and eventually emerged to save his king when the Egyptians imposed on the king the impossible task of building a castle in the air. Numerous GNOMAI and fables were added to the legend. The legend of Ahikar is preserved in Old Slavonic, beginning with a Glagolitic MS of 1468. A. Veselovskij (*Skazki tysjači odnoj noči* 2 [St. Petersburg 1890] xvi-xviii) and V. Jagić (*BZ* 1 [1892] 108-11) hypothesized that the Slavonic text was based on a Byz. version, but Grigor'ev (*infra*) suggested that it drew upon an Armenian original.

ED. F.C. Conybeare, J.R. Harris, A.S. Lewis, *The Story of Ahikar*² (Cambridge 1913) with Eng. tr.

LIT. A.D. Grigor'ev, *Povest' ob Ahikare premudrom kak chudozhestvennoe proizvedenie* (Moscow 1913). I.C. Chijimija, "L' 'Histoire du sage Ahikar' dans les littératures slaves," *Romanoslavica* 9 (1963) 413-26. —J.I., A.K.

AIGINA (Αἴγινα), name of both an island in the Saronic Gulf southwest of ATHENS and of its principal city; it was located in the province of ACHAIA and eventually in the theme of HELLAS. Archaeological evidence shows that the ancient city site on the west coast was inhabited throughout the Byz. period, while the CHRONICLE OF MONEMVASIA (ed. Dujčev 12.94-95) says that Aigina served as a place of refuge for the inhabitants of CORINTH during the Slavic invasions. In the 9th C. Aigina suffered from Arab raids; probably at this time a new settlement was established at Palaiachora on a hill in the interior. In the 12th C. the island was used by pirates as a base for attacks on the surrounding coastlines (Mich.Akom. 43.17-18). Although originally granted to the Venetians after

1204, Aigina was ruled by the dukes of Athens until it fell under Catalan control in 1317. From 1425 it was Venetian.

The bishop of Aigina was originally a suffragan of Corinth. He was elevated to archbishop by 900, and briefly after 1371 was subject to Athens.

The hill of Colonna north of the modern town was fortified, perhaps as early as the 3rd C. but more probably later, and a large cistern was cut in the ancient temple. Several Early Christian basilicas have been found in the ancient city, one of them built up against the fortress wall; and a synagogue with inscribed mosaic (giving the cost of its decoration) was transformed into a church after the 7th C. East of the city is the Omorpe Ekklesia, a church dedicated to the Sts. Theodore (G.A. Soteriou, *EEBS* 2 [1925] 242-76), built in 1282 (M.Ch. Gketakos, *Anekdotai epigraphai kai charagmata ek byzantinon kai metabyzantinon mne-meion tes Hellados* [Athens 1957] 67-69), or 1284 (M. Chatzedakis, *ArchDelt* 21.2.1 [1966] 20, n.16). Its frescoes are rather primitive in style and contain some unusual iconography, such as the Virgin nursing Christ in the Nativity scene. Of the 35 churches at Palaiachora, 10 date before 1450.

LIT. N. Moutsopoulos, *RBK* 1:54-61. Idem, *He Paleachora tes Aigines* (Athens 1962). F. Felten, *Alt-Ägina, Die christliche Siedlung* (Mainz 1975). —T.E.G.

AILIOS HERODIANOS. See HERODIAN.

AIMILIANOS (Αἰμιλιανός), patriarch of Antioch (from before 1074 to 1078). Aimilianos was patriarch long before 1074 when Nikephoros Bryennios (Bryen. 203.2-4) first mentions him as the moving spirit of the city's anti-imperial opposition. Because of Aimilianos's great popularity, MICHAEL VII DOUKAS had him escorted secretly from Antioch to Constantinople in 1074. NIKEPHORITZES, during his tenure as governor, had first suggested the removal, since he, too, had been opposed by the patriarch. The new governor of Antioch, Isaac Komnenos, orchestrated the execution of this difficult assignment. Even in Constantinople, however, Aimilianos did not resign his see or abandon his political activity. According to Bryennios, he was a "cunning and energetic" individual who eventually incited the people (*demos*) to rebellion (245.3-4). In effect, he became

the ringleader of the anti-imperial faction of churchmen and senators responsible for proclaiming NIKEPHOROS III BOTANEIATES emperor (25 March 1078).

LIT. Grumel, "Patriarcat" 144f. Papadopoulos, *Antioch*. 865-67. Polemis, "Chronology" 68-71. —A.P.

AINEIAS OF GAZA, teacher of rhetoric; fl. 5th or 6th C. After studying NEOPLATONISM under HIEROKLES at Alexandria and visiting Constantinople, Aineias (*Aiveias*) returned home to practice as a Christian sophist. His major work is the *Theophrastus*, a dialogue in which the Aristotelian philosopher of that name is defeated in arguments concerning immortality of the soul and the resurrection. Twenty-five letters also survive.

ED. *Teofrasto*, ed. M.E. Colonna (Naples 1958), with It. tr. *Epistole*², ed. L. Massa Positano (Naples 1962).

LIT. M. Wacht, *Aeneas von Gaza als Apologet: Seine Kosmologie im Verhältnis zum Platonismus* (Bonn 1969). —B.B.

AINOS (Αἶνος, mod. Enez), city in Thrace on the east bank of the HEBROS River near its mouth. Prokopios (*Buildings* 4.11.1-5) reports that Justinian I transformed its low city wall into an impregnable fortification, and the *Synekdemos* of Hierokles (Hierokl. 634.5) lists it as capital of the province of RHODOPE. Nothing is known about the city from the 7th to 11th C., but it did function as an ecclesiastical center: first as an autonomous archbishopric, and by 1032 a metropolis (Laurent, *Corpus* 5.1:614f). It reappears in historical narratives in 1090 when Alexios I established his headquarters there during his war against the Pechenegs (An.Komn. 2:135.27-29). Thereafter its role increased: in the 12th C. it was a market where monks of the Kosmosoteira monastery bought olive oil directly from boats (L. Petit, *IRAIK* 13 [1908] 50.1-4). A 15th-C. historian (Kritob. 193.6-11) characterizes Ainos as a large *polis* thriving on trade with the neighboring islands of Imbros and Lemnos (the description is partly borrowed from Herodotus). Strongly fortified, it withstood the attack of the Bulgarians and Tatars in 1265 and that of the Catalan Grand Company in 1307. According to Chalkokondyles (Chalk. 520f), ca. 1384 the people of Ainos invited a member of the family of Francesco GATTILUSIO to be their ruler, and it remained an important Genoese possession until it fell to the Turks in 1456; in

1460 Mehmed II granted Ainos to Demetrios Palaiologos, the deposed *despotes* of the Morea, but in 1468 it returned to Ottoman control.

LIT. Asdracha, *Rhodes* 120–24. Miller, *Essays* 298, 318, 334, 338f. —T.E.G.

AITOLIA (Αἰτωλία), a mountainous region in the western part of central Greece, between the Ambracian Gulf and the Gulf of Corinth; west of Aitolia lay Akarnania, a part of which occupied the fertile valley of the Acheloos River; the Akarnanian coast faced the islands of the Ionian Sea—Leukas, Ithaka, and Kephallenia. The region was a part of the theme of NIKOPOLIS, then of the despotate of EPIROS. The ancient names of Aitolia and Akarnania were still used in the 6th C., and Prokopios (*Buildings* 4.2.1) even speaks of Aitolians and Akarnanians; the *Synekdemos* of Hierokles (Hierokl. 648.4) mentions Aigion as the metropolis of Aitolia. The names then disappeared from Byz. nomenclature, but were revived by historians of the 14th–15th C. (Kantakouzenos, Gregoras, Laonikos Chalkokondyles), who often used them side by side with Epiros and sometimes as synonyms for the latter (*TIB* 3:39). The name Aitolia had been revived even earlier in ecclesiastical lists, and ΝΑΥΠΑΚΤΟΣ was called “of Nikopolis” or “of Aitolia” (*Notitiae CP* 10.531). In the acts of the local council of 1367 the metropolitan of Naupaktos is titled “*hypertimos* and exarch of all Aitolia” and the bishopric of Arta defined as “in Akarnania” (*MM* 1:494.6, 13). —A.K.

AKAKIA (ἀκακία, lit. “guilelessness,” also ἀνεξικακία, “forbearance”), a cylindrical pouch of purple silk containing a handful of dust that the emperor carried in his right hand on ceremonial occasions; in his left he held a scepter, an orb, or a cross ornamented with precious stones (*De cer.* 25.20–22). In the *Kletorologion of Philotheos* (Oikonomides, *Listes* 201.13–16) the order of the hands is reversed. Two late Byz. writers (pseudo-Kod. 201.12–202.3; Symeon of Thessalonike, PG 155:356AB) both emphasized that the *akakia* symbolized the instability of temporal power and the humility of its mortal bearer. According to Hārūn ibn Yahya’s description of the emperor’s procession to Hagia Sophia on Ash Wednesday, the ruler went on foot carrying a golden box with a

bit of earth in it; at every two paces his “minister” exclaimed, “Be mindful of death!” and the emperor paused, opened the box, looked at the dust, and wept (A. Vasiliev, *SemKond* 5 [1932] 159).

A representation of the *akakia* can be seen on the mosaic of Emp. ALEXANDER in the gallery of Hagia Sophia (P.A. Underwood, E.J.W. Hawkins, *DOP* 15 [1961] 191, 195f and n.30, fig.1).

LIT. Treitinger, *Kaiseridee* 148. *DOC* 2.1:86f; 3.1:133f. N.P. Kondakov, “Mifičeskaja suma s zemnoj tjaogoju,” *Spisanie na Bŭlgarskata Akademija na Naukite, Klon istoriko-filologičeski* 22.12 (1921) 53–66. —A.K.

AKAKIAN SCHISM, a temporary rift (484–519) between the church of Constantinople and the papacy, so named after the patriarch AKAKIOS. By the end of the 5th C. the bishop of the imperial capital faced resistance from East and West: on the one hand, the popes emphasized their primacy among the five archbishops as confirmed by canon 28 of the Council of Chalcedon in 451, and thus Pope Simplicius (468–83) entrusted Akakios with *legatio pro nobis* (PL 58:41C), treating him as the pope’s legate; on the other hand, the Eastern archbishops, irritated by the administrative decisions of Chalcedon (e.g., confirming for Constantinople the second place in the ecclesiastical hierarchy), tried in 477 to return to Ephesus the privilege of exarchate, to the detriment of the capital. The situation was aggravated by the theological split between Rome and the sees of Antioch and Alexandria that clung to Monophysitism, whereas Akakios wavered between the two creeds and kept shifting his allegiances.

In 482 Emp. Zeno and Akakios signed the HENOTIKON, a compromise with the Monophysite PETER MONGOS, but it was rejected by Kalandion of Antioch (479–84) and by Monophysite monks in Egypt. The new pope, FELIX III, sent envoys to Constantinople who regarded the compromise favorably. The AKOIMETOI monks, the anti-Monophysite activists in Constantinople, accused the papal legates of succumbing to bribery and betraying the Roman interests; in July 484 Felix convoked a synod of bishops in Rome, abrogated the legates’ decision, condemned Mongos, and deposed Akakios. The papal letter enumerating the “sins” of Akakios was delivered to the patriarch by an Akoimetos monk who paid with his life for this courageous action.

As a result of the schism the name of Felix was

removed from Constantinopolitan diptychs. Then Akakios moved against Kalandion, who was suspected of supporting the revolt of LEONTIOS and ILLOS—he was deposed and replaced by PETER THE FULLER; thereafter Martyrios of Jerusalem (478–86) signed the *Henotikon*.

Rome remained intransigent, however, and the pope had solid partisans in Constantinople; nor did the *Henotikon* find uncompromising adherents in Egypt, Syria, and Palestine. The revolt of VITALIAN was carried out under the banner of the Chalcedonians. Patriarchs Makedonios (496–511) and Timothy I (511–18) tried to curb the Monophysite movement, but they refused to denounce the *Henotikon* and to remove Akakios from the diptychs lest they thereby acknowledge the victory of Rome. Reconciliation was difficult since Emp. Anastasios I expressed obvious pro-Monophysite sympathies; he even found Makedonios insufficiently anti-Chalcedonian and deposed him. Only the predominance of the Orthodox party under Justin I and the search for an alliance with Rome brought an end to the Akakian schism: on 28 Mar. 519 Justin abrogated the *Henotikon* and ended the break with Rome; the names of Akakios and Zeno were removed from the diptychs.

LIT. W.H.C. Frend, *Town and Country* (London 1980), pt.XI (1975), 69–81. E. Schwartz, *Publizistische Sammlungen zum acacianischen Schisma* [ABAW, philos.-hist. Abt., n.s. 10] (Munich 1934). P. Charanis, *Church and State in the Later Roman Empire*² (Thessalonike 1974). W.T. Townsend, “The Henoticon Schism and the Roman Church,” *The Journal of Religion* 16 (1936) 78–86. —A.K., T.E.G.

AKAKIOS (Ἀκάκιος), bishop of Berroia, Syria (from 378); born ca.322, died ca.433. Akakios became a monk at an early age, gaining a reputation for asceticism, kindness, and piety. He participated in the Council of Constantinople (381) and the Synod of the Oak (403). Because of his advanced age, he could not attend the Council of Ephesus (431) but played a mediating role behind the scenes. Contemporaries considered his only fault to be an implacable hostility toward JOHN CHRYSOSTOM, a former friend with whom he had broken over a supposed insult. His follower Balaeus extolled his virtues in five Syriac hymns. A few of his many letters survive, including one to Cyril of Alexandria in support of NESTORIOS; they show him to be a man of personal and theological compromise.

ED. PG 77:99–102. PG 84:647f, 658–60. ACO, tome I, vol. 1, pt.1:99f.

SOURCE. Germ. tr. of Balaeus’s hymns —P.S. Landersdorfer, *Ausgewählte Schriften der syrischen Dichter Cyrillonas, Baläus, Isaak von Antiochien und Jakob von Sarug* (Kempten-Munich 1913) 71–89.

LIT. G. Bardy, “Acace de Bérée et son rôle dans la controverse nestorienne,” *RSR* 18 (1938) 20–44. —B.B.

AKAKIOS (Ἀκάκιος), patriarch of Constantinople (Mar. 472–26 or 28 Nov. 489). Before his election Akakios was director of the orphanage in Constantinople. The first crisis he faced after ascending the patriarchal throne was the usurpation of BASILISKOS; after some hesitation, the patriarch joined the Orthodox party that was led by DANIEL THE STYLITE and supported by the majority of the population of the capital. At first Akakios followed a traditional ecclesiastical policy, seeking an alliance with Rome against Alexandria, and accordingly deposed the Monophysite Alexandrian patriarch PETER MONGOS. Then he realized that the unity of the eastern provinces was the crucial task and attempted to find a compromise with the Monophysites: Peter Mongos was reestablished in Alexandria, and Akakios composed the HENOTIKON on behalf of Zeno (482). This about-face caused anxiety in Rome and eventually led to the AKAKIAN SCHISM (484–519); even though Akakios managed to attract the support of two legates of Pope FELIX III, a Roman synod condemned the patriarch in 484. Felix III’s epistle of 28 July 484 first charged Akakios with usurping the rights of other provinces and criticized the growing role of Constantinople within the Eastern church; then the pope accused Akakios because of his reconciliation with the Monophysites, and esp. Peter Mongos. The policy of Akakios was no more successful in pacifying the Eastern church: the orthodox opposition was directed by the AKOIMETOI in Constantinople and found supporters in Alexandria and Antioch.

LIT. *RegPatr*, fasc. 1, nos. 148–72. E. Marin, *DTC* 1 (1935) 288–90. E. Schwartz, *Gesammelte Schriften*, vol. 4 (Berlin 1960) 144–46. —A.K.

AKAPNIOU MONASTERY, located in Thessalonike, perhaps on the acropolis. The date of its foundation is uncertain. V. Grumel (*EO* 30 [1931] 91–95) suggested that Akapniou (Ἀκαπνίου, “without smoke”) was established by St. Photios

of Thessaly in the early 11th C. on the evidence of a hymn by Demetrios Beaskos (end of 13th C.) that names a St. Photios as the *ktetor*. The relationship of the monastery to the 11th-C. Akapnes family of civil functionaries (Laurent, *Corpus* 2, nos. 107, 159, 202) cannot be determined. Sometime in the 11th or 12th C., an early *hegoumenos* of the monastery, Ignatios, wrote a treatise on the mosaic of Christ at the Latomos monastery (V. Grumel, *EO* 29 [1930] 165–67).

During the Latin occupation of the 13th C. Pope Innocent III placed Akapniou under the protection of the Holy See. In the 14th C. it was involved in a number of disputes over properties located in Macedonia and in Thessalonike proper. IGNATIJ OF SMOLENSK visited the monastery in 1405. After the Turkish conquest of Thessalonike in 1430 Akapniou lost most of its property (N. Oikonomides, *SüdostF* 35 [1976] 4).

LIT. Janin, *Églises centres* 347–49.

—A.M.T.

AKATHISTOS HYMN (Ἀκάθιστος Ὕμνος), an anonymous KONTAKION sung in honor of the Theotokos while the congregation stands (i.e., *akathistos*, “not seated”; a recollection of the all-night vigil during which, according to tradition, the Akathistos Hymn was first sung in thanksgiving for the lifting of the Avar siege of Constantinople in 626). Despite the liturgical developments of the 8th C., when performance of *kontakia* in their entirety was abandoned, the Akathistos Hymn continued in use, at first at the Feast of the ANNUNCIATION (25 March) and subsequently during LENT. The Akathistos Hymn consists of a *prooimion* (three of which, probably, exist) and 24 *oikoi*, or stanzas, linked by an alphabetic ACROSTIC. The *oikoi* follow two alternating structures, one shorter with the refrain “Allelouia,” the other longer and with a set of 12 *Chairetismoi* (Salutations) to the Theotokos, ending in the refrain “Hail, wedded maiden and virgin.” The first 12 *oikoi* give the biblical narrative on the Incarnation; the remaining 12 meditate upon its mysteries. The whole coalesces to create a subtly interwoven net of images that is one of the high points of Byz. poetry. The author and date of composition remain uncertain. One *prooimion*, “To the defender and commander,” and hence the entire Akathistos Hymn, is attributed in the *synaxaria* to Patr. SERGIOS I in 626 and in the Latin translation (8th or

9th C.) to Patr. GERMANOS I in 717/18; metrical patterns and theological considerations, however, point rather to a date in the early 6th C. Despite the temptation to ascribe this masterpiece to another craftsman working in the same genre at approximately the same time, ROMANOS THE MELODE probably did not write the Akathistos Hymn. The hymn survives in a rich MS tradition.

Four illustrated copies of the Akathistos Hymn are preserved. Two are Greek: in Moscow (Hist. Mus., gr. 429), probably a product of the HODEGON monastery from the third quarter of the 14th C., and in Madrid (Escorial R.I. 19), whose late 14th- or early 15th-C. decoration shows Western influence. Two are in 14th-C. Slavonic Psalters: the Tomič Psalter in Moscow (Hist. Mus. M.2752) and the Serbian Psalter in Munich (Bayer. Staatsbibl., slav.4). The cycle is found somewhat earlier in monumental painting, but may be Palaiologan in origin. Illustrations of the first 12 *oikoi* rely on traditional iconography of the life of the Virgin and consequently are relatively standardized. The next 12 required greater imagination on the part of artists, and results varied.

ED. C.A. Trypanis, *Fourteen Early Byzantine Cantica* (Vienna 1968) 17–39. E. Wellesz, *The Akathistos Hymn* (Copenhagen 1957). Lat. version—M. Huglo, “L’ancienne version latine de l’Hymne Acathiste,” *Muséon* 64 (1951) 27–61.

LIT. Mitsakis, *Hymnographia* 483–509. J. Grosdidier de Matons, *Romanos le Mélode* (Paris 1977) 32–36. Szövérfy, *Hymnography* 1:116–35. T. Velmans, “Une illustration inédite de l’Acathiste et l’iconographie des hymnes liturgiques à Byzance,” *CahArch* 22 (1972) 131–65. J. Lafontaine-Dosogne, “L’illustration de la première partie de l’Hymne Akathiste et sa relation avec les mosaïques de l’Enfance de la Kariye Djami,” *Byzantion* 54 (1984) 648–702. E. Wellesz, “The ‘Akathistos’: A Study in Byzantine Hymnography,” *DOP* 9–10 (1956) 141–74. A. Pätzold, *Der Akathistos-Hymnos: die Bilderzyklen in der byzantinischen Wandmalerei des 14. Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart 1989). —E.M.J., R.S.N.

AKEDIA (ἀκηδία), accidie, sloth or torpor, term for a state of listlessness found in monks. It was recognized as a special problem for HERMITS who lacked the encouragement of brethren in a cenobitic community. Neilos of Ankyra defined it as the “weakness of a soul unable to withstand temptation” (PG 79:1157C). *Akedia* was thought to be the result of indulgence in vices such as laziness, loquaciousness, and absorption in the emotions but was sometimes attributed to preternatural causes, a demon that was active at the noon hour. The demon made monks restless, excitable, and

negligent with regard to prayer and reading. *Akedia* could be overcome through assiduous attention to prayer and study of the Scriptures, patience, avoidance of idle talk, and manual labor (PG 79:1456D–1460B). Theodore of Stoudios (PG 99:1724C) prescribed 40 days repentance as punishment for this vice, including three weeks without wine or oil and 250 penitent prostrations (*metanoiai*) daily, for if uncorrected the sin could lead to the depths of hell.

SOURCE. Jean Cassien, *Institutions cénobitiques*, ed. J.-C. Guy (Paris 1965) 382–425.

LIT. A. & C. Guillaumont in *Évagre le Pontique: Traité pratique ou le moine* (Paris 1971) 1:84–90, 2:520–26. H. Waddell, *The Desert Fathers* (London 1946) 157–60.

—A.M.T.

AKEPHALOI. See PETER MONGOS.

AKHMĪM (Panopolis, Πανὼν πόλις), metropolis of the Panopolite nome of Upper Egypt, a bishopric from the early 4th C. A church is mentioned in a text of 295–300 A.D. (P. Gen. inv. 108), but no early examples have survived. They may have been destroyed in the 14th C., since al-Nahrawālī (*Die Chroniken der Stadt Mekka*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld, vol. 3 [Leipzig 1857; rp. Beirut 1964] 109) indicates that many marble columns from Akhmīm were reused in the Ka’ba at Mecca. Akhmīm has been famous since the 5th C. for its TEXTILES, many of which were found in early Christian (5th–7th C.) tombs nearby. Other tombs have yielded small articles of daily use. Papyri attest to a flourishing classical literary culture in the 4th–5th C.

LIT. Timm, *Ägypten* 1:80–96. R. Forrer, *Die frühchristlichen Altertümer aus dem Gräberfelde von Achmim-Panopolis* (Strassburg 1893). S. McNally, “Excavations at Akhmim, Egypt 1978,” *American Research Center in Egypt Newsletter* 107 (1978–79) 22–28.

—P.G.

AKHNĀS, or Akhnāsiya (Ἡρακλεόπολις, Heracleopolis Magna), south of Fayyūm, approximately 15 miles west of Beni Suef, metropolis of the Heracleopolite nome of Egypt, site of a bishopric from 325. From Akhnās have come a number of 4th- to 5th-C. architectural sculptures, such as niche-heads, capitals, friezes, etc., which once adorned mausoleums in the cemetery; many of these are decorated with mythological scenes. The site is now deserted, a vast field of pottery hills

surrounded by several modern villages. Traces of a colonnaded street are visible. Spots where huge columns abound are currently referred to as *kanīsa* (“church”) but are more probably the remains of other public buildings.

LIT. U. Monneret de Villard, *La scultura ad Ahnās* (Milan 1923). H.-G. Severin, “Gli scavi eseguiti ad Ahnas, Bahnasa, Bawit e Saqqara,” *CorsiRav* 28 (1981) 299–303. Timm, *Ägypten* 3:1161–72.

—P.G.

AKINDYNOS, GREGORY, anti-Palamite theologian; born Prilep ca. 1300?, died 1348. His baptismal name and original surname are unknown: Gregory was a monastic, Akindynos (Ἀκίνδυνος) an adopted name. Of humble, most probably Bulgarian, ancestry, Akindynos studied in Thessalonike with THOMAS MAGISTROS and subsequently became a schoolteacher in Berroia. There ca. 1330 he met Gregory PALAMAS and became a monk; he was, however, rejected by four Athonite monasteries, perhaps because of his reputation for secular learning. Akindynos returned to Thessalonike, where he became friendly with BARLAAM OF CALABRIA.

By 1337 Akindynos was in Constantinople and involved in the controversy over PALAMISM; in its early stages he played a mediating role between Barlaam and Palamas. By 1341, however, he began to question the orthodoxy of Palamite doctrine on divine grace, and threw his support to Barlaam. He was apparently condemned at the July session of the local council of Constantinople of 1341 (see under CONSTANTINOPLE, COUNCILS OF). Akindynos was a protégé of Irene CHOUMNAINA and the spokesman of Patr. JOHN XIV KALEKAS, who ordained him deacon and priest (1344). With the erosion of the authority of KALEKAS and the victory of JOHN VI KANTAKOUZENOS, Akindynos fell into disgrace; he was excommunicated at the council of 1347 and died in exile soon after.

His correspondence provides important insights into the hesychast controversy from an anti-Palamite viewpoint; many of his theological treatises, including the *Antirrhetics* against Palamas, are still unpublished. Unlike later anti-Palamites, Akindynos was neither a Latin sympathizer nor influenced by Greek philosophy, as his opponents claimed. In his works he did not inveigh against the spirituality of the monks but against the Palamite doctrine of the divine energies, thus ex-

pressing the conservative approach to theology of his fellow intellectuals.

ED. *Letters of Gregory Akindynos*, ed. A.C. Hero (Washington, D.C., 1983), with Eng. tr. Address to Hierotheos—ed. K. Pitsakes in *Epeteris Kentrou Ereunes Historias Hellenikou Dikaion* 19 (1972) 111–216. For complete list, see *Tusculum-Lexikon* 24f.

LIT. J.S. Nadal, "La critique par Akindynos de l'hérétique patristique de Palamas," *Istina* 19 (1974) 297–328. B. Phanourgakes, "Agnosta antipalamika syngrammata tou Gregoriou Akindynou," *Kleronomia* 4 (1972) 285–302. M. Candal, "La Confesión de fe antipalamítica de Gregorio Acindino," *OrChrP* 25 (1959) 215–64. *PLP*, no. 495. —A.M.T., A.C.H.

AKINDYNOS, PEGASIOS, AND ANEMPODISTOS (Ἀκίνδυνος, Πηγάσιος, Ἀνεμπόδιςτος), martyrs who lived in the Persian Empire under Shāpūr II (r. 310–79); saints; feastday 2 Nov. The *Passio*, preserved in two different versions (the earliest MSS from the 9th C.), concentrates on their ordeal: they were thrown into boiling lead, into the sea, into a ditch full of bloodthirsty beasts. They remained unharmed due to the help of angels and by their endurance converted many pagans to Christianity: Shāpūr's servant Aphthonios (who was immediately decapitated), the senator Elpidophoros (murdered together with his companions), and even the mother of the "basileus." She, the three martyrs, and 28 other soldiers (*stratiotai*) were burned in an oven. The legend was reworked by SYMEON METAPHRASTES.

Representation in Art. The three saints, sometimes joined by Aphthonios and Elpidophoros, are depicted wearing Byz., rather than Persian, court costume. The *MENOLOGION OF BASIL II* (p. 155) shows the saints being thrown in the sea, the Persian converts being beheaded, and the martyrs being burned alive in a brick oven, all in the same composition. These saints, though collectively called the "Holy Five," should not be confused with the more famous Five, Eustratios and his four companions, the FIVE MARTYRS OF SEBASTEIA.

SOURCES. AASS Nov. 1:461–504. PG 116:9–36.

LIT. BHG 21–23a. K.G. Kaster, *LCI* 5:23. —A.K., N.P.S.

AKOIMETOI, MONASTERY OF, an early monastic community in Constantinople, allegedly founded by the archimandrite ALEXANDER THE AKOIMETOS in 405 (Beck, *Kirche* 213), ca. 420 (Janin,

Églises CP 16), or ca. 425 (G. Dagron, *AB* 86 [1968] 272), and originally located near the Church of St. Menas in the Mangana quarter. The *akoimatoi* (ἀκοίμητοι, lit. "sleepless ones") were pledged to perpetual praise of God; their offices (popularly known as the *akolouthia ton akoimeton*) were continuous and uninterrupted, performed by three choirs in succession, each doing one eight-hour shift per day. This was actually a mitigation of Alexander's original ideal of perpetual prayer, a fundamentalist construction of the New Testament command to pray unceasingly; he had imposed an unending cycle of 24 offices, one per hour, with a minimum of time permitted for unavoidable bodily needs (*Vita*, ed. de Stoop, *PO* 6 [1911] 68of).

As a result of persecution, the *akoimatoi* were forced to move to a succession of monasteries almost immediately after their establishment; by the mid-5th C. they settled at Eirenaion on the eastern shore of the Bosphoros. Here the monastery flourished under the leadership of the ardent anti-Monophysite MARKELLOS THE AKOIMETOS, who served as *hegoumenos* for ca. 40 years; in this period the monks reportedly numbered in the hundreds. The monastery of the *akoimatoi* housed a scriptorium and library; in its early period the monastic community was trilingual, including Greek, Roman, and Syrian monks (Lemerle, *Humanism* 78, n. 82). A contingent of the monks moved in 463 to the recently founded monastery of STOUDIOS. The *akoimatoi* had no influence after Iconoclasm, when Stoudite monasticism prevailed in Constantinople. By the 9th C. the monastery of the *akoimatoi* had returned to Constantinople or had established a *metochion* in the city; when ANTONY of Novgorod visited Akoimatoi in 1200, it was within the walls. The monastery is not mentioned in the sources after 1204 and does not seem to have survived the Latin occupation.

LIT. Taft, "Bibl. of Hours," nos. 3, 9, 19, 23–26, 74, 79. Janin, *Églises centres* 13–15. —A.M.T., R.F.T.

AKOLOUTHIA (ἀκολουθία, lit. "succession"), a liturgical rite, esp. the ritual or sequence of elements comprised in a particular rite or office (e.g., the *akolouthia* of the PROTHESIS, the ASMATIKE AKOLOUTHIA). The term also refers to the "proper," or variable parts, of the office of a day or feast (e.g., the *akolouthia* of the Nativity or of St. Nicho-

las), or to the "common" of an office, the rite designed for a specific category of saint, to be used when the saint's day has no proper of its own (e.g., the *akolouthia* of a martyr). (For use of this term as a musical anthology, see PAPADIKE.)

LIT. Mateos, *Typicon* 2:279f. L. Petit, *Bibliographie des acolouthies grecques* (Brussels 1926), with add. S. Eustratiades, *EEBS* 9 (1932) 80–122. —R.F.T.

AKOLOUTHOS (ἀκόλουθος, perhaps from ἀκολουθέω, "to follow"), in the late 9th-C. *Kletorologion* of PHILOTHEOS a subaltern officer under the DROUNGARIOS TES VIGLAS or of the *arithmos*. From the 11th C. onward, as the *droungarios tes viglas* assumed primarily judiciary and police duties, the *akolouthos* became an independent commander of foreign, esp. Varangian, contingents (Oikonomides, *TM* 6 [1976] 130). Under Constantine IX, the *patrikios* and *akolouthos* Michael was one of the most prominent generals. In the 12th C. *akolouthoi* fulfilled predominantly diplomatic functions, for example, Eumathios PHILOKALES, who is called *acolitho* in the *HISTORIA DE EXPEDITIONE FRIDERICI* (ed. Chroust, 60, 65). The last individual known to have held the position of *akolouthos* was John Nomikopoulos in 1199, but a 14th-C. ceremonial book was familiar with the office; it defines the *akolouthos* as the chief of the Varangians and states that he accompanied the emperor at the head of this group (pseudo-Kod. 184.20–24). (For ecclesiastical *akolouthos*, see ACOLYTE.)

LIT. Guillard, *Institutions* 1:522–24. Oikonomides, *Listes* 331. —A.K.

AKRA TAPEINOSIS. See MAN OF SORROWS.

AKRITAI (sing. ἀκρίτης, from *akron/akra*, "summit, extremity"), term found in Byz. military treatises of the 10th and 11th C. denoting people stationed at the extremity of a given position, such as an army encampment or military formation. Its most common usage, however, designates inhabitants at the extremities of imperial territory, esp. along the eastern FRONTIER. When used in this manner, the term *akritai* can, depending upon context, refer to army units stationed along the frontier, to the commanders of such troops, or to the civilian population along the border. The term does not seem to have had any technical meaning

for Byz. provincial administration or military organization, nor does it refer to any specific type of unit composed of scouts or border guards, although such troops did exist and appear to have been called APELATAI. In the epic poem DIGENES AKRITAS, *hai akrai* generally denote the region near the Euphrates and the term *akritai* can refer to any inhabitant of this area including Muslims living outside the empire. In a later reference to Digenes' legendary exploits, Manuel I Komnenos was termed "a new Akrites" (H. Grégoire, *Byzantion* 25 [1955] 779–81).

LIT. A. Pertusi, "Tra storia e leggenda," 14 *CEB*, vol. 1 (Bucharest 1971) 237–78. N. Oikonomides, "L'épopée de Digenes et la frontière orientale de Byzance aux Xe et XIe siècles," *TM* 7 (1979) 375–97. —A.J.C.

AKRITIC IMAGERY. Episodes found in both DIGENES AKRITAS and the AKRITIC SONGS are possibly reflected in the SGRAFFITO decoration of more than 100 ceramic plates of uncertain origin, but found as far afield as Constantinople, Thessalonike, Sparta, Corinth, and the Athenian Agora. At the last two sites, the pottery comes from a 12th-C. context. A plate found at Corinth, representing Digenes wooing Maximo, queen of the Amazons, seems to follow the epic closely, esp. in the depiction of costume and the setting (Grottaferrata MS, ed. Trapp, vv. 3114–17). On the other hand, a fragment from the Agora, showing the sword-bearing hero beside a dragon whose neck is pierced with five darts, reproduces the *pente kontaria* and other details in an Akritic ballad (ed. in Notopoulos, *infra* 127) without counterpart in the epic. Many plates show the warrior as foot soldier in contrast to both *Digenes Akritas* and the Akritic Songs, each of which describes the hero as a horseman. While 35 plates have the warrior wearing the *podea* or pleated kilt (sometimes called a fustanella) attributed to Manuel I, the "new Akrites," in a Ptochoprodromic poem, and 26 have him slaying a dragon, neither iconographic element is sufficient to identify the hero specifically as Digenes because both the kilt and the deed characterize other *akritai* named in the Akritic Songs. More identifiable is the subject of a relief from St. Catherine's in Thessalonike that shows a figure in plate-armor tearing the jaws of a lion in accord with an event in *Digenes Akritas* (Grottaferrata MS, ed. Trapp, vv. 699–714). Evidence for illustrations to accompany the epic,

which may have been the source for five plates, may be found in the spaces left blank for illustration in the 16th-C. Escorial MS of *Digenes Akritas* and in the now lost MS seen in the 18th C. at the Xeropotamou monastery by K. Dapontes. Identification of these scenes as Akritic is, however, far from secure; they may well represent other folk tales now lost, but of which glimpses may be caught (e.g., in the romance of KALLIMACHOS AND CHRYSORRHOE).

LIT. J.A. Notopoulos, "Akritan Ikonography on Byzantine Pottery," *Hesperia* 33 (1964) 108-33. -A.C.

AKRITIC SONGS, narrative vernacular songs or ballads usually in POLITICAL VERSE, in which characters' names or actions appear to reflect episodes from the epic-romance *DIGENES AKRITAS*. The first examples of Akritic Songs were collected in Pontos around 1870, at about the time when the Trebizond MS of *Digenes Akritas* was discovered. According to Sathas and Legrand (L. Politis, *A History of Modern Greek Literature* [Oxford 1973] 23), these songs represented the remnants of an ancient epic cycle predating *Digenes Akritas*. Episodes from *Digenes Akritas* that have been linked to these songs include the abduction of Digenes' bride (*He apagoge tes kores tou strategou*), the building of his castle (*Akritas kastron ektizen*), his encounters with wild beasts (*Ho drakos*), and his death (*Ho Charos maura ephoresen*), though the dramatic struggle with CHARON, which is a striking element in the songs, does not occur in the epic. The hero's name in the songs fluctuates: he can be Digenes or Constantis or Giannis. R. Beaton (*Byzantion* 51 [1981] 22-43) has stressed that the connections between the songs and the epic are slight and that similarities are likely to have arisen because both draw on a common pool of traditional folk material. Those songs that come closest to the surviving epic are more likely to have been influenced by it than vice versa. Since most of the songs were collected from oral sources in the late 19th C. and have been subject to the transformations of up to a thousand years of oral transmission, the identification of precise references to Byz. historical events can be only conjectural.

ED. P. Kalonaros, *Basileios Digenes Akritas*, vol. 2 (Athens 1941; rp. 1970) 205-53. B.Ch. Makes, *Demotika tragoudia: Akritika* (Athens 1978).

LIT. Beck, *Volksliteratur* 87-94. E. Trapp, *Digenes Akrites* (Vienna 1971) 43-45. R. Beaton, *Folk Poetry of Modern Greece* (Cambridge 1980) 78-82. -E.M.J.

AKROINON ('Ακροῖνον, also Akrounos, now Afyonkarahisar), a city of PHRYGIA. Located at a main highway junction, Akroinon first appears in history when the Arabs attacked it in 716 and 732. In 740, Leo III won a decisive victory there over the Arabs led by Sayyid al-Baṭṭāl. Akroinon drew importance from its strategic location and steep acropolis, which provides a remarkable natural defense. It was a city of the ANATOLIKON theme and a bishopric of Phrygia Salutaris, first attested in the 10th C. Still Byz. when its governor revolted against Alexios I Komnenos in 1112, Akroinon was conquered by the Seljuks before 1146, when Manuel I won a victory there. The citadel bears a Seljuk castle that may include Byz. walls; it depended on cisterns of Byz. origin.

LIT. S. Göncü, *Afyon İli Tarihi* (Izmir 1971). S. Eyice, "La fontaine et les citernes byzantines de la citadelle d'Afyon Karahisar," *DOP* 27 (1973) 303-07. -C.F.

AKROPOLITES ('Ακροπολίτης, fem. 'Ακροπολίτισσα), a family of civil functionaries; in the 13th C. George Akropolites exaggerated when he called his ancestors a noble kin (Akrop. 1:49.18-19). The name derives from *akropolis*, referring most probably to the Acropolis in Constantinople; in the 10th C. the first known Akropolites acquired Gregoras Iberitzes' house (Preger, *Scriptores* 2:150.1-2), which presumably was at the Acropolis (Skyl. 198.46-47). If so, the family was of Constantinopolitan origin. From the end of the 11th C. onward, the Akropolitai were mostly fiscal officials: Nicholas, *chartoularios* of the *logothetes tou stratiotikou* in 1088; Michael, *megas chartoularios tou genikou*, whom Laurent (*Corpus* 2, no.353) tentatively identified with several other Michaels active in the 1140s. The position of the Akropolitai became more prominent in the second half of the 13th C. when George Akropolites was appointed *megas logothetes*; his son, Constantine, held the same post in the 14th C. (see AKROPOLITES, GEORGE and AKROPOLITES, CONSTANTINE). Leo Akropolites served as *doux* of Serres and Strymon ca.1295 (PLP, no.521), but his relationship to George and his son is unclear. Several family members were intellectuals: George and Constantine were famous writers; Melchisedek Akropolites, another of George's sons (blinded or executed in 1296), corresponded with PLANOUDS and instigated Alexios PHILANTHROPENOS to revolt. The Akropolitai intermarried with the Philanthropenoi, Tor-

nikioi, and Kontostephanoi. Maria Doukaina Akropolitissa possessed property in Constantinople ca.1300 (MM 1:312.16-17).

LIT. PLP, nos. 517-25. D.M. Nicol, "Constantine Akropolites: A Prosopographical Note," *DOP* 19 (1965) 249-56. -A.K.

AKROPOLITES, CONSTANTINE, hagiographer and statesman; born mid-13th C., died Constantinople? in or before May 1324. The eldest son of George AKROPOLITES, Akropolites opposed the Union of Lyons, in contrast to his father. Circa 1282 he became *logothetes tou genikou*, still bearing this title when he signed a treaty with Venice in 1285. From 1305/6 to at least 1321 he was *megas logothetes*. He was related by marriage to Alexios PHILANTHROPENOS, the Tornikes (see TORNIKIOS) family, and the imperial family of Trebizond. A patron of the arts, Akropolites was *ktetor* of the Constantinople monastery of the Anastasis, for which he wrote a supplementary *typikon* (K.A. Manaphes, *EEBS* 37 [1969-70] 459-65); he also commissioned an icon of the Virgin and Child, now in the Tretyakov Gallery in Moscow (V.I. Antonova, N.E. Mneva, *Katalog drevnerusskoj živopisi. XI-načalo XVIII veka*, vol. 1 [Moscow 1963] no.221, pl.172).

Akropolites was a prolific hagiographer, who wrote *enkomia* of about 30 saints, thus earning the name of "the new Metaphrastes." He wrote about saints of earlier centuries, rather than his contemporaries, the one exception being an *enkomion* of St. John the Merciful the Younger (D.I. Polemis, *AB* 91 [1973] 31-54). His *Logos* on the iconodule martyr Theodosia (PG 140:893-936) was evidently inspired by the miraculous cure of himself and his son-in-law at her shrine. Of his letters 194 survive, mostly unpublished; his correspondents included Gregory II of Cyprus and Nikephoros Choumnos. He also wrote a chronicle from the foundation of Rome to 1261. Akropolites severely criticized the TIMARION for both style and content (M. Treu, *BZ* 1 [1892] 361-65).

ED. 20 letters and *typikon*—"Constantini Acropolitae, hagiographi byzantini, epistularum manipulus," ed. H. Delehaye, *AB* 51 (1933) 263-84. F. Winkelmann, "Die Metrophanesvita des Konstantinos Akropolitae," *Studia Byzantina. Beiträge aus der byzantinistischen Forschung der DDR* (Halle 1968) 79-102. For list of ed. and unpublished works, see Nicol, *infra* 254-56.

LIT. D.M. Nicol, "Constantine Akropolites: A Prosopographical Note," *DOP* 19 (1965) 249-56. PLP, no.520. R. Romano, "Per l'edizione dell'epistolario di Costantino Ac-

ropolita," *Rendiconti: Accademia di archeologia, lettere e belle arti di Napoli* 56 (1981) 83-103. -A.M.T.

AKROPOLITES, GEORGE, civil official, teacher, and historian of the empire of Nicaea; born Constantinople 1217, died Constantinople 1282. Related by marriage to MICHAEL VIII PALAIOLOGOS, Akropolites was the father of Constantine AKROPOLITES and the monk Melchisedek. His parents sent him at age 16 from Constantinople to the court of JOHN III VATATZES, where he continued his studies under Theodore HEXAPTERYGOS and Nikephoros BLEMMYDES. In the 1240s he was a tutor to the emperor's son, THEODORE II LASKARIS, and performed chancery and ambassadorial functions as a *grammatikos*. Under Theodore II, Akropolites became *logothetes tou genikou* (1255) and then *praitor* (1256), with the duty of overseeing the troops in Macedonia. He held the title *megas logothetes* from ca.1259 to 1282. In the reconquered Constantinople he helped restore higher education as a teacher of philosophy, geometry, and rhetoric, producing at least two known students, the future patriarch GREGORY II OF CYPRUS and John PEDIASIMOS. In 1274, as part of a three-man delegation to the Second Council of LYONS, he swore to accept the PRIMACY of the Roman church on his own behalf and that of the emperor.

Contemporaries acknowledged his learning and characterized Akropolites as a man who "gave much to the emperor" (Constantine Akropolites, *Diatheke*, ed. M. Treu, *DIEE* 4 [1892] 48) and was "neglectful in matters of conscience" (Pachym., ed. Failler 2:409.23-25). He restored the Church of the Anastasis in Constantinople, which he bequeathed to his son Constantine, and wrote various works, notably his *Chronike Syngraphe*, the main Greek source for 1203-61. Written with the hindsight of the victorious party of 1261, it is infused with admiration for Michael VIII. The work was a source for the so-called Chronicle of Theodore SKOUTARIOTES (who also made valuable additions to it) and for EPHRAIM. Other works are an *epitaphios* for John III, prefatory verses to his own edition of Theodore II's letters, and two tracts on the Procession of the Holy Spirit.

ED. *Georgii Acropolitae opera*, ed. A. Heisenberg, 2 vols. (Leipzig 1903), corr. P. Wirth (Stuttgart 1978).

LIT. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:442-47. Constantinides, *Education* 31-35. P. Žavoronkov, "Nekotorye aspekty mirovozzrenija Georgija Akropolitai," *VizVrem* 47 (1986) 125-33. Oikonomides, *Dated Seals* 128, no.136. -R.J.M.

AKTEMON (ἀκτῆμων, lit. "without property"), a fiscal designation for a peasant who possessed no plow animals and little or no real property (at most, perhaps, only small vineyard or garden plots) but who possessed other livestock (e.g., asses, sheep, goats, bees). The term appears in documents from 1073 to 1303 that categorize peasants and peasant-holdings for fiscal and administrative purposes: in decreasing order, ZEUGARATOS, *boi-datos*, *aktemon*, and APOROS. As economic units producing a fiscal revenue, four *aktemones* were equivalent to one *zeugaratos*. Accordingly, in the cadaster of LAMPSAKOS, the *ANGAREIA* of an *akte-mon* was valued at half the *angareia* of a *boi-datos*. *Aktemones* are probably identical to the *pezoi* ("on foot," i.e., peasants who worked without draft animals) found in some contemporaneous sources. *Aktemones* probably leased land or earned their living as craftsmen, laborers (*douleutai*), or hired men (MISTHIOI).

LIT. Litavrin, *VizObshestvo* 51–61, 224f. Angold, *Byz. Government* 138, 221. Ostrogorsky, *Feodalitē* 303–09. Laiou, *Peasant Society* 153, n.27, 161–63. —M.B.

AKTOUARIOS (ἀκτουάριος, Lat. *actuarius* or *actarius*), the name of an official whose functions changed over the centuries. In the late Roman Empire the *aktouarios* was a fiscal official whose duty was the distribution of military wages and provisions (O. Seeck, *RE* 1 [1894] 301f). The term was in use at least to the 6th C.—in papyri (Preisigke, *Wörterbuch* 3 [1931] 92), inscriptions (Grégoire, *Inscriptions*, no.211), and legislative texts. The *Basilika* retained some old laws concerning *aktouarioi*, stressing among other points the distinction between *aktouarioi* and the TABOULLARIOI (*Basil.* 6.35.6). The *aktouarios* reappears in the 9th-C. TAKTIKON of Uspenskij and the *Kletorologion* of PHILOTHEOS but in vague contexts. In a 10th-C. ceremonial book he is described as distributing awards to victorious charioteers on behalf of the emperor (*De cer.* 345.14–15). R. Guiland (*BS* 26 [1965] 3) calls the *aktouarios* the chief of the couriers. The term changed its meaning again in the 12th, or perhaps as early as the 11th C.—from this time onward, *aktouarios* was the title of the [court?] physician.

LIT. S. Kourouses, "Ho aktouarios Ioannes Zacharias," *Athena* 78 (1980–82) 252–55. Karayannopoulos, *Finanzwesen* 102f. Bury, *Adm. System* 106. —A.K.

AKTOUARIOS, JOHN. See JOHN AKTOUARIOS.

AL-_____. See under latter part of name.

ALAHAN MANASTIRI (formerly called Koca Kalesi), a ruined complex of ecclesiastical structures situated between Karaman (Laranda) and Mut (Claudiopolis) on the boundary between Isauria and Lykaonia. The ruins occupy an artificial ledge on a mountainside, approximately 250 m long and 30 m wide. They consist of a cave chapel (the earliest feature on the site), a three-aisled basilica that retains an impressive carved doorway and, some 110 m farther east, another church lacking only its roof. The east church was covered by a central tower on squinches, probably terminating in a pyramidal timber roof. The two main churches were joined by a colonnaded walk, along which were built a baptistery and other structures. Notable architectural sculpture survives. Funerary inscriptions of Tarasis (died 462), builder of *apanteteria* (meeting rooms), and of the junior Tarasis, who served as *paramonarios* (see PROSMONARIOS) from 461 onward, provide chronological confirmation for the attribution of the bulk of the complex to the reign of Zeno. During a secondary phase a smaller church was built in the nave of the west basilica. The cave church, baptistery, and living quarters were also repaired, but the east church remained derelict. The generally accepted assumption that Alahan was a monastery appears incorrect, so that its proposed identification with "the monastery at Apadnas in Isauria" that was rebuilt by Justinian I (Prokopios, *Buildings* 5:9.33) should be abandoned. It was more probably a pilgrimage shrine.

LIT. Alahan, *an Early Christian Monastery in Southern Turkey*, ed. M. Gough (Toronto 1985). F. Hild et al., "Kommagene-Kilikien-Isaurien," *RBK* 4 (1984) 254–63, 286f. —C.M.

ALAMANIKON (Ἀλαμανικόν), or "German tax," imposed in 1197 by ALEXIOS III after HENRY VI demanded 5,000 pounds of gold as tribute and agreed to accept 1,600. Before this levy on the provinces and Constantinople, the emperor summoned an assembly of senators, clergy, and members of the trades and professions. When he proposed that the property of each be assessed, the

assembly rejected the imposition as contrary to custom. In near revolt, members of the crowd blamed Alexios's maladministration, citing the waste of public funds and the imposition of incompetent relatives of the emperor as provincial governors. Alexios hastily disavowed the plan. He next tried to collect costly ecclesiastical objects not of primary use in the liturgy; when this attempt also met with resistance, he turned to plundering the tombs of past emperors, abstaining only from that of Constantine I. Thereby he acquired some gold and 7,000 pounds of silver. Henry VI's death forestalled the dispatch of the money.

LIT. Brand, *Byzantium* 193.

—C.M.B.

ALAMUNDARUS (al-Mundhir), king of HĪRA who raided the Byz. frontier for almost 50 years (ca.505–54), both as a client of Persia and as LAKHMID king; died near Chalkis 554. Around 523 he captured two Roman generals, Timostratos and John, and released them in the following year for a large sum of money. He participated in the Persian campaign that ended with the battle of KALLINIKOS. His role in the Strata dispute (ca.539) and his subsequent negotiations with the Romans provided the Persian king Chosroes I with a pretext for beginning the so-called Second Persian War, in which Alamundarus took part. For some ten years after this war he fought with his GHASSĀNID adversary ARETHAS, but finally was defeated and killed. Toward the end of his life he apparently received subsidies from Justinian I. Although Alamundarus married a Christian woman, Hind, the daughter of Arethas, king of KINDA, he was a pagan in word and deed. If he was converted to Christianity ca.513, as claimed by some ecclesiastical historians such as Theodore Lector, his conversion was of short duration.

LIT. G. Rothstein, *Die Dynastie der Lahmiden in al-Hira* (Berlin 1899; rp. Hildesheim 1968) 71–87. —I.A.Sh.

ALAMUNDARUS (al-Mundhir), son of the Ghassānid king ARETHAS and his successor as supreme phylarch and king of the Arab FOEDERATI (569–582). Like his father before him, he, too, distinguished himself in the wars of the period and also as an arbiter in the Monophysite controversies. He participated in the campaign of 580 against the Persians, during which disagreements devel-

oped between him and the Byz. commanders. On two occasions, in 570 and in 580, he captured HĪra, the capital of his LAKHMID adversaries, in two lightning campaigns. In 580 he was received by Tiberios I in Constantinople and was allowed to wear a crown instead of a coronet or a band. Throughout his career, he tried to settle religious differences between the Monophysites and the Chalcedonians and also within the ranks of the Monophysites. In the quarrel between two Monophysite leaders, Paul the Black, the Monophysite patriarch of Antioch, and JACOB BARADAEUS, he took the side of Paul. His Monophysite persuasion was not well received in Constantinople. Justin II tried unsuccessfully to arrest him, but the two were later reconciled. Emp. Maurice, however, treacherously had him arrested and exiled to Sicily. Like his father, he was both *patrikios* and *gloriosissimus*.

LIT. Nöldeke, *Die Ghassānischen Fürsten* 23–30. Goubert, *Byz. avant l'Islam* 1:249–57. W.H.C. Frend, *The Rise of the Monophysite Movement* (Cambridge 1979) 327–31.

—I.A.Sh.

ALANS (Ἀλανοί) were known in the West from the 1st C. A.D. AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS regarded them not as an ethnic entity, but rather as ubiquitous groups of professional warriors (cavalrymen) who practiced ritual adoption and used an East Iranian idiom as their lingua franca. Some of them took part in the exploits of the Goths, Huns, and Vandals, fought at the battle of ADRIANOPLE, and eventually settled in North Africa, Italy, and Gaul. Others became *foederati*; ASPAR was reportedly of Alan origin.

Later sources distinguish two groups, the mountain Alans and the steppe Alans. The former, the Alans proper, lived in the northern Caucasus, between the Terek, Bol'shoj Zelenčuk, and Argun rivers. Both groups were either subjects or associates of the Khazar state or Byz.; Justinian II sent an embassy to Alania (as the country is called by Theophanes the Confessor) seeking an alliance against the Arabs. Patr. NICHOLAS I MYSTIKOS dispatched several church missions to the Alans, and between 914 and 916 Peter, archbishop of Alania, was active there. The remains of churches in Byz. style, dated to the 10th C., have been discovered in the region. In the 13th C. THEODORE OF ALANIA sent a report on his flock. Kulakovskij's attempt to locate the metropolis of

VICINA in Alania is erroneous (V. Laurent, *EO* 38 [1939] 91–103). The only known Christian Alan inscription (of the 10th–12th C., in a Greek script) was discovered on the Bol'šoj Zelenčuk.

In the 11th C. Alans served as Byz. mercenaries. In the early 14th C. Andronikos II settled a 10,000-strong contingent of Alan men with their wives and children in Asia Minor to use against the Turks, but they were unsuccessful; their operation against the CATALAN GRAND COMPANY in 1305 was no more fortunate. The Byz. made no clear distinction between Alans, Abchasians, and Georgians, even though John Tzetzes boasted that he knew how to address the Alans in their language. In the 11th C. the Georgian princess Maria was consistently called MARIA OF "ALANIA."

LIT. B. Bachrach, *A History of the Alans in the West* (Minneapolis 1973). Ju. Kulakovskij, *Alany po svedenijam klassičeskich i vizantijskich pisatelej* (Kiev 1899). V.A. Kuznecov, *Alanija v X–XIII vv.* (Ordžonikidze 1971). K.G. Doguzov, *Vizantijsko-alanske otnošenija (VI–XII vv.)* (Tbilisi 1987). —O.P.

ALARIC (Ἀλάρικος), Visigothic ruler (395–410); born Danube region between 365 and 370, died Consentia in Bruttium in 410. Leader of a Gothic contingent in 394 at the battle of the Frigidus against the usurper EUGENIUS, Alaric chafed under the leadership of GAINAS and, offended that he had not been made *magister militum*, broke with Roman rule. Under Alaric the VISIGOTHS rose in revolt and devastated Moesia, Macedonia, and Thrace, advancing close to the walls of Constantinople. Alaric descended into Thessaly and then into southern Greece (396–97). Twice STILICHO had the Visigoths at his mercy, but both times he withdrew, probably for political reasons. Alaric was granted the title of *magister militum* of Illyricum and retreated to the north. In 401 he invaded Italy but was driven out by Stilicho the next year. He may have formed a plan with Stilicho to detach Illyricum from the empire but this came to naught. In 408 Alaric again began to threaten Rome, causing the Roman senate to agree to pay him compensation. The murder of Stilicho rendered Italy defenseless, and Alaric marched on Rome, driven as he said by divine impulse (Sokr. *HE* 7.10). Alaric demanded that Venetia, Noricum, and Dalmatia be ceded to him; when this was refused he set up the pretender Attalus against Honorius. After this too failed to secure conces-

sions, Alaric occupied Rome and sacked it on 14 (G. Wirth, *LMA* 1:271) or 24 Aug. 410, sending a shock of horror through the civilized world, reflected, among others, by Augustine in *The City of God* (1.7). Alaric sought to cross to Sicily but his ships were wrecked in a storm. He died soon after. The story told by JORDANES (*Getica* par.158) of his burial in the bottom of the Busento River, when all the grave diggers were executed lest they divulge the whereabouts of immense treasure, is legendary.

LIT. Bury, *LRE* 1:109–11, 160–63, 174–85. Thompson, *Romans and Barbarians* 43–45. N.I. Golubcova, "Italija v načale V veka i tvorženje Alaricha v Rim," *VDI* (1949) no.4, 62–74. —T.E.G.

ALBANIA, CAUCASIAN (Ἀλβανία, Arm. Aġuank'), region northeast of ARMENIA and east of Iberia between the Kur River, the Caspian Sea, and the Caucasus range. From the 1st to the 6th C. it formed an independent kingdom with its own language and literature, now lost. It was evangelized from Armenia in the 4th C. (pseudo-P'AWSTOS BUZAND 3.5–6), whence it also received its alphabet in the next century (Koriwn, *Life of Mashtots*, ed. K. Maksoudian [Delmar, N.Y., 1985] 70f; pt.2, p.40). It remained within the orbit of the ARMENIAN CHURCH, although it disputed the marchlands south of the Kur with the ARSACIDS. Ammianus Marcellinus (Amm.Marc. 18:6.22; 19:2.3) mentions Albania as an ally of Persia against the Romans in 359, a position confirmed by the Armenian sources for 369–70 (pseudo-P'awstos Buzand 5.4.13). Around 510 the Sasanians suppressed the Albanian monarchy and the country was ruled by a *marzpan* residing at Partaw. In 628 Herakleios installed the Mihranid dynasty of Gardman in Albania; it remained in power under Arab suzerainty until 821, when Albania ceased to exist as an autonomous Christian principality.

LIT. R. Hews, "Ethno-History and the Armenian Influence upon the Caucasian Albanians," *Classical Armenian Culture* (Chico, Calif., 1982) 27–40. K.V. Trever, *Očerki po istorii i kul'ture Kavkazskoj Albanii* (Moscow-Leningrad 1959). —N.G.G.

ALBANIANS (Ἀλβανοί), also Arbanitai, an ethnic group the origin of which is enigmatic. Attempts to connect medieval Albanians with those described by Ptolemy (e.g., E. Lange-Kowal, *Zeitschrift für Balkanologie* 18 [1982] 136) do not pro-

vide sufficient evidence; Byz. texts begin to mention them only from the 11th C., and even these texts are open to question (E. Vranouse, *Symmeikta* 2 [1970] 207–54).

Hypothetically, we can assume that the Albanians were descendants of the ancient Illyrians (see ILLYRICUM) who survived the period of barbarian invasions and, by the 11th C., occupied Arbanon, a mountainous valley of the Shkumbi River (A. Ducellier, *TM* 3 [1968] 353–68) that formed a part of the theme of DYRRACHION. The region was populated by a predominantly pastoral people. By the 13th C. the Albanians had spread far from this area; George Akropolites mentions the *phrourion* Kroia (Albanian *Krujë*) as a part of Arbanon.

In the 14th C. many Albanian nobles settled in different parts of EPIROS: notable among them were Charles Topia ("princeps Albaniae," 1359–92) in Dyrrachion, John Spata in Arta, Balša Balšić in Avlon, and the Kastrioti in Kroia. In Kroia the local lord, SKANDERBEG, was able to defeat the Ottomans, but soon after his death the Ottomans completed their occupation of Albania. Dyrrachion, taken by the Venetians from Charles Topia in 1392, was evacuated by them in 1501. By the early 14th C. bands of Albanians had also spread into Thessaly. Around 1350 the *despotes* MANUEL KANTAKOUZENOS transplanted a large number of Albanians to the Morea to serve as soldiers and farmers in the depopulated peninsula; yet another wave of Albanians arrived in the Morea during the despotate of THEODORE I PALAIOLOGOS (Zakythinis, *Despotat* 101–05).

LIT. G. Stadtmüller, "Forschungen zur albanischen Frühgeschichte," *Archivum Europae Centro-Orientalis* 7 (1941) 1–196. S. Islami, K. Frashëri, *Historia e Shqipërisë*, vol. 1 (Tirana 1959). S. Pollo, A. Puto, *The History of Albania* (London-Boston 1974). A. Ducellier, *La façade maritime de l'Albanie au Moyen Âge* (Thessalonike 1981). Idem, *L'Albanie entre Byzance et Venise, Xe–XVe siècles* (London 1987). —O.P.

ALBERTINI TABLETS, 33 documents written in Latin on cedarwood tablets and dating to the Vandal period (493–96); found on an estate in the Jabal Mrata south of THEVESTE, they are named after their first editor. All but three of the documents constitute deeds of sale involving parcels of land under the category of *culturae Mancianae*, which formed part of the *fundus Tuletianos* and

potentially neighboring *fundi*. The estate was owned by a landlord, Flavius Geminus Catullinus, *flamen perpetuus*, probably in absentia, but was evidently maintained by three brothers, Geminus Felix, Geminus Cresconius, and Geminus Januarius, possibly relatives of Catullinus, acting in capacities akin to the *conductores* of the Roman period. The reason for this rash of sales is not evident in the documents, but involved the purchase by the Geminii brothers of scattered plots, for rather low prices, from tenants of the estate (most of whom carry the family name of Julius, suggesting that they formed a single clan). It is evident from the deeds that it was the use of the plots and the ownership of the trees (mostly olive, but also fig, almond, and pistachio) and other crops cultivated on the plots, and not the plots of land themselves that were being sold.

Cultura Manciana was a land tenure arrangement, originally established under the terms of a Roman-period *lex Manciana* (evidently only in effect in Africa), in which lease or usage rights (*usus proprius*) to uncultivated land (*subseciva*) on an estate was granted in perpetuity to an individual (*colonus/possessor*) by the owner in exchange for shares of the crop. This arrangement is thought to have been designed to extend cultivation on estates through a system of tenancy. From the Albertini Tablets, however, it would appear that the predominant form of landholding on the estate of Catullinus was a Mancian tenure, suggesting that even primary parts of estates in Africa may have been brought into cultivation under the Mancian system. The tablets likewise suggest that this system was left essentially untouched by the Vandals.

In terms of agriculture, the tablets reveal continued arboriculture, particularly olive cultivation, as well as continued practice of floodwater farming technology along the Saharan frontier. The Albertini Tablets also provide valuable information on Vandal and early Byz. coinage and monetary values (P. Grierson, *JRS* 49 [1959] 73–80) as well as late Latin grammar, phonetics, and legal and agricultural terminology.

ED. C. Courtois, L. Leschi, C. Perrat, and C. Saumagne, *Tablettes Albertini* (Paris 1952).

LIT. J. Lambert, "Les Tablettes Albertini," *Revue Africaine* 97 (1953) 196–225. J. Percival, "Culturae Mancianae: Field Patterns in the Albertini Tablets," in *The Ancient Historian and his Materials* (Westmead 1975) 213–17. C.R. Whitaker, "Land and Labour in North Africa," *Klio* 60

(1978) 358–60. D.J. Mattingly, "Olive Cultivation and the Albertini Tablets," *Africa-Romana* 6 (Sassari 1988) 403–15. —R.B.H.

ALBERT OF AACHEN, canon; 12th-C. Crusader historian (the name is indicated only in two later MSS). Although he never traveled to the Levant, Albert authored in Latin the *Jerusalem History* (*Historia Hierosolymitana*), the most detailed contemporary account of the First Crusade (books 1–6) and the Crusader kingdom's early years (books 7–12). He likely began writing before 1119 (possibly as early as 1100–01; events of 1109–11 are dated one year too early). He probably wrote book 12 (events of 1111–19) in the 1120s and certainly before ca.1140 or 1150 (date of the earliest MSS: Knoch, *infra* 14–18); it contains apparently unfinished material. Albert enthusiastically but uncritically exploited the Gesta Francorum, oral reports of fellow Lotharingians, whom he lionizes, and possibly also lost sources, including an early form of Richard the Pilgrim's Chanson d'Antioche. Although Albert's reliability has been challenged, his data on the Hungarians, Pechenegs, and Byz. (bk.1, chs. 6–14) appear accurate (J. Karić, *Beogradski Universitet, Zbornik filozofskog fakulteta* 10.1 [1968] 183–91). He treats the relations of Alexios I Komnenos with Peter the Hermit (bk.1, chs. 13–15, 22), Godfrey of Bouillon (bk.2), and Bohemund I (bk.9, ch.37, 47; bk.10, chs. 40–45) as well as a Turkish attack on Byz. territory (bk.12, ch.15).

ED. RHC Occid. 4 (1879) 265–713. Germ. tr. H. Hefele, *Geschichte des ersten Kreuzzugs*, 2 vols. (Jena 1923).

LIT. P. Knoch, *Studien zu Albert von Aachen* (Stuttgart 1966). Zaborov, *Krest. poch.* 111–19. —M.McC.

ALBOIN (Ἀλβόινος), Lombard king; born Pannonia?, died Verona 28 June 572. Circa 565, Alboin succeeded his father Audoin as king of the Lombards in Noricum and Pannonia. In 567, in alliance with the Avars, Alboin destroyed the Gepids, slew their king Cunimund, and married his daughter Rosamund. On 2 Apr. 568, allegedly at the invitation of Narses, Alboin left with his people for Italy, arriving in May 569. It is unlikely that Alboin entered Italy with the complicity of some Byz. authorities (Schmidt, *infra* 588f). By Sept. 569, aided by some Herulians, Rugians, Gepids, Alans, and Saxons, Alboin conquered

Aquileia, Cividale, Venetia, and Lombardy. He entered Milan on 3 Sept. 569, easily overran Tuscany, Piedmont, and regions of Spoleto and Benevento (including Treviso, Vicenza, Verona, Brescia, and Bergamo), crossed the Po in 570, and took Pavia and Verona in 572. Alboin established himself in the former palace of Theodoric; in autumn 569 or early 570 he was proclaimed *dominus Italiae* at Milan. Alboin personified the valor and ethic of a warring society and had greater military than administrative ability. He capitalized on Justin II's preoccupation with other frontiers and the inadequacy of Byz. garrisons in Italy and started the process whereby Byz. control of Italy dissolved. His chamberlain Peredeo slew him, possibly in league with Alboin's vengeful wife Rosamund.

LIT. P. Delogu in *Storia d'Italia*, ed. G. Galasso (Turin 1980) 1:10–17. T. Hodgkin, *Italy and Her Invaders* 553–600 (Oxford 1895; rp. New York 1967) 5:137–71. L. Schmidt, *Die Ostgermanen*² (Munich 1941; rp. Munich 1969) 539–42, 582–95. —W.E.K.

ALCHEMY (χυμεία or χημεία). The "sacred art" of the transmutation of metals into gold or silver was, in Byz., a continuation of older Mesopotamian and Egyptian traditions of coloring or making alloys of cheaper materials so that they would be accepted as more expensive ones. Sometimes the writings of the alchemists are composed of simple recipes for achieving tinctures, confusions of metals, and other chemical effects, but often they are expressed in an allegorical mode infused with philosophical, religious, or astrological imagery that reflects their mystical nature, which is almost completely irrelevant to the perceptible world.

These two tendencies are clearly visible in the earliest Byz. alchemical texts, of the early 4th C.; the papyri of Leiden and of Stockholm contain recipes for imitating gold, silver, precious stones, and purple dye, while some of the surviving Greek treatises of Zosimos of Panopolis (3rd/4th C.) are primarily allegorical visions in which the transmutation of base metals into gold or silver is represented as a religious act whereby the adept ascends a series of ladders leading to the accomplishment of his goal. Other treatises ascribed to Zosimos in Greek, while still mystical, are more closely connected to actual chemical operations

and describe the apparatus necessary for their execution; preserved under his name in Syriac are many practical recipes and a description of alchemical ingredients with indications of where they can be found (M. Berthelot, *La chimie au moyen âge*, vol. 2 [Paris 1893; rp. Osnabrück-Amsterdam 1967] 210–66, 297–308). Many other tracts of Zosimos are preserved in Arabic translations (Sezgin, *GAS* 4:73–77; M. Ullmann, *Die Natur- und Geheimwissenschaften im Islam* [Leiden 1972] 160–63).

Indeed, early Byz. and Syrian alchemy, in combination with some material from Iran and India, is the foundation for the rich alchemical tradition in Arabic, which in turn inspired western Europe from the 11th C. onward. Much remains to be discovered in this vast literature in Syriac, Arabic, Persian, and Latin that is relevant to the history of Byz. science. The summary accounts given by Sezgin (*supra*, 77–111) and Ullmann (*supra*, 163–91) reveal the existence of works falsely attributed to APOLLONIOS OF TYANA; a *Kitāb al-Habīb* (Book of the Beloved), which had a Byz. original; many versions of Greek and Syriac treatises associated with the names of Plato, Aristotle, and Hermes; and Arabic translations of the alchemical works of STEPHEN OF ALEXANDRIA, Emp. Herakleios, and Marianos the Monk (Lat. Morienus).

Works surviving in Greek of early Byz. alchemy (4th–7th C.) include the commentary on pseudo-Demokritos by SYNESIOS of Cyrene, apparently composed before 389; the commentary on Zosimos composed by OLYMPIODOROS (either the early 5th-C. historian or—more probably—the 6th-C. philosopher); *On the Sacred Art* by Pelagios the Philosopher and *On the Divine Art* by John the Archpriest, who both use Zosimos; the mystical treatise *On the Making of Gold* by Stephen of Alexandria; two compilations, that of "the Christian" and an anonymous one, both of which cite Stephen; and the four alchemical poems ascribed to Heliodoros, Theophrastos, Hierotheos, and Archelaos. All of these texts and some anonymous compendia of recipes were included in a collection made in, perhaps, the late 9th or early 10th C. and dedicated to a certain Theodore. A primary descendant of this is the unfortunately mutilated Venice, Bib. Marc. 299, probably of the 10th C. It includes formulas and explanatory texts for the transmutation of metals, astrological diagrams

purporting to show the heavenly TAXIS that allows the making of gold, and alembics and other apparatus for heating and distilling liquids. The MS was evidently still in use in the 14th C. when other drawings were added (Furlan, *Marciana* 4:11–15). Expanded versions of the collection are found in Paris, B.N. gr. 2325 (13th C.) and B.N. gr. 2327 (1478).

This last MS opens with a most significant contribution to alchemical literature, the letter *On How to Make Gold* addressed by Michael PSELLOS to Patr. Michael I Keroularios in ca.1045/6 (J. Grosdidier de Matons, *TM* 6 [1976] 329f). In it he argues that the transmutation of one element into another is perfectly natural and then gives a series of recipes for manufacturing "gold," debasing it, and extracting it from sand. Later in his career Psellos attacked the unfortunate patriarch for having been such a good student (*CMAG* 6:73–89).

The final two authors under whose names alchemical treatises have been transmitted are Kosmas the Monk (who postdates Psellos) and Nikephoros BLEMMEYDES, both of whom wrote collections of recipes. But in southern Italy a Latin alchemical treatise was translated into Greek already by the early 14th C.; the anonymous text, edited by C.O. Zuretti (*CMAG* 7), refers to Arnold of Villanova. Some other fragments of the alchemical works of Arnold of Villanova appear in a 15th-C. MS, Paris, B.N. gr. 2327. The *Semita recta* (Straight Path) falsely ascribed to Albertus Magnus is found in Paris, B.N. gr. 2419, perhaps translated into Greek by the scribe George Madiates in the 1460s.

The creative period of Byz. alchemy was the 4th–7th C., though the art continued to be studied and presumably practiced until the fall of Constantinople. Unlike ASTRONOMY, ASTROLOGY, MATHEMATICS, and MEDICINE, however, Byz. alchemy seems barely to have been enriched by translation from the Arabic, though there are some traces of eastern influence in the treatise from the 14th-C. codex Holkham gr. 290, now in the Bodleian (ed. O. Lagercrantz, *CMAG* 3), and in the work of Kosmas. The few treatises translated from the Latin texts influenced by the Arabic science were available only in Italy.

ED. *Collection des anciens alchimistes grecs*, ed. M. Berthelot, C.E. Ruelle, 3 vols. (Paris 1887–88). Stephen of Alexandria—ed. I.L. Ideler in *PhysMedGr* 2:199–253; see also R.

Romano in *SBNG* 87–95. *Heliodori carmina quattuor*, ed. G. Goldschmidt (Giessen 1923). *Catalogue des manuscrits alchimiques grecs*, 8 vols. (Brussels 1924–32). *Les alchimistes grecs*, ed. R. Halleux, vol. 1 (Paris 1981).

LIT. Hunger, *Lit.* 2:279–84. R. Halleux, *Les textes alchimiques* (Turnhout 1979). —D.P., A.C.

ALEMANNI (Ἀλαμανοί), the Latin term for an amalgamation of a number of smaller Germanic tribes, including a segment of the Suevi. After some conflicts with the Roman Empire in the 3rd C., Alemanni concentrated in the area between the Upper Danube and middle Rhine. Relations with the native Roman population were frequently hostile. In 457 the Alemanni invaded Italy and later threatened Noricum. Following their defeat by Clovis (497?), some Alemanni escaped to Raetia to settle, after ca. 500, south of Lake Constance under the protection of THEODORIC THE GREAT. Paganism remained widespread among the Alemanni until the late 6th C. They were eventually absorbed into the Frankish kingdom.

Coptic bronze vessels, Italian glass and ceramics, and a Byz. pectoral cross found in Alemanni graves indicate some economic and cultural links with the Mediterranean in the 5th to 7th C. The Byz. historians Prokopios and Agathias considered the Alemanni akin to the GERMANOI; according to H. Ditten (*StBalc* 10 [1975] 73–86), their name was distorted by later copyists and rendered *Albanoi*. After a period of absence from the sources, the name reappears in the *Souda* (corrupted as *Albanoi*) and in many authors of the 11th to 15th C. in reference to the Germans, whereas the term *Germanoi* sometimes meant French. When Alexios III concluded a truce with Henry VI of Germany, a new tax called ALAMANI-KON was introduced to pay tribute to the Germans.

LIT. Thompson, *Romans & Barbarians* 29–37. L. Musset, *The Germanic Invasions* (London 1985) 80–83. R. Christlein, *Die Alamannen*² (Stuttgart-Aalen 1979). H. Ditten, "Germanen und 'Alamannen' in antiken und byzantinischen Quellen," *BBA* 52 (1985) 20–31. —R.B.H.

ALEPPO. See BERROIA: Berroia in Syria.

ALEXANDER, bishop of Alexandria (from 313); born Alexandria ca. 250, died there 18 April 328. His first task as bishop was to deal with the MELETIAN SCHISM. Most of his reign, however, was concerned with his major adversary, ARIUS. Al-

though condemned and excommunicated by a synod convened by Alexander ca. 321, Arius refused to abandon his teaching. This led to the convocation of the First Council of NICAIA (325) in which Alexander, accompanied by his deacon ATHANASIOS (future bishop of Alexandria), played an important role. Of his voluminous correspondence, only three letters survive. In these he reveals himself as an active and persistent supporter of the Orthodox position concerning the Son's perfect consubstantiality and eternal generation from the Father. Fragments of sermons ascribed to him are also preserved in Coptic and Syriac.

ED. Letters—ed. H.G. Opitz, *Athanasius' Werke* (Berlin 1934) 3.1: 6–11, 19–31. W. Schneemelcher, "Der Sermo 'de anima et corpore,'" in *Festschrift für G. Dehn* (Neukirchen 1957) 119–43. O. Perler, "Recherches sur le *Peri Pascha* de Méliton," *RSR* 51 (1963) 407–21.

LIT. G. Loeschke, "Zur Chronologie der beiden grossen antianianischen Schreiben des Alexander von Alexandrien," *ZKirch* 31 (1910) 584–86. V.C. de Clercq, *Ossius of Cordova* (Washington, D.C., 1954) 189–206. B. Pheidias, "Alexandros Alexandreias kai hai dyo enkyklioi epistolai autou," *Antidoron pneumatikon. Timetikos tomos Gerasimou Io. Konidare* (Athens 1981) 518–42. —A.P.

ALEXANDER, emperor (11 May 912–6 June 913); born Constantinople ca. 870, died Constantinople. The youngest son of BASIL I and EUDOKIA INGERINA, according to the vita of St. BASIL THE YOUNGER, Alexander was co-emperor with his brother LEO VI from 879. During Leo's reign Alexander was at odds with his brother and was even suspected of plotting against him. After ascending the throne, Alexander demoted Leo's assistants (HIMERIOS was imprisoned), possibly deposed Patr. EUTHYMIOS, and reinstated NICHOLAS I MYSTIKOS. ZOE KARBONOPSINA was expelled from the palace. Alexander's administration had to face assaults from two directions: the Arabs attacked the area under the control of MELIAS, and SYMEON OF BULGARIA apparently invaded Byz. before Alexander's death. R. Jenkins (*SBN* 7 [1953] 389–93) hypothesizes that an Arab embassy was sent to Constantinople during Alexander's reign. Both the author of the vita of Euthymios and chroniclers are hostile toward Alexander and represent him as lecherous and lazy. A mosaic portrait of Alexander is preserved in the north gallery of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople (P.A. Underwood, E.J.W. Hawkins, *DOP* 15 [1961] 187–217). Coinage reflects Alexander's bad relations with



ALEXANDER. Portrait of the emperor; mosaic, 912–913. North gallery of Hagia Sophia, Istanbul.

Leo VI: Leo's son, CONSTANTINE VII, although titular emperor from 908, does not share the reverse of Alexander's solidi. Rather, his place is taken by John the Baptist shown crowning Alexander, the first depiction of coronation by a sacred figure (C. Jolivet-Lévy, *Byzantion* 57 [1987] 447f).

LIT. P. Karlin-Hayter, "The Emperor Alexander's Bad Name," *Speculum* 44 (1969) 585–96. H. Grégoire, "Un captif arabe à la cour de l'Empereur Alexandre," *Byzantion* 7 (1932) 666–73. —A.K., A.C.

ALEXANDER III, pope (from Sept. 1159); born Siena between 1100 and 1105, died Rome 30 Aug. 1181. While a cardinal Alexander had favored a pro-Norman policy; therefore, his election to the papacy was opposed by FREDERICK I BARBAROSSA, who supported several antipopes and forced

Alexander to seek refuge in France. There the pontiff tried to organize an anti-German coalition, but the French king LOUIS VII was indifferent to this plan. Alexander eagerly negotiated with Emp. Manuel I. In 1161 Cardinal William of Pavia sent a letter to Manuel asking him to recognize Alexander and complaining that "the barbarians" had usurped the imperial throne. These negotiations became known in Frederick's camp, where Alexander was accused of making an alliance with the emperor. In 1167 Manuel sent the *sebastos* Iordanos to Rome, promising church union on condition that Alexander recognize him as the emperor of the East and West. The plan, however, was never executed because, although Alexander wanted to use Byz. resources against Frederick, he was not inclined to sever all links with Germany. In the 1170s Alexander based his anti-German policy primarily on the support of the Lombard League, a coalition of northern Italian cities.

LIT. M.W. Baldwin, *Alexander III and the Twelfth Century* (Glen Rock, N.J., 1966). M. Pacault, *Alexandre III*. (Paris 1956) and rev. F. Kempf, *RHE* 52 (1957) 932–37. W. Ohnsorge, *Die Legaten Alexanders III* (Berlin 1928; rp. Vaduz 1965). J. Parker, "The Attempted Byzantine Alliance with the Sicilian Norman Kingdom (1166–1167)," *BSR* 24 (1956) 86–93. R. Weigand, "Magister Rolandus und Papst Alexander III," *Archiv für katholisches Kirchenrecht* 149 (1980) 3–44. —A.K.

ALEXANDER IV (Rainaldo, count of Segni), pope (from 12 Dec. 1254); born end of the 12th C., died Viterbo 25 May 1261. He was the nephew of GREGORY IX. From his predecessor INNOCENT IV Alexander inherited the war with MANFRED of Sicily and a dangerous situation in Palestine; he tried to find support in Germany through an alliance with Richard of Cornwall, son of King John of England. He also viewed THEODORE II LASKARIS as a possible ally, since the Latin Empire of Constantinople was in obvious decline. Negotiations reopened at Theodore's initiative and led to an exchange of envoys in 1256; Theodore, however, rejected the idea of papal PRIMACY and insisted on the equality of pope and emperor. Alexander's legate, Constantius of Orvieto, was instructed to agree to the convocation of an ecumenical council and to the absolution of the "schismatics" who were ready to convert to Catholicism, but not to abrogate the principle of primacy. On the other hand, despite the eirenic

tone of the epistle of Patr. ARSENIOS AUTOREIANOS (*RegPatr*, fasc. 4, no. 1332), Theodore's administration arrogantly believed they could recapture Constantinople without papal aid. The negotiations in Thessalonike failed, as did Alexander's struggle for influence in Sicily.

LIT. V. Laurent, "Le Pape Alexandre IV (1254-1261) et l'empire de Nicée," *EO* 34 (1935) 26-55. P. Žavoronkov, "Nikejskaja imperija i Zapad," *VizVrem* 36 (1974) 117f. F. Schillmann, "Zur byzantinischen Politik Alexanders IV.," *RQ* 22 (1908) 108-31. P. Toubert in *Études sur l'Italie médiévale* (London 1976), pt. XI (1963), 391-99. —A.K.

ALEXANDER OF TRALLES, physician; born Tralles 525, died Rome 605. According to Agathias (Agath. 5:6.3-6), Alexander was one of five prominent sons of a physician named Stephen; most famous of the brothers was ANTHEMIOS, the architect-engineer of Hagia Sophia. Alexander's family probably knew the navigator-explorer KOSMAS INDIKOPLEUSTES, a fact perhaps reflected in the Far Eastern drugs included in Alexander's 12-book medical encyclopedia. In his writing, Alexander exhibits a humane, enthusiastic approach to medicine and a continually adaptive sensitivity to active practice and therapy. These qualities have caused medical historians to call Alexander the "most modern" of the Byz. physicians, even though he readily prescribes AMULETS and other magical means for cures. Compared with AETIOS OF AMIDA, Alexander is certainly less concerned with theory than with the practical application of pharmaceuticals (J. Scarborough, *DOP* 38 [1984] 226-28). Alexander is also rightly famous for his "Letter on Intestinal Worms," indicating an acute skill in observation of symptoms and precise case histories. His medicine is eminently sensible and one reads good accounts of ophthalmology (bk. 2), what moderns would call angina (bk. 4), diseases of the lungs and pleurisy (bks. 5-6), kidney and bladder ailments (bk. 9), and gout (bk. 12). Alexander knew his GALEN and other classical authorities, but subsumed them within his medical practice, continually adapting data from the written texts, nicely illustrated by Alexander's rearrangement of pharmaceutical ingredients in many of his suggested remedies for specific diseases.

ED. *Alexander von Tralles*, ed. T. Puschmann, 2 vols. (Vienna 1878-79; rp. with addenda, Amsterdam 1963). Fr. tr. F. Brunet, *Oeuvres médicales d'Alexandre de Tralles*, 4 vols. (Paris 1933-37).

LIT. J. Duffy, "Byzantine Medicine in the Sixth and Seventh Centuries," *DOP* 38 (1984) 25-27. I. Bloch, *HGM* 1:535-44. Hunger, *Lit.* 2:297-99. M. Stoffregen, *Eine frühmittelalterliche lateinische Übersetzung des byzantinischen Puls- und Urintraktats des Alexandros* (Berlin 1977).

—J.S., A.M.T.

ALEXANDER ROMANCE. Ascribed to Kallisthenes of Olynthos, the historian who accompanied ALEXANDER THE GREAT on his expeditions (hence, pseudo-Kallisthenes), the Alexander Romance is based on an anonymous novel written originally in the 3rd C. and widely copied, with frequent accretions of fantastic episodes. Five recensions of the text, which can be dated from the 4th to 7th C., are identifiable. For their reconstruction the translations in Armenian (5th C.), Latin (by Julius Valerius Probus, 4th C., and the archpriest Leo, 9th C.), Syriac, Coptic, and Ethiopic are important. These recensions survive only in late MSS. There are also late Byz. redactions, one (the Byz. *Alexander-Poem*) in political verse and dated to 1388 and another in prose of uncertain date that survives in several discrepant MSS of the 13th to 16th C. The *Alexandria* became popular in Rus', where at least two recensions were known: one inserted in the chronographs (probably of the 12th C.) was close to the Alexander Romance, another, the so-called *Serbian Alexandria*, appeared about the 15th C. It was a free adaptation of pseudo-Kallisthenes, with an emphasis on the love affair of Alexander and Roxane, the daughter of Darius.

Although Alexander is treated as a traditional hero of ROMANCE (with a mysterious birth, etc.), he is nonetheless regarded as the first *basileus* of the Hellenes. As Alexander came to hold an emotive place in the Byz. view of the past, so the more sober accounts of the chroniclers were supplemented in the popular imagination (in, e.g., the vita of MAKARIOS OF ROME and the Apocalypse of pseudo-METHODIOS OF PATARA) by references taken from the Alexander Romance to the exotic palaces, giants imprisoned in mountains, strange monsters and barbaric peoples on the borders of the empire, and so forth that Alexander encountered on his campaigns. Figures from the Alexander Romance such as the KYNOKEPHALOS and scenes of Boukephalos and Alexander's pursuit of Darius entered the illustration of the *Kynegetika* of OPPIAN, while Weitzmann (*infra*) interpreted panels on bone caskets as depictions of the ma-

gician Nektanebos, Olympias, and Philip of Macedon, drawn from the same source. Richly illustrated versions of the Alexander Romance in both Greek (L. Gallagher, *Thesaurismata* 16 [1979] 170-205) and Armenian survive from the 13th to 15th C.

ED. *Historia Alexandri Magni*, ed. W. Kroll (Berlin 1926). *Das byzantinische Alexandergedicht*, ed. S. Reichmann (Meisenheim am Glan 1963). *Der byzantinische Alexanderroman nach dem Codex Vindob. theol. Gr. 244*, ed. K. Mitsakis (Munich 1967). *Aleksandrija*, ed. M. Botvinnik, Ja. Lur'e, O. Tvorogov (Moscow-Leningrad 1966).

LIT. R. Merkelbach, *Die Quellen des griechischen Alexanderromans* (Munich 1977). H. Gleixner, *Das Alexanderbild der Byzantiner* (Munich 1961). G. Veloudis, *Der neugriechische Alexander* (Munich 1968). E. Bertel's, *Roman ob Aleksandre i ego glavnye versii na Vostoke* (Moscow-Leningrad 1948). Weitzmann, *Gr. Myth.* 102-06, 186-88. A. Xyngopoulos, *Les miniatures du Roman d'Alexandre le Grand dans le codex de l'Institut Hellénique de Venise* (Athens-Venice 1966).

—E.M.J., A.C., A.K.

ALEXANDER THE AKOIMETOS, archimandrite and saint; died Gomon, Bithynia, ca. 430; feastday 20 Feb., although not included in the Synaxarion of Constantinople. An islander by birth, Alexander was educated in Constantinople, where he began an administrative career. He then left for Syria, where he lived as a hermit, frequently intervening in the affairs of cities such as Edessa, Palmyra, and Antioch. From Syria he returned to Constantinople with a group of disciples and settled near the Church of St. Menas. The inflexibility of the service of perpetual prayer that Alexander instituted (see AKOIMETOI, MONASTERY OF) and his constant interference in political activity aroused the hatred of the authorities and local population. Accused of MESSALIANISM, Alexander was condemned by an ecclesiastical tribunal and narrowly escaped being torn to pieces by the *demoi* (de Stoop, *infra* 698.4). He found temporary refuge in the monastery of HYPATIOS OF ROUPHINIANAI, then went to Gomon, where he died. The vita of Alexander is known from a single 11th-C. MS, the anonymous author describing himself as Alexander's pupil.

The chronology of Alexander's life is far from clear: R. Janin (*EO* 33 [1934] 340) asserts that Alexander arrived in Constantinople ca. 405 and founded the monastery of the Akoimatoi ca. 420 (Janin, *Églises CP* 16), but the vita places Alexander's quarrel with Theodotos, patriarch of Antioch (424-28) before his arrival. J. Pargoire (*BZ*

8 [1899] 447) speculates that Alexander's expulsion from Constantinople must have taken place before 430, since NEILOS OF ANKYRA alluded to Alexander's troublemaking. It is also uncertain whether Alexander was the founder of the Akoimatoi monastery; his vita (p. 700.16-17) says that the monastery was founded after his death.

ED. E. de Stoop, "Vie d'Alexandre l'Acémète," *PO* 6.5 (1911) 645-705, with Lat. tr.

LIT. *BHG* 47. E. Wölfe, "Der Abt Hypatios von Ruphianai und der Akoimete Alexander," *BZ* 79 (1986) 302-09.

—A.K.

ALEXANDER THE GREAT (Alexander III of Macedon), son of Philip II of Macedon and Olympias; born 356 B.C., died 323. Alexander was the instigator of the first attempt at world domination by a Greek-speaking ruler. His life and exploits are recorded briefly by Byz. chroniclers with emphasis given to his meeting with the widowed Kandake, the priests of Jerusalem, and the Brahmins of India. Little detail is given on his military campaigns, which are noted for starting from Constantinople and for destroying the empire of the Persians, which was then followed by that of the Macedonians in the succession of empires. As the ruler of a world empire that could be viewed as a predecessor of the Byz. and could also be fitted into the Old Testament framework, Alexander from the time of Constantine I was regarded as a model of the ideal emperor and appears as such in chronicles, orations, eschatological texts, etc. The legendary figure of Alexander was fostered by the ALEXANDER ROMANCE and other shorter texts, dealing with his encounters with apocryphal sages, as well as by the chronicles. Textiles of the 6th-7th C. showed him on horseback (D. Shepherd, *Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art* 58 [1971] 244-50), while later enamels and reliefs concentrated on the legend of his Ascension. Scenes from the life of Alexander—treated as the equivalent of the biblical heroes depicted there—decorated the palace of DIGENES AKRITAS. The emotive and symbolic role that Alexander played in the Byz. popular consciousness is demonstrated by his continued importance in Greek folklore even after the fall of Constantinople.

LIT. H.J. Gleixner, *Das Alexanderbild der Byzantiner* (Munich 1961). A.K. Orlandos, "Neon anaglyphon tes analeptoseos tou Alexandrou," *EEP&SPA* 5 (1954-55) 281-89.

—E.M.J., A.C.

ALEXANDER THE MONK, author of a treatise entitled *On the Cross*. He lived sometime between the mid-6th and 9th C.; the traditional date of the mid-6th C. or before 614 lacks any validity. Nothing is known of his biography. His identification with Alexander the Monk (from Cyprus?) who wrote an *enkomon* of the apostle BARNABAS after the discovery of the apostle's relic (488) is arbitrary.

On the Cross consists of two parts: a history of Christianity from the Roman emperor Tiberius to the discovery of the TRUE CROSS by Helena and the appearance of the Cross in Jerusalem in 351, and a panegyric on the Cross as the major symbol of Christianity: "God," says Alexander (PG 87.3:4021B), "made every visible and invisible creature in the shape of a cross," since everything in the world has "height, depth, breadth, and length" (cf. Eph 3:18); thus, the Seraphim are interpreted as "fourfold (*tetramorpha*) beings that prefigure the *typos* of the Cross" (4021C). The cult of the Cross exists in all cities, islands, and tribes (4072C). Because of this cosmic character of the Cross the Lord suffered death on the Cross (4036A). The treatise is known also in a Georgian translation whose earliest MSS belong to the 9th and 10th C.

ED. PG 87.3:4016–88.

LIT. S. Salaville, "Le moine Alexandre de Chypre," *EO* 15 (1912) 134–37. M. van Esbroeck, "L'opuscule 'Sur la Croix' d'Alexandre de Chypre et sa version géorgienne," *BK* 37 (1979) 102–32. —A.K.

ALEXANDRIA (Ἀλεξάνδρεια), third largest city of the late Roman world (after Rome and Constantinople); founded by Alexander the Great in 331 B.C. Formerly capital of the Ptolemaic kingdom and the Roman province of Egypt, it was the administrative, military, and ecclesiastical center of the country as well as chief industrial entrepôt of the eastern Mediterranean and outlet for the annual shipments of Egyptian grain (the *embole*) to Rome and Constantinople. Its two harbors handled shipping for goods that had come down the Nile (papyrus, textiles, glass) and for the maritime trade of Oriens as well as transshipments upriver of olive oil, metal goods, pottery, and wine. Laid out on the Hellenistic grid pattern, the city preserved splendid ancient monuments including the Pharos lighthouse (one of the so-called Seven

Wonders); the Serapeum (temple of the syncretic god Serapis), which was partly demolished in Byz. times; and the Caesareum, converted into the patriarchal cathedral. Few remains are extant, except for the recently excavated theater, baths, and lecture hall at Kūm al-Dik (*infra*); the MUSEION and the Tomb (*Sema*) of Alexander are not attested after the 3rd C.

With its wealth, large population (about half a million) bilingual in Greek and Coptic, and flourishing infrastructure, Alexandria was the major intellectual and cultural center of the East, rivaling Constantinople in political influence as well. In literature, scholarship, science, and theology its schools attracted the best minds, and both secular and church patronage supported abundant production in written works and the visual arts. Christianity took root early, leading to the establishment of a powerful centralized patriarchate (see ALEXANDRIA, PATRIARCHATE OF), later split into Chalcedonian and non-Chalcedonian lines of succession; and a theological school, the ALEXANDRIAN SCHOOL, renowned for its Neoplatonic approach and allegorical method of exegesis. Large urban monasteries, such as the Ennaton and the Metanoia, which are attested in numerous 6th- to 7th-C. papyri, supported guilds of *philoponoi* (charity workers) and varied trades and professions. The mint of Alexandria was revived by Emp. Justin II.

Alexandria was briefly occupied by the Sasanians between 618 and 628/9 (L. MacCoull, *Studi classici e orientali* 36 [1986] 307–13); it fell to the Arabs under 'AMR in 642 (Butler, *infra*, lxxii–lxxvi), was briefly retaken by the Byz. in 645 but immediately recaptured by the Arabs; a second Byz. attempt at recovery in 652 proved unsuccessful.

Monuments of Alexandria. Almost no Byz. monuments have survived. Only the names and a few details regarding the history and location of its once numerous churches are known. The Greek Orthodox patriarchal Church of St. Sabas may preserve some sections of its original 7th-C. foundations. In the area called Kūm al-Dik ("pottery hill") a late Roman bath, a 4th-C. odeon, and some 6th-C. Byz. houses have been excavated. There are also Early Christian tombs (e.g., the so-called Wescher Catacomb, now destroyed, which included a painted frieze representing the FEED-

ING OF THE MULTITUDE). With marble imported from Constantinople, a number of workshops in Alexandria produced architectural sculpture for use in the provincial towns of Lower Egypt; scores of examples have been found at ABŪ MĪNĀ as well as in Cairo.

LIT. A. Calderini, *Dizionario dei nomi geografici e topografici dell'Egitto greco-romano*, vol. 1 (Cairo 1935) 55–206. A. Bowman, *Egypt after the Pharaohs* (Berkeley 1986) 203–33. J. Irmscher, "Alexandria, die christusliebende Stadt," *BSAC* 19 (1967–68) 115–22. A. Martin, "Les premiers siècles du christianisme à Alexandrie," *REA* 30 (1984) 211–25. M. Krause, "Das christliche Alexandrien und seine Beziehungen zum koptischen Ägypten," in *Alexandrien*, ed. N. Hinske (Mainz 1981) 53–62. M. Rodziewicz, *Alexandrie III. Les habitations romaines tardives d'Alexandrie* (Warsaw 1984). A.J. Butler, *The Arab Conquest of Egypt*² (Oxford 1978) 368–400. —P.G., L.S.B. MacC.

ALEXANDRIA, PATRIARCHATE OF. In addition to using the title of pope (PAPAS), Alexandria's bishop was, perhaps, the first to claim the title ARCHBISHOP. At NICAEA I (325) this see was mentioned, together with Rome and Antioch, among the major ecclesiastical divisions of the empire (canon 6). Its reputation was based on Alexandria's political importance, the support received from monasticism, vast landed wealth, and Egypt's long-standing tradition of centralization. In fact, by the 4th C. all of EGYPT, the Pentapolis, and Libya had been brought under its central authority.

As a result, Alexandria played a prominent part in the theological controversies and ecclesiastical power politics of the 4th–5th C. Nevertheless, its powerful bishops' claim to first place among the sees in the East gradually altered with the rise of Constantinople, promoted to second rank in 381. The bitter conflict that followed in the reigns of THEOPHILOS and CYRIL was finally resolved—at Alexandria's expense and humiliation—at the Council of CHALCEDON (451). Indeed, Chalcedon's rejection of DIOSKOROS and his MONOPHYSTISM were fatal to Alexandria's ecclesiastical and theological prestige and supremacy. Moreover, its unity also suffered. The patriarchate split into two unequal parties, with representatives of the non-Chalcedonian Monophysite majority contesting and sometimes occupying the patriarchal throne. This dissident group eventually formed the national Coptic church of Egypt. The decisive blow to the patriarchate came with the Arab con-

quest (641). Henceforth Constantinople, with the approval and confirmation of the caliphs, appointed Alexandria's Orthodox patriarchs as a rule; the patriarchs controlled only a small minority of Christians in Egypt and followed Constantinople in all liturgical and canonical matters.

LIT. J. Maspero, *Histoire des patriarches d'Alexandrie* (Paris 1923). Ch. Papadopoulos, *Historia ekklesias Alexandrias* (Alexandria 1935). *The Roots of Egyptian Christianity*, ed. B.A. Pearson, J.E. Goehring (Philadelphia 1986). —A.P.

ALEXANDRIAN ERA, a system of computation of world CHRONOLOGY produced by two Egyptian monks and chronographers of the early 5th C., Annianos and Panodoros; the system is known from and was used by GEORGE THE SYNKELLOS (early 9th C.). Panodoros, a critic of EUSEBIOS OF CAESAREA, tried to harmonize the data of the Bible with those of pagan sources (esp. the *Canon of Kings* by Ptolemy). He came to the conclusion that the Creation took place on 19 Mar. and the birth of Christ occurred 5,494 years after the Creation. The computation of Panodoros is the major Alexandrian Era (*aera Alexandrina maior*); the minor Alexandrian Era was suggested by Annianos who dated the Creation to the vernal equinox (25 Mar.) and placed the birth of Christ in 5501.

The Alexandrian Era remained in use outside Egypt: George the Synkellos (6.13–16) defended the idea that the first of the Jewish month Nisan (25 Mar.) and not the first of Thoth (29/30 Aug.), according to Egyptian custom, or the first of Jan. (the Roman usage), was the day of Creation; he also dated the Incarnation 5,500 years after the Creation (p.2.26–27). Traces of the Alexandrian Era can be found in Theophanes the Confessor as well. Maximos the Confessor (PG 19:1249B) also calculated that Christ was born 5,501 years after Adam. After the 9th C. the Alexandrian Era was abandoned even though a unified system of computation did not immediately replace it. The difference between the Alexandrian Era and the BYZANTINE ERA is approximately 16 years, but one also has to take into consideration the difference in the beginning of the year: 25 Mar. according to Annianos and 1 Sept. according to the official calculation of the INDICTIO and of the Byzantine Era. To convert an Alexandrian date to an A.D. date, 5,492 is subtracted for dates between 25 Mar. and 31 Dec., but 5,491 for dates

between 1 Jan. and 24 Mar. When 1 Sept. is used as the beginning of the era, however, 5,493 is subtracted for dates between 1 Sept. and 31 Dec., but 5,492 for dates between 1 Jan. and 1 Sept.

LIT. Grumel, *Chronologie* 85–97. O. Seel, "Panodoros," *RE* 18 (1949) 632–35. V. Loi, *DPAC* 1:211. —B.C.

ALEXANDRIAN SCHOOL, a conventional designation of two intellectual institutions. First of all, it was the theological tradition generally seen in opposition to the ANTIOCHENE SCHOOL. As a developed institution it is attested from the early 3rd C. It consisted of an elementary (catechetical) school and a *didaskaleion* oriented toward the intellectual elite. The school operated under the control of the see of Alexandria, and a number of its teachers (Heraklas, Dionysios, Theognostos, Peter) became bishops of Alexandria in the 3rd C. The last known teacher of the school was DIDYMOS THE BLIND. The theology of the Alexandrian School was developed by CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA and ORIGEN, who envisioned primarily a cultivated and well-to-do urban audience and based their tenets on the Platonic tradition as revised by PHILO. The main points were typological or allegorical interpretation of the Bible—viewing the Old Testament as a prefiguration of events of the New Testament; the doctrine of three hypostases with an anti-Monarchian emphasis; focusing on Christ's divinity rather than his humanity; a dualistic anthropology in the manner of Plato; and a spiritual rather than "physical" perception of eschatology. The Arian distinction between the Father and Son was in a sense based on the Alexandrian concept of hypostases. Athanasios of Alexandria and esp. Cyril of Alexandria signified a disruption rather than a continuation of the school, since they stressed the unity in substance and the divine nature of Christ, but not the diversity in hypostases.

The term also refers to the Alexandrian School of philosophy that flourished in the 5th to early 7th C.; it included scholars such as HIEROKLES, HYPATIA, and John PHILOPONOS; studied Aristotle no less than Plato; developed an interest in science; and remained neutral toward Christianity.

LIT. G. Bardy, "Aux origines de l'école d'Alexandrie," *RechScRel* 27 (1937) 65–90. L.B. Radford, *Three Teachers of Alexandria* (Cambridge 1908). H. de Lubac, "Typologie et 'allegorisme,'" *RechScRel* 34 (1947) 180–226; 47 (1959) 5–43. E. Molland, *The Conception of the Gospel in the Alexandrian*

Theology (Oslo 1938). A. Le Boullvec, "L'école d'Alexandrie," in *Alexandrina: Mélanges offerts au P. Cl. Mondésert* (Paris 1987) 403–17. J.A. McGuckin, "Christian Asceticism and the Early School of Alexandria," in *Monks, Hermits and the Ascetic Tradition* [= *SCHH* 22] (Oxford 1985) 25–39. —T.E.G.

ALEXANDRIAN WORLD CHRONICLE, the conventional title given to a chronicle, illuminated fragments of which survive in the so-called papyrus Goleniščev (now in the Pushkin Museum, Moscow). The text is similar to that of BARBARUS SCALIGERI; the chronicle ends in 392. The papyrus has been dated by O. Kurz to ca. 675–700 (in *Kunsthistorische Forschungen*, ed. A. Rosenauer, G. Weber [Salzburg 1972] 17–22). This MS is chiefly of interest to art historians, containing on eight fragments a profusion of unframed marginal illustrations, comparable to the Merseburg fragment of the ANNALS OF RAVENNA. The subjects represented include the Old Testament prophets, Roman emperors, a map of the Ocean and its islands, walled cities, and personifications of the MONTHS in bust form (*Iskusstvo Vizantii* I, no.8).

ED. *Eine alexandrinische Weltchronik*, ed. A. Bauer, J. Strzygowski, *DenkWien* 51 (1905) 119–204. LIT. Weitzmann, *Studies* 106, 108, 121. —B.B., A.C.

ALEXIOS (Ἀλέξιος), personal name (etym. "helping, supportive"). Classical antiquity knew the similar forms Alexis and Alexion (*RE* 1 [1894] 1466–71), but neither form is listed in *PLRE*, vols. 1–2, or mentioned by historians of the 6th–7th C. Theophanes the Confessor (Theoph. 466.4–5) refers to only a single Alexios, *droungarios tes viglas* under Irene. Alexioi also appeared as shadowy figures among two groups of martyrs allegedly murdered under Leo III (*BHG* 1:14), and in the *Synaxarion of Constantinople* we find "Alexios, bishop of Bithynia," also a very vague reference. As far as ALEXIOS HOMO DEI is concerned, the origin of the legend remains obscure. After the 9th C. the name became more common: Skylitzes refers to three Alexioi, as does Anna Komnene. In Niketas Choniates' time the name Alexios was popular; he lists 24 Alexioi, second only to JOHN (35). The five emperors who bore the name ruled between 1081 and 1204. The fashion probably did not extend beyond the elite: in the acts of *Lavra*, vol. 1 (10th–12th C.), the name appears only as that of emperors; in *Lavra*, vols. 2–3

(13th–15th C.), we meet an insignificant number of Alexioi and the name has fallen to twentieth place. —A.K.

ALEXIOS I KOMNENOS, emperor (from 4 Apr. 1081); born ca. 1057, died Constantinople 15 Aug. 1118. Son of John KOMNENOS and Anna DALASSENE, Alexios began his career as general under Michael VII and Nikephoros III. Together with his brother Isaac, Alexios revolted against Nikephoros (14 Feb. 1081). Constantinople fell on 1 Apr. and was sacked. Alexios came to the throne with the support of the military aristocracy, esp. the DOUKAI, to whom he was linked by marriage to IRENE DOUKAINA. He found a difficult situation: the government had to cope with the revolts of aristocrats, the Seljuks occupied most of Asia Minor, the Pechenegs threatened the Danubian provinces, and ROBERT GUISCARD was preparing to attack Constantinople. Alexios acted effectively: in 1081–93 he overcame the Normans, defeated the Pechenegs at Mt. LEBOUNION, and repelled TZACHAS from Constantinople.

Alexios's successes owed something to diplomacy—alliances with VENICE and Germany against the Normans (T. Lounghis, *Diptycha* 1 [1979] 158–67) and with the CUMANS against the Pechenegs. His domestic policy was equally important: he restricted the influence of senators and eunuchs and relied upon a few military families. Those aristocrats who did not join the "clan" of the Komnenoi, esp. the Anatolian magnates whose estates had been taken by the Seljuks, lost power. His reform of titles was intended to reshape the ruling class. Conspirators (esp. aristocrats) repeatedly but unsuccessfully challenged Alexios (B. Scoulatos, *Byzantion* 49 [1979] 385–94). He supported provincial towns, regulated their trade, and by ca. 1092 had restored a sound coinage. Alexios aimed at centralizing the state, even though this state was constructed on a familial or patrimonial principle. Thus his mother and his older brother Isaac acted as emperors. He consolidated the administration under the *logothetes ton sekretou* (see LOGOTHETES) and entrusted various departments to his courtiers. In the case of LEO OF CHALCEDON Alexios broke the church's resistance to official fiscal levies, but he consistently supported the church as the bearer of the true ideology (I. Čičurov, *VizVrem* 31 [1971] 238–42). He

allowed the condemnation of heretical intellectuals such as JOHN ITALOS and—against his will—EUSTRATIOS OF NICAIA; Alexios tried and burned BASIL THE BOGOMIL.

The First CRUSADE created a serious problem for Alexios. Although he rid himself of the bands of PETER THE HERMIT, constrained most Crusader leaders to acknowledge their dependence on the empire, and used their forces to regain the coast of Asia Minor, he was unable (partly due to Taktikos's mistakes, partly to the intrigues of BOHEMUND) to prevent the creation of independent Crusader states in Palestine. Alexios was critically judged by ZONARAS, treated equivocally by Nikephoros BRYENNIOS, and eulogized by Anna KOMNENE.

Zonaras described Alexios as having debased the coinage, which was already in a poor state at his accession, but this is true of only the first ten years of his reign. Circa 1092 he carried out a major monetary reform, restoring a gold coin of good fineness in the form of the HYPERPYRON and creating two new fractional denominations (see TRACHY) of electrum (see TRIKEPHALON) and billon, which with the copper (initially lead) TETARTERON were to form the standard coinage of the Komnenian period.

Alexios's reputation for piety is suggested by his gift of an icon, establishing the type known as the Virgin Kykkotissa, to the Kykko monastery on Cyprus at the time of its foundation. He also erected a mural (in one of the imperial palaces, according to Nicholas KALLIKLES) of the Last Judgment with Alexios on the side of the damned (Magdalino-Nelson, "Emp. in 12th C." 124–26). The illuminated MSS apparently sponsored by Alexios include two copies of the *Panoplia dogmatike* of Euthymios ZIGABENOS and the Barberini Psalter (Vat. Barb. gr. 372—J. Anderson, *CahArch* 31 [1983] 35–67).

LIT. Chalandon, *Comnène* vol. 1. Angold, *Empire* 102–49. Morisson, "Logarika" 419–64. P. Gautier, "L'édit d'Alexis I^{er} Comnène sur la réforme du clergé," *REB* 31 (1973) 165–201. —C.M.B., Ph.G., A.C.

ALEXIOS I KOMNENOS, emperor of Trebizond (1204–22); born ca. 1182, died 1 Feb. 1222. Elder son of Manuel, son of Andronikos I Komnenos, Alexios was connected to T'amara of Georgia; Manuel's wife may have been T'amara's sister (K. Barzos, *Makedonika* 20 [1980] 30–47). When

Andronikos I fell and Manuel perished, Alexios and his brother DAVID KOMNENOS may have been taken to Georgia, but the fact that one of Alexios's sons was John Komnenos Axouch (1235–38) suggests that Alexios may have remained in Constantinople, possibly married a daughter or niece of John Komnenos "the Fat" (M. Kuršanskis, *ArchPont* 30 [1970] 107–16; K. Barzos, *Byzantina* 7 [1975] 173), and fled only after John's conspiracy (1200). The fall of ALEXIOS III seemingly inspired T'amara to mount a Georgian expedition against TREBIZOND, with Alexios and David as nominal leaders (Mar.–Apr. 1204). Once the region from Phasis to Sinope had been occupied, Alexios remained at Trebizond, probably using an imperial title, while David advanced into Paphlagonia. Niketas CHONIATES criticizes Alexios for his inactivity. In 1214, when Kay-Kāvūs I seized Sinope, Alexios may have become his vassal: Ibn Bībī records an immense annual tribute owed. Alexios founded the dynasty of the GRAND KOMNENOI.

LIT. A. Vasiliev, "The Foundation of the Empire of Trebizond (1204–1222)," *Speculum* 11 (1936) 3–37. A. Savvides, "Hoi Megaloi Komnenoi tou Pontou kai hoi Seltzoukoi tou Rûm (Ikoniou) ten periodo 1205/6–1222," *ArchPont* 39 (1984) 169–93. —C.M.B.

ALEXIOS II KOMNENOS, emperor (1180–83); born Constantinople 14 Sept. 1169 (P. Wirth, *BZ* 49 [1956] 65–67), died Constantinople ca. Sept. 1183. A PORPHYROGENNETOS, son of MANUEL I and MARIA OF ANTIOCH, Alexios was crowned co-emperor in 1171, an elevation celebrated in pictures of Alexios, his father, and grandfather (Magdalino-Nelson, "Emp. in 12th C." 146f). In 1175, Alexios accompanied Manuel on an expedition to rebuild DORYLAION (P. Wirth, *Eustathiana* [Amsterdam 1980] 78). He married AGNES OF FRANCE on 2 Mar. 1180, a match that Spatharakis (*Portrait* 210–30) proposed was the occasion of an illustrated EPITHALAMION in the Vatican Library. Barely adolescent when he succeeded his father, largely uneducated, Alexios indulged in amusements, while his mother and Alexios KOMNENOS the *protopsebastos* ruled. Their regime favored the Italian merchants and the aristocracy, who pillaged the treasury and exploited government offices. To counter incursions by BÉLA III of Hungary and KILIC ARSLAN II, the regency sought assistance from the pope and SALADIN. Opposition from Maria KOMNENE was easily suppressed, but

ANDRONIKOS I KOMNENOS overthrew the regency (Apr. 1182). He recrowned Alexios (16 May 1182), bearing the youth on his shoulders. Closely guarded, Alexios continued to pursue pleasure; his supporters Andronikos Angelos, Andronikos Kontostephanos, and John Komnenos Vatatzes were suppressed. In 1183, Alexios condemned his own mother to death. Once Andronikos had been proclaimed emperor, he decreed Alexios's death. The youth was strangled and the body buried at sea.

LIT. Barzos, *Genealogia* 2:454–71. Brand, *Byzantium* 31–49. Hecht, *Aussenpolitik* 12–29. —C.M.B., A.C.

ALEXIOS II KOMNENOS, emperor of Trebizond (1297–1330); born 1283, died 3 May 1330. Son of JOHN II KOMNENOS of Trebizond and Eudokia Palaiologina, he used the surname Palaiologos as well as Komnenos (O. Lampsides, *REB* 42 [1984] 225–28). He was only 14 when his father died; he then came under the tutelage of his uncle, the Byz. emperor ANDRONIKOS II. Alexios refused, however, to marry Irene, daughter of Nikephoros CHOUMNOS, and thwarted the emperor's wishes by marrying the daughter of Bekha Jaqeli, the ruler of Samckhe, in 1300 (M. Kuršanskis, *REB* 35 [1977] 252f). In 1301 Alexios mounted a victorious campaign to drive the Turkomans out of KERASOUS; he had less success in his efforts to rid TREBIZOND of the Genoese domination of its commerce. Treaties with Genoa (1316) and Venice (1319) granted both Italian cities trading privileges and exemptions from customs duties. Alexios built the walls of Trebizond that run down to the sea. His patronage of the arts is revealed by his benefactions to the monasteries of St. Eugenios (in Trebizond) and of SOUMELA, as well as by his correspondence with the astronomer Gregory CHIONIADIS, who wrote a hymn to St. Eugenios at his request (L.G. Westerink, *REB* 38 [1980] 236, 239). Upon the death of Alexios, Constantine Loukites, *protonotarios* and *provestiarios*, composed his funeral eulogy (ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Analekta* 1:421–30).

LIT. Miller, *Trebizond* 31–44, 120. *PLP*, no. 12084. —A.M.T.

ALEXIOS III ANGELOS, emperor (1195–1203); born ca. 1153, died Nicaea 1211 or 1212. Elder brother of ISAAC II, Alexios spent most of the

reign of ANDRONIKOS I in Syria and was imprisoned in TRIPOLI ca. 1185–87. Honored by Isaac, Alexios conspired and overthrew his brother. He was weak-willed, extravagant, and indolent, allowing birth, rank, and payments to guide his choice of officials, as in the case of Michael STRYPHOS. Provincial officials (Leo SGOUROS, John SPYRIDONAKES) sought independence, while the court's tyranny appears in the case of KALOMODIOS. The populace of Constantinople caused occasional outbursts but failed to support the uprising of John KOMNENOS "the Fat." The strongest pillar of Alexios's regime was his wife EUPHROSYNE. Alexios experienced military successes in dealing with IVANKO and DOBROMIR CHRYSOS; with KALOJAN, he made a treaty. He favored PISA and GENOA at the expense of VENICE. The Fourth Crusade found the empire in disarray; after a brief resistance, Alexios fled (17/18 July 1203). He wandered until he fell into the hands of BONIFACE OF MONTFERRAT (late 1204). Sent to Montferrat, Alexios remained there until ransomed (1209 or 1210) by MICHAEL I KOMNENOS DOUKAS of Epiros, who dispatched him to KAY-KHUSRAW I (R.J. Loenertz, *Byzantium* 43 [1973] 370–76). When THEODORE I LASKARIS defeated the sultan (spring 1211), Alexios was captured. Theodore placed him in a monastery, where he died.

LIT. Barzos, *Genealogia* 2:726–801. Brand, *Byzantium* 117–57, 234–41. —C.M.B.

ALEXIOS III KOMNENOS, emperor of Trebizond (1349–1390); baptismal name John; born 5 Oct. 1338, died 20 Mar. 1390. Son of Basil I Komnenos (1332–40), the infant Alexios was exiled to Constantinople after his father's death. At age 11, however, he returned to TREBIZOND to claim the throne and, subsequently, enjoyed the longest reign of any Trapezuntine emperor. The early years of his rule were troubled by internal dissensions and the Turkoman threat. In 1355, he led an ill-fated expedition against the Turkomans that resulted in a rout of the Greeks; the chronicler PANARETOS narrowly escaped with his life. Alexios, however, also pursued a conscious policy of cementing good relations with the Turkomans by marrying two of his sisters and four of his daughters to various of their rulers (A. Bryer, *DOP* 29 [1975] 129–31, 136f, 148f; E. Zachariadou, *ArchPont* 35 [1978] 339–51).

One of the main problems of Alexios's administration was relations with the Italian republics. At his accession, Alexios found the Venetian trading station ruined, and by 1350/1 regular transactions with Genoa ceased. In the 1360s the Venetians attempted to revive their activity in Trebizond and to attract Alexios to an anti-Turkish coalition, but chrysobulls issued by Alexios in 1364 and 1367 did not confer upon Venice any more privileges than it had had in the early 14th C. Since Alexios wanted to exploit Venetian trade for the benefit of his treasury, tensions arose. In 1376 Venice organized a military invasion, sponsoring the usurpers Michael Palaiologos the *despotes* (son of Emp. John V) and Andronikos the Grand Komnenos. Although the expedition failed to bring about Alexios's deposition, a new chrysobull in 1376 lowered Venetian *kommerkia* by 50 percent. Despite this chrysobull Venetian trade in Trebizond continued to decrease through the 1380s.

Alexios was a generous patron of monasticism, founding monasteries such as VAZELON in the empire of Trebizond and DIONYSIOU on Mt. Athos. The original chrysobull of foundation (dated 1374) of Dionysiou, portraying Alexios and his wife Theodora Kantakouzene, is preserved at that monastery (*Dionys.*, no. 4; Spatharakis, *Portrait* 185–87, figs. 136–38). Alexios also restored the SOUMELA monastery.

LIT. Miller, *Trebizond* 55–70. *PLP*, no. 12083. D.A. Zakythinos, *Le chrysobulle d'Alexis III Comnène, empereur de Trébizonde, en faveur des Vénitiens* (Paris 1932). Karpov, *Trapezundskaja imperija* 57–72. —A.M.T., A.K.

ALEXIOS IV ANGELOS, emperor (1203–04); born ca. 1182 or 1183, died Constantinople ca. 8 Feb. 1204. Son of Isaac II and his first wife, Alexios was left free after Isaac's blinding and in late summer/early autumn 1201 escaped to Italy. Welcomed in Germany by his sister Irene and PHILIP OF SWABIA, Alexios was present when Philip conferred with BONIFACE OF MONTFERRAT. About Dec. 1202–Jan. 1203 envoys from Philip and Alexios offered generous concessions to the Fourth Crusade at ZARA, if the Crusaders would put Alexios on the Byz. throne. Once the Crusaders accepted his offer, he joined them (May 1203) at Kerkyra. After Alexios III fled and Isaac II had been restored, the Crusaders required that Alexios IV be named co-emperor. He was crowned in early Aug., then joined them in an expedition to

Thrace (Aug.–Nov.). Upon his return, Alexios IV became the dominant emperor. Isaac and Alexios IV had vainly endeavored to fulfill the Treaty of Zara by formally submitting to the pope and collecting money for the Crusaders. When they could not be satisfied, Alexios fell under the influence of those hostile to the Crusaders, esp. the future ALEXIOS V DOUKAS. Isolated from his former supporters, Alexios fell victim to Doukas, who induced him to flee the palace (28/9 Jan. 1204), then had him strangled in prison.

LIT. Queller, *Fourth Crusade* 30–136. C.M. Brand, "The Fourth Crusade: Some Recent Interpretations," *MedHum* n.s. 12 (1984) 33–45. —C.M.B.

ALEXIOS IV KOMNENOS, emperor of Trebizond (1416–29); born 1382, died Achantos (near Trebizond) before 28 Oct. 1429. Son of MANUEL III KOMNENOS, Alexios served as co-emperor from 1395 to 1416. Sometime before 1404 he briefly rebelled against his father. Upon ascending to the throne, Alexios was first faced with war against the Genoese. In 1418 he agreed to pay them an indemnity of wine and nuts for four years. He tried to ensure the security of his kingdom through diplomacy, marrying his daughters to a White Sheep Turkoman chieftain and Emp. John VIII Palaiologos. It is unlikely that one of Alexios's daughters married GEORGE BRANKOVIĆ, ruler of Serbia, as is sometimes stated (A. Bryer, *ArchPont* 27 [1965] 28f). Alexios was assassinated during the coup d'état of his son, JOHN IV KOMNENOS (V. Laurent, *ArchPont* 20 [1955] 138–43).

LIT. Miller, *Trebizond* 79–83. Kuršanskis, "Descendance d'Alexis IV," 239–47. *PLP*, no. 12082. —A.M.T.

ALEXIOS V DOUKAS, emperor (1204); died Constantinople ca. Dec. 1204. His sobriquet "Mourtzouphlos" (Μούρτζουφλος) was a reference to his overhanging brows, according to Niketas Choniates (Nik.Chon. 561.23–25), but C. Symeonides (*Byzantina* 13.2 [1985] 1619–28) suggests it means "melancholy, sullen." A Doukas of unknown lineage, Alexios was allegedly behind the attempted usurpation of John KOMNENOS "the Fat" (1200); possibly for that reason he was in prison when the Fourth Crusade installed ALEXIOS IV. Released, he was named *protovestiarios*, but sought to undermine Alexios IV. To gain popular support for his intended usurpation, Alexios Dou-

kas led raids on the Crusaders outside Constantinople. Between 27 and 29 Jan. 1204, when the populace made Nicholas KANNABOS emperor, Alexios Doukas encouraged Alexios IV to seek Crusader assistance, then exploited this move to win Varangian support to depose Alexios. On 2 Feb., as emperor, Alexios V failed in an attempt to ambush some Crusaders. He strengthened the walls and revitalized his troops. Funds were secured by confiscating aristocratic property. His followers defeated the first Crusader attack (9 Apr. 1204), but on 12 Apr., when the Latins burst in, Alexios V fled to Thrace. Taking with him Empress EUPHROSYNE DOUKAINA KAMATERA and her daughter Eudokia, his paramour, Alexios V encountered Alexios III at MOSYNOPOLIS (summer 1204). Alexios III first allowed Alexios V to marry Eudokia, then trapped and blinded him. Around late Nov., Alexios V was captured by Thierry de Loos, tried for treason to Alexios IV, and thrown from the Column of Theodosios.

LIT. Queller, *Fourth Crusade* 123–47. B. Hendrickx, C. Matzukis, "Alexios V Doukas Mourtzouphlos: His Life, Reign and Death (?–1204)," *Hellenika* 31 (1979) 108–32. —C.M.B.

ALEXIOS HOMO DEI, saint; feastday 17 March. Born in Rome under emperors Honorius and Arkadios, Alexios was the son of a wealthy senator. To avoid an arranged marriage, Alexios sailed off to Syria, where he lived as a beggar in Edessa. After 17 years he returned to Rome and lived 17 more years on charity in his father's house, unrecognized. One day, when Archbp. Markianos (no pope of this name is known) was celebrating the liturgy, a divine voice indicated that Alexios was "the man of God" (*homo dei*). Alexios was found dead with a document in his hands revealing his origin and story. According to his vita, "the very pious emperors" attended his funeral. It is commonly accepted that the Greek legend summarized above was based on a Syriac vita of an anonymous "man of God": this saint, born in Rome, fled from his wealthy parents and his fiancée, lived as a beggar, and died in Edessa. Sixth-century MSS preserve the Syriac version. In Byz. the legend was known by the 9th C., when JOSEPH THE HYMNOGRAPHER eulogized Alexios. The text of the anonymous Greek vita was copied in many MSS, including one of 1023 (F. Halkin, *AB* 98 [1980] 5–16). The legend did not spread to Rome

before 977; thereafter it grew very popular in the West and in Slavic countries. The Ethiopic translation makes Alexios the son of Theodosios II and transfers the locale of his deeds to Armenia. The focus of the legend—rejection of family and marriage for the sake of God—was one of the most important hagiographical themes (B. de Gaiffier, *AB* 65 [1947] 157–95).

Representation in Art. Portraits of the saint, which are rare, give him the features of JOHN THE BAPTIST. The 11th-C. imperial *MENOLOGION* in Moscow (Hist. Mus. gr. 183, fol.210) shows the saint laid out on his bed, mourned by his father, as the emperor removes the document from the dead man's hands.

SOURCES. F.M. Esteves Pereira, "Légende grecque de l'homme de Dieu Saint Alexis," *AB* 19 (1900) 243–53. *Žitie Alekseja čeloveka božija*, ed. V.P. Adrianova (Petrograd 1917; rp. The Hague–Paris 1969) 458–75. M. Rössler, "Alexius-probleme," *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie* 53 (1933) 508–28. E. Cerulli, *Les vies éthiopiennes de saint Alexis l'homme de Dieu*, 2 vols. (Louvain 1969).

LIT. *BHG* 51–56h. A. Amiaud, *La légende syriaque de Saint Alexis, l'homme de Dieu* (Paris 1889). C.E. Stebbins, "Les origines de la légende de Saint Alexis," *RBPH* 51 (1973) 497–507. E. Krausen, *LCI* 5:90f. —A.K., N.P.S.

ALEXIOS STOUDITES, patriarch of Constantinople (between 12 and 15 Dec. 1025–20 Feb. 1043 [V. Laurent, *EO* 35 (1936) 75f]); died Constantinople. A former *hegoumenos* of the Stoudios monastery, Alexios was appointed patriarch without the necessary canonical formalities by Emp. Basil II, who was on his deathbed. Alexios acted in concert with Constantine VIII, and in July 1026 the new emperor, the patriarch, and the senate promulgated a novel anathematizing any revolt against the *basileus* (PG 137:1245AB). Alexios tried to protect the independence of the clergy, stressing in Jan. 1028 that no clergyman or monk could be judged by a civil authority, and in 1027 he condemned the practice of *CHARISTIKION*. With great energy Alexios attacked the Monophysites, esp. those in the Melitene region. He dealt also with matrimonial regulations. In 1038 Alexios and the synod defined the prohibitions on marriage between close relatives; they did not make a clear decision, however, concerning individuals of the seventh degree of relationship. The patriarch's relations with the government deteriorated under Michael IV: it is reported (Skyl. 401.67–80) that JOHN THE ORPHANOTROPHOS, who desired

to become patriarch of Constantinople, incited some metropolitans to demand the deposition of Alexios under the pretext that he had not been elected canonically, but the plan failed because of Alexios's courageous resistance. No more successful was the attempt of Michael V to depose Alexios.

In 1034 Alexios founded a monastery of the Dormition near Constantinople. Its *typikon* is lost in the original but has survived in Slavic MSS, the oldest of which is of the 12th C. It reveals certain modifications of the original made by the translator (I. Mansvetov, *Cerkovnyj ustav* [Moscow 1885] 113–28).

LIT. G. Ficker, *Erlasse des Patriarchen von Konstantinopel Alexios Studites* (Kiel 1911). *RegPatr*, fasc. 2, nos. 829–55. S. Petrides, *DHGE* 2 (1914) 398. Laurent, *Corpus* 5.1, nos. 13–14. —A.K.

ALIMPIJ, late 11th-C. Kievan painter. The *PATERIK* describes Alimpij as helping painters from Constantinople who came to decorate a church (of the Dormition) in the monastery of the Caves when Vsevolod was prince of KIEV and Nikon was third abbot of the monastery (1078–91?). After the church's dedication, Alimpij became a priest. Later portions of the *Paterik* are devoted to miracles associated with icons that he painted. Like many ARTISTS, therefore, Alimpij worked in a variety of media. VLADIMIR MONOMACH is mentioned as learning of the "venerable" Alimpij. The painter's career thus spanned at least a quarter of a century. The date of his death is unknown; he was buried in his monastery.

LIT. V. Pucko, "Kievskij chudožnik XI veka Alimpij Pečerskij," *WSlfj* 25 (1979) 63–88. —A.C.

ALLAGION (ἀλλάγιον), a military detachment that in the 10th C. consisted of 50–150 warriors: imperial *allagia* had 320–400 (A. Dain, *Sylloge tacticorum* [Paris 1938] 56). In the late 13th–14th C. the term *mega allagion* designated a garrison, esp. in Thessalonike, and the old *allagion* of the emperor's guards was probably replaced by two *paramonai*, one on horseback, the other on foot. The *Chronicle of the Morea* describes *allagia* as mounted companies; Constantine, the brother of Michael VIII, had at his disposal 18 *allagia*, for a total of 6,000 warriors (D. Zakythinis, *Despotat* 2:133). In the 14th C. the commander of the

allagion was called the *archon tou allagiou*; side by side with him, a ceremonial book (pseudo-Kod. 138.34–35) mentions the *protallagator*, both subalterns of the *megas primikerios*. Since each of the *allagatores* stood at the head of a single *paramone*, the *protallagator* was the commander of the whole company; the difference between him and the *archon tou allagiou* is not clear. According to Pertusi (*infra*), the name *ta allagia* was reflected in the Arabic toponym Tālājā or Tafala for a theme located near Constantinople.

LIT. Guiland, *Institutions* 1:524–26, 529f. A. Pertusi, "Il preteso thema bizantino di 'Tālājā'" *BZ* 49 (1956) 90–95. —A.K.

ALLAXIMOI (ἀλλάξιμοι, from ἀλλάσσω, "to change"), or *allaximoi* of the *kouboukleion* (*De cer.* 7.1–6), aulic servants in charge of the emperor's wardrobe. The word *allaxima* or *allaximata* designated ceremonial apparel (Ph. Koukoules, *EEBS* 19 [1949] 78) that was stored in great quantities in the palace. The *Kletorologion* of Philotheos calls these servants *hoi epi ton allaximon* and places them under the command of the DEUTEROS (Oikonomides, *Listes* 131.16–18).

LIT. Bury, *Adm. System* 127.

—A.K.

ALLEGORY (ἀλληγορία) in Byz. was used in the sphere of both literature and theology.

LITERARY ALLEGORY. In antiquity, literary allegory was understood as a *TROPE* whose goal was the expression of a concept that differed from the literal sense of the words but was connected with them by similarity or contrast. Allegory remained an important vehicle of Byz. literature: thus, the image of the castle in Palaiologan texts served the function of both romantic adventure and didactic allegory (C. Cupane, *JÖB* 27 [1978] 264). In literary interpretation, biblical exegesis, and philosophy, the search for allegory meant the revealing of hidden content.

The same principle was applied to classical texts: the allegorical exegesis of Homer (and other poets) was practiced by Neoplatonists, who also interpreted Plato allegorically. TZETZES, too, in his commentary on Homer, distinguished three kinds of allegory: physical, psychological, and pragmatic (historical). Late antique or Byz. novels and romances were interpreted allegorically to neutral-

ize their erotic content (cf. the commentary on the *Aithiopika* of Heliodoros, perhaps by PHILAGATHOS, and Manuel PHILES on *Kallimachos and Chrysorrhoe*). Allegory was applied far beyond literary and philosophical exegesis: the ceremonial of the imperial court, the color of attire, the behavior of animals, an earthquake, all could receive an allegorical interpretation, since the cosmos was perceived as a RIDDLE that needed an explanation. This interpretative allegory could be many tiered, having various meanings that were construed as noncontradictory.

LIT. P. Rollinson, *Classical Theories of Allegory and Christian Culture* (London 1981). Hunger, *Grundlagenforschung*, pt. XIV (1954), 35–54. Wolfson, *Philosophy* 1:24–96. M.N. Esper, *Allegorie und Analogie bei Gregor von Nyssa* (Bonn 1979). W. Bienert, *Allegoria und Anagoge bei Didymos dem Blinden von Alexandria* (Berlin 1972). —A.K., I. S.

THEOLOGICAL ALLEGORY. For theologians, allegory was the key method of hermeneutics (or *techne*) in textual interpretation from the Hellenistic period onward. The apologists, particularly theologians of the ALEXANDRIAN SCHOOL, applied it to biblical exegesis in a manner similar to the interpreters of Homer and Hesiod, either to uncover the deeper, spiritual meaning behind the literal or historical sense, or to reevaluate offensive passages. At the same time, they opposed the allegorical interpretation of myths, seen as the main support of contemporary polytheism, and Gnostic allegorization, thus distancing themselves from both views. Likewise, they opposed Marcion and fellow adherents of Gnosticism who denied any salvific value to the Old Testament, and who regarded the Old Testament as a foreshadowing (*typos*) of the New Testament. In Galatians 4:21–30 the Alexandrian apologists found a model and justification for their "theological method" based on the unity of the Old and New Testaments, conducted on the premise that the Old Testament prefigures Christ, and that both constitute sacred Scripture.

Relating the two Testaments to the contemporary situation to uncover the desired inner meaning is clearly evident in the exegetical commentaries and sermons of ORIGEN. Therefore, so far as Origen is concerned, the old controversy originated by the reaction of the ANTIOCHENE SCHOOL as to whether or not Alexandrian allegory is more than an arbitrary interpretation of the texts, and thereby different from the Hellenistic or Gnostic

mythical interpretations, is relativized but not resolved.

Despite assertions to the contrary by all representatives of the Antiochene tradition, it is doubtful that Antiochene *theoria* or *anagoge* differed from the allegory of Origen as a theological or hermeneutical method. It is true that Antiochene thought is oriented more toward the text, and in the *catenae* of patristic exegesis after the Council in Trullo (691) and in the Byz. *erotapokriseis* typological exegesis stemmed largely from this orientation, which today is distinguished from allegorical exegesis. Nonetheless, radical allegorization continued to flourish, as shown, for example, in the commentary on the *Hexaemeron* by pseudo-Anastasios of Sinai (PG 89:851–1077), in which the first chapter of Genesis is given an allegorical interpretation to reveal Christ and the Church.

LIT. H. de Lubac, "'Typologie' et 'Allégorisme,'" *RechScRel* 34 (1947) 180–226. Idem, *Histoire et esprit. L'intelligence de l'Écriture d'après Origène* (Paris 1950). R.P.C. Hanson, *Allegory and Event: A Study of the Sources and Significance of Origen's Interpretation of Scripture* (London 1959). K.J. Torjesen, *Hermeneutical Procedure and Theological Method in Origen's Exegesis* (Berlin–New York 1986). J. Tigcheler, *Didyme l'Aveugle et l'exégèse allégorique* (Nijmegen 1977). P. Ternant, "La *theoria* d'Antioche dans le cadre de l'Écriture," *Biblica* 34 (1953) 135–58, 354–83, 456–86. J. Guillet, "Les exégèses d'Alexandrie et d'Antioche, Conflit ou malentendu?" *RechScRel* 34 (1947) 257–302. M. Simonetti, *Lettera elo Allegoria: Un contributo alla storia dell'esegesi patristica* (Rome 1985). —K.-H.U.

ALLELENGYON (ἀλληλέγγυον, "mutual security"). The term *allelengyue* first appears in papyri designating joint guarantors of a debt or other obligation (*P. Oxy.* 1408) and by the 4th–7th C. had in practice become synonymous with mutual *fideiussio*. Justinian I (in novel 99.1 pr.) distinguishes two types of *fideiussio*: one where the co-sureties answered fully and equally any legal action against them, and the other where a special contract limited each individual's obligation to a portion of the total liability; in this case wealthy co-sureties were responsible only for their own portion and not for the liabilities of their impoverished or fugitive partners. Texts of the 9th and 10th C. employ the word in the context of obligations to the fisc, and it seems in some sense to have replaced the older term *epibole* to describe the longstanding principle of communal tax liability: Emp. Nikephoros I required peasants to pay *allelengyos* (collectively) for poorer neighbors

engaged in military service (Theoph. 486.26); the *Treatise on Taxation* compelled peasants to pay the taxes of neighbors who had fled the land (Dölger, *Beiträge* 119.2). In 1002 Basil II introduced the *allelengyon*, requiring DYNATOI to pay the arrears of poorer taxpayers; the precise procedures employed under this measure remain obscure. Under pressure from ecclesiastical officials, Romanos III abolished the *allelengyon* in 1028. Nevertheless, a deed of purchase of 1097 (*Lavra* 1, no.53.34) mentions property based on mutual solidarity—*allelengyos* and *alleloanadochos*—and ca.1100 Nicholas Mouzalon accused tax collectors of eliciting payments from members of the village community on the principle of *allelengyon* (F. Dölger, *BZ* 35 [1935] 14).

LIT. A. Segré, "L'allelengye," *Aegyptus* 5 (1924) 185–201. Lemerle, *Agr.Hist.* 78–80. —A.J.C.

ALMSGIVING (ἐλεημοσύνη) was a social function consistently praised by theologians and moralists, even though some writers, such as SYMEON THE THEOLOGIAN, denied the importance of almsgiving for personal salvation (Kazhdan, "Simeon" 12). Almsgiving is a major topos of hagiography, which presents saints either distributing their property among the poor or in conflict with their families over charitable giving (cf. PHILARETOS THE MERCIFUL, MARY THE YOUNGER). Even monks in certain monasteries were permitted to have private funds for almsgiving, or at least the practice was tolerated (AASS Nov. 3:566D).

The scope of charitable giving is hard to calculate. JOHN ELEEMON reportedly compiled a list of the POOR in Alexandria (more than 7,000) who were supported by his program of PHILANTHROPY. John Chrysostom stated that a tenth of the population of Antioch required material assistance; in Constantinople he counted 30,000 men and 20,000 women in need of welfare (Constantelos, *Philanthropy* 257–59).

With so many in need, the problem of how to influence (and control) them was of great import. The poor argued that they had a right to bread and entertainment; the state of the 4th–7th C. complied, distributing special tokens (tesserae) for theaters, bathhouses, etc. (glass tesserae of the 5th–7th C. are known; K. Regling, *RE* 2.R. 5 [1934] 854); esp. important was the distribution of GRAIN. Eventually the church transformed this

right of the poor into the charity of the church, the state, and the wealthy; the recipients had to stop demanding "bread and circuses" and to beg for alms.
—A.K.

ALOUSIANOS (Ἀλουσιάνος), second son of the Bulgarian tsar JOHN VLADISLAV, who gave his name to a Byz. family; fl. first half of the 11th C. The origin of the name is unclear: it has been interpreted as Armenian (J. Ivanov), Jewish (S. Gičev: from *alluf*, "prince"), or Latin (I. Dujčev, who connected it with "Aloisius"). He served as *strategos* of Theodosiopolis and possessed lands (his wife's dowry) in Charsianon. Aousianos sided with rebels in Bulgaria in 1040. He joined Peter DELJAN at OSTROVO (near Thessalonike) and forced Deljan to accept him as co-ruler. During the siege of Thessalonike, discord in the rebel army broke out between Aousianos and Deljan. According to Litavrin (*Bolgaria i Vizantija* 376–96), the Bulgarian nobles supported Aousianos until he was defeated at Thessalonike. When Michael IV led an expedition against the rebels, Aousianos blinded Deljan and fled to the emperor. For his treason Aousianos was rewarded with the title of *magistros*. His son Basil was governor of Edessa. Another son, Samuel, was commander of troops in Armeniakon; perhaps the seal of a Samuel Aousianos entitled *proedros* and *doux* was his. Basil and Samuel's sister married ROMANOS IV. Several Aousianoï (Constantine, David) are known from seals with effigies of the military saints George and Demetrios. Later the family lost its military functions, although some Aousianoï became higher civil officials, e.g., Thomas Aousianos, *krites katholikos* in Constantinople ca. 1380–97. They were related to the AARONIOI.

LIT. J. Ivanov, "Proizchod na car Samuilovija rod," *Sbornik v čest na Vasil N. Zlatarski* (Sofia 1925) 59f. V. Zlatarski, "Molivdovulūt na Alusiana," *IzvIstDr* 10 (1930 [1931]) 49–63. I. Dujčev, "Vürchu njakoi bulgarski imena i dumi u vizantijskite avtori," *Ezikovedski izsledovanija v čest na Akademik Stefan Mladenov* (Sofia 1957) 159f. S. Gičev, "Essay on Interpreting the Name Alloussian," *EtBalk* 6 (1967) 165–78. *PLP*, nos. 692–97.
—A.K.

ALP ARSLAN, Seljuk sultan (1063–73); born ca. 1030, died Turkestan Jan. 1073. Nephew of TUGHRUL BEG, Alp Arslan ruled Iran, Iraq, and northern Syria. To keep his Turkomans occupied, he allowed them to raid Byz. In 1064 he captured

ANI with great slaughter. About 1070 he made a treaty with ROMANOS IV, which Alp Arslan considered violated by Romanos's subsequent recovery of Mantzikert (1071). Moving speedily from northern Syria, Alp Arslan inflicted a crushing defeat upon Romanos (see MANTZIKERT, BATTLE OF). Alp Arslan soon released Romanos, perhaps to encourage civil strife in Byz. MALIKSHĀH succeeded Alp Arslan.

LIT. C. Cahen, "Alp Arslan," *EP* 1:420–21. M. Canard in *L'expansion arabo-islamique et ses répercussions* (London 1974), pt. VI (1965), 239–59.
—C.M.B.

ALT'AMAR (Aght'amar), island in Lake Van in eastern Anatolia. Gagik ARCRUNI, Armenian king of VASPURAKAN (908–36), had a fortified city built on this island; according to the 12th-C. addition to the *History of the House of the Artsrunik'* (tr. R. Thomson [Detroit 1985] 354–61), it included a church and a palace with domes or pavilions decorated with scenes of combat, courtly pleasures, and animals.

Only the church, dedicated to the Holy Cross, survives. Built probably 915–29, it became the center of an important monastery. A domed quatrefoil of the type of St. Hrip'simē in VALARŠAPAT, its blocky exterior carries the decoration described in the *History*: rinceaux enclosing scenes of courtly entertainments, Evangelists, and King Gagik offering the church to Christ. Individual animals, full figures and medallion busts of prophets and saints, and Old and New Testament scenes complete this most extensive of all surviving Armenian sculptural programs. Sources should be sought in the art of the Arab 'Abbāsid court, in 6th-C. Palestine, and in earlier Armenian sculpture. No principle governing the arrangement of scenes has been adduced.

The interior has an equally ambitious fresco program, including, in the drum of the dome, a GENESIS cycle and, along the walls of three secondary apses, a Gospel cycle that, although one-quarter obliterated, still contains 23 scenes. The *History* does not describe these paintings; A. Grishin (*Parergon*, n.s. 3 [1985] 39–51) has questioned a 10th-C. date, noting that in places two layers of painting are visible. A lost stone loggia balustrade featured heads of exotic animals, including an elephant (Grishin, fig. 4).

LIT. S. Der Nersessian, *Aght'amar, Church of the Holy Cross* (Cambridge, Mass., 1965). N. Thierry, "Le cycle de la

création et de la faute d'Adam à Altamar," *REArm* n.s. 17 (1983) 291–329. S. Der Nersessian, H. Vahramian, *Aght'amar* (Milan 1974).
—A.T.

ALTAR (ἡ ἁγία τράπεζα), the holy table on which the EUCHARIST is offered; it was located in the sanctuary behind the TEMPLON, at first in front of the apse, later within the main (central) apse of the Byz. triple-apsed sanctuary. Interpreted in Byz. COMMENTARIES as at once Jesus' tomb, the table of the Last Supper, Golgotha, the heavenly altar, and the throne of God, the altar as dread symbol of God's dwelling is reflected in the rites of access to the altar in Eucharist and ordination rites, and in the later practice of concealing it behind curtains (Taft, *Great Entrance* 279–83, 413–16). The altar also served as a place of ASYLUM.

The earliest altars—sometimes called *mensae*—appear to have been of timber and were portable. From the 4th C., as their place in the church became fixed, they began to be made of stone. Altars dressed in silver and gold and studded with precious stones are also recorded (Sozom., *HE* 9.1.4). Altars of this period were box-shaped or free-standing, the latter consisting of a circular, semicircular, or rectangular slab, variously attached to a plinth (Orlandos, *Palaiochr. basilike* 2:444–52). Sometimes (as at Hagia Sophia, Constantinople), the altar was set on a small platform above the level of the sanctuary (R. Taft, *OrChrP* 45 [1979] 288.16, 298.8). Below or near the altar stood the *thalassa* (a small basin, usually connected with a drainage system, that served for the ceremonial washing of priests during the liturgy). In representations, an altar is often shown covered with an ENDYTE.

As early as the 4th C. altars were furnished with a case, called the *kalathesis*, containing RELICS (K. Wessel, *RBK* 1:119). By the 8th C. relics became indispensable for the inauguration (ENKAINIA) of a church. The relics were placed either in a socket in the altar's plinth, as at DAPHNI (*ABME* 8 [1955–56] 76), or in a CRYPT under the altar. In Western churches transformed into MARTYRIA, the altar sometimes took the form of a SARCOPHAGUS enclosing the saint's relics, with an opening (the *fenestella*) facing west.

LIT. J.P. Kirsch, T. Klauser, *RAC* 1:334–54. J. Braun, *Der christliche Altar in seiner geschichtlichen Entwicklung*, 2 vols. (Munich 1924).
—R.F.T., L.Ph.B.

ALTAR OF VICTORY, symbol of pagan resistance in 4th-C. Rome. A statue of Victory (NIKE) was apparently brought from Tarentum in the reign of Augustus and stood near the entrance to the senate, where senators regularly offered incense on a small altar as they entered. The altar was first removed by Constantius II, perhaps in 357, and there was no great resistance. It was put back in place by Julian and removed again by GRATIAN, but this time the opposition was considerable. A delegation of senators sought its return, but Pope Damasus and St. AMBROSE persuaded the emperor not to yield. In 384 SYMMACHUS, then prefect of the city, addressed his poignant appeal for restoration to the court of the young Valentinian II; it nearly succeeded until Ambrose threatened the emperor with excommunication. In 390 a delegation from the senate approached Theodosios I in Milan with the same request and after some hesitation he refused. After the return of Theodosios to Constantinople the senate again sought assistance from Valentinian II; even though the *magister militum* ARBOGAST favored restoration, the emperor did not yield. The usurper EUGENIUS feared an open break with Theodosios and did not replace the pagan symbol. Honorius restored the statue in the senate, but not the altar, claiming that it was merely decorative and not an object of worship.

LIT. A. Dihle, "Zum Streit um den Altar der Viktoria," in *Romanitas et Christianitas: Studia Iano Henrico Waszink oblata* (Amsterdam-London 1973) 81–97. F. Paschoud, "Le rôle du providentialisme dans le conflit de 384 sur l'autel de la Victoire," *MusHelv* 40 (1983) 197–206.
—T.E.G.

ALUM (στυπτηρία), double sulphate of aluminum and potassium, or aluminum and ammonium. In the Middle Ages, *alumen* designated a number of white astringent mineral substances. Primarily used as a mordant to fix dyes in woolen cloth and impart brilliance to the colors, it was indispensable to the textile industry and also useful to painters and tanners. For most of the medieval period, until the mines of Tolfa in Italy began to be exploited (1462), alum production was concentrated in Egypt and Asia Minor, and from there it was exported to the West. According to PEGOLOTTI, the best quality was *alume di rocca* from Koloneia. Alum of excellent quality was produced in PHOKAIA and KOTYAIION (Kütahya), while

there were also alum mines elsewhere in Asia Minor, in Thrace, and the islands of the Aegean. Descriptions of the production of alum may be found in Jordanus the Catalan (ca. 1330) and Pegolotti.

The rich alum mines of Phokaia were ceded by Michael VIII to the Genoese Manuele and Benedetto ZACCARIA in 1275. They built a manufacturing town and tried to monopolize the export of alum to the West by obtaining from Michael VIII a prohibition of the export of Koloneia alum by other Genoese. Although the prohibition was not effective, the Zaccaria were able to build a fortune on alum. Eventually alum became a major commodity in the commerce of GENOA, which retained a predominant position in the alum trade throughout the Middle Ages, although the price of its alum declined after 1382, as a result of political conditions, extensive mining, and the competition of Egyptian alum. Phokaia fell to the Ottomans in 1455, by which time Western sources of alum were being exploited.

LIT. C. Singer, *The Earliest Chemical Industry* (London 1948) 79–94. Heyd, *Commerce* 2:565–71. M.-L. Heers, "Les Génois et le commerce de l'alun à la fin du Moyen Age," *Revue d'histoire économique et sociale* 32 (1954) 31–53. D. Jacoby, "L'alun en Crète vénitienne," *ByzF* 12 (1987) 127–42. —A.L.

ALYATES (Ἀλῳάτης), a family of unclear ethnic origin. Its first known member, Anthes Alyates, a staunch supporter of Bardas SKLEROS, fell in the battle of 976 at Koukou lithos (between Melitene and Lykandos). I. Gošev (*Starobŭlgarski glagoličeski i kirilski nadpisi* [Sofia 1961] 31–35) identified him with the *stratelates* Alyates, using the insufficient data of a 10th-C. inscription from the Round Church in Preslav. The 11th-C. Alyatai were primarily military commanders: Leo, *strategos* of Cherson and Sougdaia in 1059; Theodore, governor of Cappadocia; another Alyates fell in battle against the Normans in 1108. In the 12th C. the Alyatai switched to civil service and occupied relatively low positions. Andronikos Alyates, contemporary of Alexios III, was *kanikleios*; the family retained the post, which Nikephoros Alyates held in 1258–61. Several Alyatai were active in administration throughout the 13th C.: the *vestiarios* Alexios Alyates was sent in 1275 with a fleet against Genoese pirates in the Black Sea; another Alyates was a fiscal functionary; a seal of the *sebastos* John

Alyates is dated by Laurent (*Méd. Vat.*, no.69) to the early 13th C. In the 14th C. the Alyatai played an important role in provincial life: George, *sebastos* in Thessalonike in 1327; an Alyates who was *sebastos* in Chalkidike before 1319; another Alyates, *ktetor* of a church in Philippopolis. Later they are known only as clerics; Gregory Alyates, *hieromonachos*, was a scribe and songwriter in 1433–47.

LIT. PLP, nos. 706–21. V. Latyšev, *Sbornik grečeskich nadpisej christianskich vremen iz Južnoj Rossii* (St. Petersburg 1896) 15–19. I. Ševčenko, *Soc. & Intell.*, pt.XIII (1968), 65–72. Seibt, *Bleisiegel* 281f. —A.K.

AMADEO VI, count of Savoy (1343–83); born Chambéry, Savoy, Jan. 1334, died near Castropignano, Italy, 27 Feb. 1383. Amadeo, the "Green Count," inherited the title to Savoy at age nine and expanded his territory into the Piedmont. A cousin of JOHN V PALAIOLOGOS (through John's mother ANNA OF SAVOY), Amadeo became involved in Byz. affairs when he led a crusading expedition against the Turks. In 1366 he commanded a fleet and an army of 1,500–1,800 men that recovered Gallipoli (KALLIPOLIS), which had fallen to the Ottomans in 1354. He was, however, distracted from further campaigns against the Turks by news of John V's detention by the Bulgarians at Vidin. He sailed into the Black Sea and seized several Bulgarian coastal towns. Amadeo's siege of Varna forced the Bulgarians to give the Byz. emperor a safe-conduct through their territory (Dec. 1366). He delivered Sozopolis and Mesembria to the Byz. in exchange for 15,000 florins (to pay his mercenaries). Amadeo encouraged John to seek UNION OF THE CHURCHES and persuaded him to go to Rome in 1369 to make his personal submission to the pope and seek military aid. Amadeo's expedition was a rare example of co-operation between Crusaders and the Byz. Empire.

LIT. E.L. Cox, *The Green Count of Savoy: Amadeus VI and Transalpine Savoy in the Fourteenth Century* (Princeton 1967). O. Halecki, *Un Empereur de Byzance à Rome* (Warsaw 1930; rp. London 1972) 138–62. HC 3:18f, 74–78. —A.M.T.

AMALARIUS OF METZ, archbishop of Trier (after 804–14) and of Lyons (835–838/9); liturgist active at the Carolingian court; died ca.850. In 813 he traveled to Constantinople as ambassador

of CHARLEMAGNE to Emp. MICHAEL I RANGABE to confirm a treaty between the two powers; received at Constantinople by LEO V, Amalaricus returned with the treaty and the Byz. ambassadors Christopher the *spatharios* and Gregory the deacon to find Louis I the Pious on the throne and lose his own see. Rehabilitated a few years later, Amalaricus participated in the synod of Paris on ICONOCLASM (825) and may have been considered for a second embassy at that time. His *Versus marini* describes the trip to Constantinople via Zara (*Ep. ad Hilduinum*, 5, ed. Hanssens [*infra*] 1:342.1–14), an AUDIENCE with Leo V, and the dangers of shipwreck and Slav or Arab attack, while his liturgical works allude to contemporary customs at Constantinople (e.g., *Codex expositionis II*, ibid. 1:280.14–20, on the Exaltation of the Cross; *Liber officialis*, ibid. 2:197.2–6, on Latin LECTIONS at Constantinople).

ED. E. Dümmler, MGH *Poet.* 1:426–28. *Amalarii episcopi Opera liturgica omnia*, ed. J.M. Hanssens, 3 vols. [= ST 138–40] (Rome 1948–50).

LIT. F. Brunhölzl, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*, vol. 1 (Munich 1975) 437–40. O.G. Oexle, "Die Karolinger und die Stadt des heiligen Arnulf," *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 1 (1967) 331–39. —M.McC.

AMALASUNTHA (Ἀμαλασοῦνθα), or Amalasuntha, Ostrogothic regent (526–34) and queen (534); died Lake Bolzano probably 30 Apr. 535. The younger daughter of THEODORIC, in 515 or 516 she married Eutharic, also a member of the AMALI, and bore him MATASUNTHA and Athalaric, who, after the deaths of his father (522) and grandfather, was raised to the Ostrogothic throne under Amalasuntha's regency. Together with Athalaric, Amalasuntha is depicted on a diptych of Orestes, Western consul in 530 (Delbrück, *Consulardiptychen*, no.32). Her policy was pro-Roman; Prokopios and esp. Cassiodorus praised her highly as a well-educated and beautiful woman. Her pro-Roman tendency was opposed by the Gothic military aristocracy, led by Amalasuntha's cousin THEODAHAD, so that she considered fleeing to Constantinople. She changed her plan—according to Prokopios, because Theodora was jealous, but probably because Amalasuntha arranged a compromise with Theodahad. After Athalaric died she ruled as queen briefly but was compelled to marry Theodahad. Once proclaimed king, he exiled her to an island on Lake Bolzano where she

was strangled. The remonstrances of Peter, Justinian's envoy, were of no avail and Theodahad asserted that the murder had been committed against his will. Amalasuntha's death became Justinian's excuse for war: he ordered Mundus to invade from Illyricum and called BELISARIOS to Sicily. Amalasuntha was unequal to the challenge of preserving the heritage of Theodoric and miscalculated the consequences of her Roman ties.

LIT. Stein, *Histoire* 2:262–64, 328–39. Burns, *Ostro-Goths* 203f. Wolfram, *Goths* 311–39. —W.E.K., A.K., A.C.

AMALFI (Ἀμάλφη), Tyrrhenian port in southern Italy, first mentioned in 596. Until 839 Amalfi belonged to the Byz. duchy of NAPLES. After that date the city and its territory became an independent state, within the orbit of the Byz. Empire. Imperial titles were conferred on most of the local rulers, *praefecturii* and, after 958, *duces*. From the 9th C. many Amalfitans were active in Mediterranean trade. Their ships were known in Egypt, the Maghreb, and Spain. They had colonies in DYRRACHION and Antioch and are frequently described as furnishing Oriental luxury goods to the West. Their quarter in Constantinople, with its Church of S. Maria de Latina, is documented from the mid-11th C.; on Mount Athos an Amalfitan monastery dedicated to the Virgin flourished between the end of the 10th and the 13th C. (A. Pertusi in *Mill. Mont-Athos* 1:217–51). Clerics and monks at both institutions translated Greek hagiographical texts into Latin. Between 1053 and 1062 Amalfi tried in vain to organize an alliance of the Western and the Eastern empires against the NORMAN invaders of southern Italy. Following the Norman occupation of 1073, political relations between Amalfi and Constantinople cooled; commercial relations also declined, with Amalfi losing ground to VENICE, Byz.'s main naval ally in the Mediterranean.

Bronze DOORS commissioned in Constantinople for the cathedral of Amalfi survive *in situ*, although the cathedral itself was completely rebuilt after 1204 and the façade was again rebuilt after 1871. Nearly identical doors are in nearby Atrani, on the Church of S. Salvatore.

LIT. U. Schwarz, *Amalfi im frühen Mittelalter (9.–11. Jahrhundert)* (Tübingen 1978). *Amalfi nel medioevo* (Salerno 1977). M. Balard, "Amalfi et Byzance (X^e–XII^e siècles)," *TM* 6 (1976) 85–95. *Istituzioni civili e organizzazione ecclesiastica nello stato medievale amalfitano* 5 [= *Atti del congresso inter-*

nazionale di studi amalfitani, vol. 3 (luglio 1981)] (Amalfi 1986). M.E. Frazer, "Church Doors and the Gates of Paradise: Byzantine Bronze Doors in Italy," *DOP* 27 (1973) 145-62. *Aggiornamento Bertaux* 5:576-78, 627-28.

-V.V.F., D.K.

AMALI, or Amelungen, royal house of the Ostrogoths, whose genealogy—in its earlier part fictitious—was established by CASSIODORUS and taken from him by JORDANES (*Getica*, ed. T. Mommsen [Berlin 1882] 76-78). The earliest securely historical member of the house was Hermenerig/Hermanaricus (died 375/6), the king who enlarged Ostrogothic possessions on the northern shore of the Black Sea but was routed by the Huns. THEODORIC, AMALASUNTHA, and her children, Athalaric and MATASUNTHA, were members of the Amali. Jordanes considers the captivity of VITIGES (540) as the end of the Amali.

LIT. Burns, *Ostro-Goths* 92-96. E. Chrysos, "Die Amaler-Herrschaft in Italien und das Imperium Romanum," *Byzantion* 51 (1981) 430-74. Wolfram, *Goths* 268-78.

-W.E.K., A.K.

AMALRIC I (Ἀμερρίκος), king of JERUSALEM (1163-74); born 1136, died Jerusalem 11 July 1174. Upon succeeding his brother BALDWIN III, Amalric sought a Byz. bride to renew the alliance with Manuel I. Manuel rejected his accompanying request to be recognized as overlord of ANTIOCH. In 1167 Amalric married Maria Komnene, daughter of John Komnenos the *protosebastos*. Amalric sought Byz. aid in 1168 to prevent ZANGID occupation of Egypt, but by 1169, when a joint expedition occurred, SALADIN already controlled Egypt. A combined siege of Damietta (Oct.-Dec. 1169) collapsed over disagreements between Amalric and the Byz. commander, Andronikos KONTOSTEPHANOS. In the same year, EPHRAIM and other mosaicists commissioned by Manuel worked in Jerusalem and Bethlehem. From Apr. to June 1171 Amalric visited Constantinople. He was received privately by Manuel, did homage, and was magnificently entertained (Runciman, *infra*). A treaty proposing joint action against Egypt was never implemented. With Amalric's death, the alliance of Byz. and Jerusalem effectively ended.

LIT. S. Runciman, "The Visit of King Amalric I to Constantinople in 1171," in *Outremer* 153-58. R.-J. Lilie, "Noch einmal zu dem Thema 'Byzanz und die Kreuzfahrerstatten,'" in *Varia* 1 (Bonn 1984) 132-42.

-C.M.B.

AMASEIA (Ἀμάσεια, mod. Amasya), a site of great natural strength on the Lykos in PONTOS. A strategic road junction, Amaseia was made metropolis of Diospontus (later Helenopontus) by Diocletian. Christianized early, Amaseia became the seat of a metropolitan bishop. Justinian I restored its churches after the earthquake of 529. When the Pontic provinces were merged in 535, Amaseia remained a metropolis; it provided refuge in 575 for the populations of neighboring cities fleeing the Persians. Although briefly taken by the Arabs in 712, it was a bulwark of the ARMENIAKON theme and an APLEKTON where the thematic troops joined imperial expeditions. Bardas PHOKAS led a revolt there in 971. In the confusion following the battle of MANTZIKERT, Amaseia fell to ROUSSEL DE BAILLEUL, but in 1074 Alexios I Komnenos persuaded a gathering of its inhabitants (evidently acting with considerable independence) to surrender to him and reestablished imperial control. Soon after, the Turks of Danişmend conquered Amaseia. The sole remaining Byz. structure is a powerful and complex fortress as yet unstudied.

LIT. F. and E. Cumont, *Studia Pontica* (Brussels 1906) 2:146-84. S. Vailhé, *DHGE* 2 (1914) 964-70. A. Gabriel, *Monuments turcs d'Anatolie* (Paris 1934) 2:6-16. Foss-Winfield, *Fortifications* 17-19.

-C.F.

AMASTRIS (Ἀμαστρίς or Ἀμαστρά, now Amasra), city on the Black Sea coast of Anatolia. It first appears in Byz. history when Kyros, a local monk, predicted to Justinian II in 695 that he would regain the throne. Amastris gained importance in the 9th C. as a port for communication across the Black Sea and as a military base. The vita of GEORGE OF AMASTRIS mentions an attack of the Rus' on Amastris, but the date of the attack and even its historicity are under discussion. The city prospered in the 10th C.: NIKETAS DAVID PAPHLAGON, in an *enkomion* of a local saint Hyakinthos (PG 105:421C), calls it "the eye of Paphlagonia and even of the *oikoumene*" and the EMPORION for trade with the northern Scythians. Amastris was a city of the theme of PAPHLAGONIA and seat of a *katepano* in the 10th C. (Ahrweiler, *Mer* 111). In the 12th C. it was administered by a *doux* (Laurent, *Coll. Orghidan*, no.227). Amastris was ruled by the Laskarids after a brief occupation (1204-14) by David Komnenos of Trebizond. Its later history is obscure: in the late 13th or early

14th C. it apparently was turned over to the Genoese, whose merchants were already established there. Amastris was a suffragan bishopric of GANGRA; it became a metropolis by 940.

The site occupies the neck and steep slopes of a peninsula, with two harbors. The ancient city, which stretched to the mainland, was abandoned, apparently after the Rus' attack, as Amastris contracted within new walls. Its Byz. monuments include two small single-aisled churches, perhaps of the late 9th C., and remains of a monastery that have been dated to the early 8th C.

LIT. S. Eyice, *Küçük Amasra Tarihi* (Ankara 1965). Idem, "Deux anciennes églises byzantines de la citadelle d'Amasra (Paphlagonie)," *CahArch* 7 (1954) 97-105.

-C.F.

AMATUS, bishop, possibly of Paestum-Capaccio or Nusco (E. Cuozzo, *Benedictina* 26 [1979] 323-48), and monk of MONTECASSINO; born Salerno ca.1010, died ca.1083? Amatus wrote several Latin poetical works and a *History of the Normans*, which survives only in a 14th-C. French version. Amatus's account of events from 1016 to 1078 reflects Montecassino's pro-Norman stance and includes the revolt of the Lombard Meles (pp. 26.6-32.12), the expedition of MANIAKES against Sicily, and the struggle for southern Italy (pp. 66.5-93.8).

ED. *Storia de' Normanni*, ed. V. de Bartholomaeis [= FSI 76] (Rome 1935).

LIT. Wattenbach, Holtzmann, Schmale, *Deutsch. Gesch. Sachsen u. Salier* 3:898-900. W. Smidt, "Die 'Historia Normannorum' von Amatus," *StGreg* 3 (1948) 173-231.

-M.McC.

AMBASSADORS (πρέσβεις, ἀποκρισιάρχοι) in Byz. were normally recruited from the higher echelons of the administration, the emperor's immediate entourage, or those clerics (sent mainly to Christian countries, and, for specific reasons, to Sasanian Persia) or laymen, regardless of class or experience, who were considered able to succeed in their missions abroad. Their rank depended upon the importance of the ruler to whom they were sent. None of them were permanently accredited to a foreign country; they were sent or exchanged only when required for specific reasons of DIPLOMACY. Beyond having the emperor's confidence, an ambassador was expected to be honest, pious, able to resist corruption, and ready to sacrifice himself if necessary for the empire. He was expected to know something of the coun-

try to which he was sent and, if possible, its language (INTERPRETERS were also available). Able negotiators were entrusted with a series of embassies (e.g., Leo CHOIROSPHAKTES) or had their sons appointed as ambassadors in their place (some cases in early Byz., e.g., NONNOSOS).

Byz. ambassadors going abroad carried their own safe-conducts and letters of accreditation (*prokouratorikon chrysoboullon*). Unlike low-ranking letter-carriers, ambassadors were fully or partly empowered to negotiate. The state covered their expenses and those of their suite. Embassies could be quite large, with many interpreters and servants. One aspect of their mission was to collect INTELLIGENCE about the country they visited. (See also APOKRISIARIOS. For ambassadors to Byz., see EMBASSIES, FOREIGN.)

LIT. N. Garsoian, "Le rôle de l'hierarchie chrétienne dans les rapports diplomatiques entre Byzance et les Sasanides," *REArm* n.s. 10 (1973) 119-38. V. Beševliev, "Die Botschaften der byzantinischen Kaiser aus dem Schlachtfeld," *Byzantina* 6 (1974) 71-83. D. Obolensky, "A Late Fourteenth-Century Byzantine Diplomat: Michael, Archbishop of Bethlehem," in *Mél. Dujčev* 299-315.

-N.O.

AMBO (ἄμβων, also called πύργος), a platform, often standing on four, six, or eight columns, in a church. Ambos were first recorded in the second half of the 4th C. (e.g., at the Council of Laodikeia of 371), but most surviving examples date from the 5th or 6th C. (C. Delvoye, *RBK* 1:127). The example in the Dormition Church in Kalambaka (STAGOI) shows that at least in some places Early Christian ambos continued to be used in the 12th C. (G.A. Soteriou, *EEBS* 6 [1929] 292f, 302-04). The ambo stood in the nave, between the chancel barrier and the west wall, and took one of four main forms: the first and earliest has a single staircase; the second is "fan-shaped" with two curving staircases; the third and most widespread type has two staircases on its east-west axis; distinct from these is the fourth, Syrian type, combining the functions of ambo and SYNTHRONON (R. Taft, *OrChrP* 34 [1968] 326.59). The ambo of Hagia Sophia, Constantinople, described by PAUL SILENTIARIOS, was made of colored marbles of many hues and dressed with silver slabs (S.G. Xydis, *ArtB* 29 [1947] 1-24), but most surviving examples are carved in white marble. Some 13th-C. examples were of wood and portable (Kazhdan, *infra* 425f).

Liturgically, the ambo (together with the BEMA) was one of the two focal points of the church, and processions back and forth along the SOLEA or pathway connecting the two were a standard part of the ritual. It was at the ambo that the liturgy used to open with the intonation of the TRISAGION and close with the final blessing or Opisthambonos Prayer (A. Jacob, *Byzantion* 51 [1981] 306–15). In Hagia Sophia the choir sang from beneath the ambo, the readers mounted it to read the LECTIONS, and the singers intoned from it the psalmody and *troparia* (Mateos, *Typicon* 2:281; Germanos, *Liturgy* 74). On the ambo or its steps the deacons proclaimed the litanies and other *diakonika* and exchanged the kiss of peace. Solemn ORTHROS (Mateos, *Typicon* 2:309) and special ceremonies such as imperial coronation rites and the Exaltation of the Cross on 14 Sept. (illustrated in the MENOLOGION OF BASIL II, p.35) were celebrated at the ambo, which also served as a pulpit for the proclamation of councils and their anathemas (THEODORE LECTOR, ed. Hansen 113.17–20, 142.26, 144.12–13, 149.25–28), and even for secular announcements (*Chron.Pasch.* 715.16–716.8). Chrysostom even preached from the ambo by way of exception, the better to be heard (Sozom., *HE* 357.14–15).

Because the Gospel was proclaimed from the ambo, liturgical COMMENTARIES interpreted it as symbolizing the stone rolled back from Jesus' tomb from which the angel announced the Resurrection to the Myrophoroi in Matthew 28:2–7 (Germanos, *Liturgy* 62).

SOURCE. Paul Silentiarios, *Ekphrasis tou ambonos* in *Prokop: Werke* 5, ed. O. Veh (Munich 1977) 358–75, with Germ. tr.

LIT. Sodini-Kolokotsas, *Alikí II* 94–120. J.-P. Sodini, "L'ambon de la Rotonde Saint-Georges," *BCH* 100 (1976) 493–510. E. Kourkoutidou-Nikolaïdou, "Hoi dyo ambonotes basilikes tou mouseiou stous Philippous," in *Aphieroma ste mneme Stylianou Pelekanide* (Thessalonike 1983) 193–212. A. Kazhdan, "A Note on the 'Middle-Byzantine' Ambo," *Byzantion* 57 (1987) 422–26. —L.Ph.B., R.F.T.

AMBROISE, late 12th-C. Norman jongleur, possibly from Evreux. Ambroise participated in the Third Crusade and composed a lengthy verse *Estoire de la guerre sainte* (History of the Holy War) in Old French after his return from the Levant. Its vivid portrayal of the heroic deeds of RICHARD I LIONHEART espouses the perspective of the average Crusader and describes, for example, the

relations of the Greek population of Messina with the Crusaders (vv. 601–06) and the ruins of Rhodes (1287–1302). His account of Richard's conflict with Isaac Komnenos of Cyprus and the king's conquest of the island (1355–2106) includes a description of Isaac's Greek and Armenian troops (1439–1700), his magnificent tent and gold and silver dishes (1669–72), the superb Byz. war horses (e.g., 1842–50, 1938), and Richard's shaving of Byz. burghers who surrendered to him (1948). The *Estoire* was translated into Latin and incorporated into the revised version of ITINERARIUM PEREGRINORUM by 1222.

ED. *L'Estoire de la guerre sainte*, ed. G. Paris (Paris 1897), with Fr. tr. M.J. Hubert, tr., *The Crusade of Richard Lion-Heart by Ambroise* (New York 1941).

LIT. *Das Itinerarium peregrinorum*, ed. H.E. Mayer [= MGH *Schriften* 18] (Stuttgart 1962) 107–51. —M.McC.

AMBROSE (Ἀμβρόσιος), bishop of Milan (from 373 or 374) and saint; born Trier ca.339, died Milan 4 Apr. 397; feastday 7 Dec. Son of a praetorian prefect of Gaul, Ambrose was trained as a lawyer and ca.374 became governor of Aemilia and Liguria, with his residence at Milan. In the same year the Arian bishop of Milan died and the people of the city demanded that Ambrose succeed him even though he was then a layman. Ambrose vigorously opposed Arianism and paganism and campaigned for the removal of the ALTAR OF VICTORY from the Senate House in Rome; his moral authority forced Theodosios I to accept church-imposed penance after his massacre of thousands in Thessalonike in 390. Ambrose wrote in Latin but knew Greek and translated JOSEPHUS FLAVIUS into Latin. He made extensive use of eastern ideas, esp. those of Basil the Great and Gregory of Nazianzos. Many of his works are commentaries on the Old and New Testaments. His funeral orations on Valentinian II and Theodosios I as well as his letters are important sources for the history of the late 4th C.

The Greek church held Ambrose in high regard. His vita by Paulinus was translated into Greek (Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Analekta* 1:27–88), while an anonymous vita that relied upon Theodoret of Cyrrhus was compiled in Greek (C. Pasini, *AB* 101 [1983] 101–50); the latter served in its turn as the source for Symeon Metaphrastes (*BHG* 69). Numerous Greek hymns (*kontakia* and

kanones) were devoted to the celebration of Ambrose's feastday (C. Pasini, *BollBadGr* 37 [1983] 147–209; 38 [1984] 67–140; 39 [1985] 113–79).

ED. *Opera*, ed. C. Schenkl et al., 7 vols. in 8 pts. (Vienna-Prague-Leipzig 1897–1982).

LIT. A. Paredi, *Sant'Ambrogio* (Milan 1985). J.R. Palanque, *Saint Ambroise et l'Empire romain* (Paris 1933). F.H. Dudden, *The Life and Times of St. Ambrose*, 2 vols. (Oxford 1935). J. Irmscher, "Ambrosius in Byzanz," *Ambrosius Episcopus* (Milan 1976) 297–311. —T.E.G.

AMBULATORY, a passage around a major space. Prokopios of Caesarea (*Buildings* 1.1.58) uses the term *aule* (aisle?, lit. "courtyard") for the colonnaded spaces around the NAOS (nave) of Hagia Sophia, Constantinople. Ambulatories facilitate movement in a church without disturbing central and sacred areas; they can give independent access to the PASTOPHORIA or lead to a contiguous church (LIPS MONASTERY, Constantinople; Hosios LOUKAS). The ambulatories also served as spaces for ecclesiastical gatherings and for burials. The "ambulatory church" type consists of a naos separated by piers or columns from ambulatories to the south, west, and north, which often provided access to lateral chapels; the term has been applied to such late 13th-C. structures as the main church of the PAMMAKARISTOS (S. Eyice, *Anadolu Araştırmaları* 1.2 [1959] 223–34).

LIT. Mango, *Byz.Arch.* 198–203.

—W.L., K.M.K.

AMBULATORY CHURCH. See CHURCH PLAN TYPES.

AMERALIOS (ἀμηνράλιος), commander of a fleet. A 14th-C. ceremonial book (pseudo-Kod. 183.21–23) defines an *ameralios* as subaltern of the MEGAS DOUX and commander of the whole NAVY. It is generally accepted that the term was borrowed from the Catalans at the beginning of the 14th C. since Pachymeres (Pachym., ed. Bekker, 2:420.7–8) relates that ROGER DE FLOR appointed an exarch of his 12 ships, "whom their dialect calls *amerales*." *Amerales* as a family name is known, however, at least from 1280 (*PLP*, no.774). In the court hierarchy the *ameralios* was placed between the SKOUTERIOS and EPI TON DEESEON.

LIT. L.R. Menager, *Amiratus-Ameras* (Paris 1960) 108f. Stein, "Untersuchungen" 57. —A.K.

AMIDA (Ἀμίδα, Diyarbakır in Turkey), capital and metropolitan bishopric of Mesopotamia. Fortified by Constantius II in 349, Amida was frequently contested between Byz. and the Sasanians. It was conquered by Shāpūr II in 359, retaken by Julian in 363, taken by Kavād in 502, and returned to the Byz. in 504; its buildings were restored by Anastasios I. It fell again to the Persians in 602, but was recovered in 628 by Hera-kleios, who built a Church of St. Thomas there. Amida came under Arab control in 640. The city walls, which still stand, are attributed to Constantius or Justinian I and were restored in the medieval period by various Muslim rulers. The Church of St. Kosmas disappeared in this century, but the sanctuary of the large tetraconch Church of the Virgin survives. According to JOHN OF EPHEBUS, a native of the region, there were five monasteries at Amida in his time. Amida was reportedly attacked five times by JOHN (I) TZIMISKEs: in 958, 959, 972, 973, and 974.

LIT. M. van Berchem, J. Strzygowski, *Amida* (Heidelberg 1910). J. Sourdel-Thomine, *EI*² 2:344f. Bell-Mango, *Tur Abdin* 105–09. —M.M.M.

‘AMİR. See EMIR.

AMIROUTZES, GEORGE, philosopher, theologian, and writer; born Trebizond ca.1400, died Constantinople after 1469. The name is a diminutive of the Turkish "emir." Amiroutzes (Ἀμιρούτζης) is first mentioned as a lay adviser to the Byz. delegation to the Council of FERRARA-FLORENCE, where he supported UNION OF THE CHURCHES (M. Jugie, *EO* 36 [1937] 175–80). Later, he allegedly repudiated his earlier views in a letter to Demetrios, duke of Nauplion (ed. M. Jugie, *Byzantion* 14 [1939] 77–93); Gill (*Personalities* 204–12) has, however, challenged the attribution to Amiroutzes of this anti-Unionist tractate. In 1447 Amiroutzes was an envoy from Trebizond to Genoa; from ca.1458 to 1461 he served as *proto-vestiarios* and *megas logothetes* of the last Trapezuntine emperor, DAVID I KOMNENOS (1458–61). After the surrender of TREBIZOND to the Turks (Aug. 1461), he went to the court of MEHMED II at Adrianople and then to Constantinople, where he continued his scholarly activity, discussing philosophy with the sultan and preparing a map of the world based on Ptolemy (F. Babinger, *Mehmed the*

Conqueror and His Time [Princeton 1978] 246–48). Because of his Turcophile stance, Amiroutzes has frequently been charged with treachery and hypocrisy; he has been defended, however, by N.B. Tomadakes (*EEBS* 18 [1948] 99–143) and O. Lampisides (*ArchPont* 17 [1952] 15–54), who also dispute his alleged conversion to Islam.

The few surviving works of Amiroutzes include a dialogue with Mehmed on Christianity, poems of fulsome praise for the sultan, and a few letters to contemporaries such as BESSARION and Theodore AGALLIANOS.

ED. Dialogue—Lat. tr. by J. Werner (Nuremberg 1514). Poems—ed. S. Lampros, *DIEE* 2 (1885) 275–82. Letter to Bessarion—PG 161:723–28. List of ed. in Tomadakes, *EEBS* 18 (1948) 102f.
LIT. *PLP*, no. 784. Beck, *Kirche* 772. —A.M.T.

AMISOS (Ἀμισός, now Samsun), coastal city of PONTOS. Amisos is rarely mentioned before its capture by the Arabs in 863. It was a city of the ANATOLIKON theme and played an essential commercial role in supplying Cherson with grain (*De adm. imp.* 53:533–35). Seals mention several fiscal functionaries of Amisos: *kommerkiarios*, *dioiketes*, and *abydikos*. The city was occupied by the Turks in 1194, by the Komnenoi of Trebizond in 1204, and definitively by the Seljuks in 1214. During the first Turkish occupation it appears that Greek and Turkish settlements coexisted side by side. The remains of Amisos include late Roman walls, floor mosaics, churches, and inscriptions. Amisos was a suffragan of AMASEIA.

Because of similarity of names, Amisos was formerly identified with the Sampson ruled by Sabbas ASIDENOS; his base was actually PRIENE.

LIT. Bryer-Winfield, *Pontos* 92–95. S. Vailhé, *DHGE* 2 (1914) 1289f. —C.F.

AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS, Latin historian; born Antioch ca. 330, died after 392. Born to a noble family, Ammianus saw wide military service in east and west as a staff officer (*protector domesticus*) in the years 354–63, including the siege of Amida (359) and Julian's Persian expedition (363). After returning home, he embarked on more scholarly travels to Egypt, Greece, and Rome, where, to judge from his resentful remarks, he fell victim to the expulsion of foreigners in the famine of 383. He was back in Rome in 392, enjoying the fame of his published history.

In his own concluding words (31.16.9), his *Res Gestae* covered the period 96–378 from the standpoint of a "former soldier and Greek." The first 13 books, covering 257 years with a starting point designed to provoke comparison with Tacitus, are lost. The surviving books 14–31 cover in obviously much greater detail the years 353–78, ending in catastrophe (battle of ADRIANOPLE) and forebodings of doom. Ammianus combines traditional prejudices (patriotism, contempt for barbarians and mobs, outbursts against corruption and luxury) with a refreshing religious tolerance and balanced appreciation of his protagonists—even his hero Julian's feet of clay are acknowledged. His style is just as mixed, with Tacitean epigram and Vergilian color blended with a jagged Latin that wavers between clumsiness and power. Although a pagan, Ammianus includes a surprising amount of information and detached commentary on Christian affairs (E.D. Hunt, *CQ* n.s. 35 [1985] 186–200).

ED. *Rerum gestarum libri qui supersunt*, ed. W. Seyfarth, 2 vols. (Leipzig 1978). *Römische Geschichte*, ed. W. Seyfarth, 4 vols. (Berlin 1968–71), with Germ. tr. *Ammianus Marcellinus*, ed. J.C. Rolfe, 3 vols. (London–Cambridge, Mass., 1935–39), with Eng. tr.

LIT. R.C. Blockley, *Ammianus Marcellinus, A Study of His Historiography and Political Thought* (Brussels 1975). K. Rosen, *Ammianus Marcellinus* (Darmstadt 1982), rev. T.D. Barnes, *ClRev* n.s. 35 (1985) 48–50. R. Rike, *Apex Omnium: Religion in the Res Gestae of Ammianus* (Berkeley 1987). R. Seager, *Ammianus Marcellinus, Seven Studies in His Language and Thought* (Columbia, Mo., 1986). A. Demandt, *Zeitskritik und Geschichtsbild im Werk Ammians* (Bonn 1965). —B.B.

AMMONIOS (Ἀμμώνιος), teacher and commentator on Aristotle; born Alexandria late 5th C., died after 517. Ammonios imbibed paganism from his philosophically minded parents; after the death of his father Hermeias, his mother took him and his brother to Athens to study under PROKLOS. His studies complete, Ammonios returned home where, except for some time in Constantinople, he remained as a lecturer on PLATO and ARISTOTLE. PHOTIOS (*Bibl.*, cod. 187) vouchsafes his reputation in astronomy and geometry. He is variously praised and damned for his paganism, industry, and greed. Of his many writings, only the commentary on Aristotle's *On Interpretation* remains, though the gist of his lectures survives in students' notes. His most famous pupils included John PHILOPONOS, who edited his lectures on Aristotle's *Physics*, DAMASKIOS, OLYMPIODOROS OF ALEXANDRIA, and SIMPLIKIOS.

ED. Commentaries on Aristotle—CAG 4:3–6. *Les Attributions (Catégories): le texte aristotélicien et les Prolegomènes d'Ammonios d'Hermeias*, tr. Y. Pelletier (Paris 1983).

LIT. Westerink, *Prolegomena* x–xiii. K. Kremer, *Der Metaphysikbegriff in den Aristoteles-Kommentaren der Ammonius-Schule* (Münster 1961). —B.B.

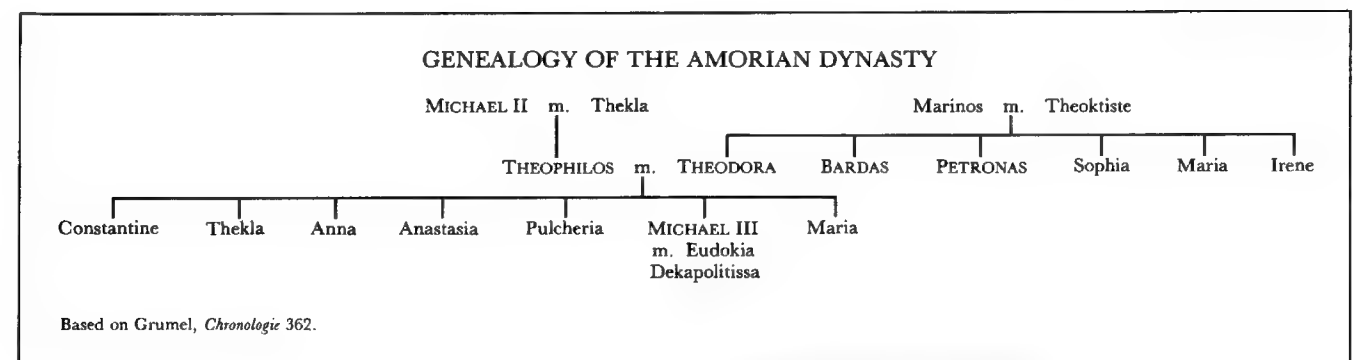
AMNOS (ἀμνός "lamb"), term that refers esp. to the sacrificial lamb. In the Old Testament the lamb was a common sacrificial victim, esp. the paschal lamb; in the New Testament and church fathers it became a symbol of Jesus as victim (see LAMB OF GOD). In Byz. liturgical usage, the *amnós* is the central portion of the principal PROSPHORA bread, signifying Christ's body; marked with a stamp, it is cut out at the PROTHESIS rite and consecrated at the EUCHARIST. GERMANOS I (Germanos, *Liturgy*, pars. 6, 21, 36) applied the symbolism of Isaiah 53 to this rite, and within a century the prophetic verses (Is 53:7–8) became the liturgical formula for the excision of the *amnós*. The use of a lance for this excision is symbolic of the soldier's lance (see RELICS) that pierced Christ's side at the Crucifixion (Jn 19:34). In wall painting at KURBINOVO and elsewhere in and after the 12th C., the image of the *amnós*, in the form of a prone Christ Child on the altar, replaces the officiating Christ earlier represented in the apses of churches. —R.F.T., A.C.

AMORIAN OR PHRYGIAN DYNASTY, family that ruled from 820 to 867 and included MICHAEL II, THEOPHILOS, THEODORA, and MICHAEL III; it was so called because its founder, Michael II, was born in AMORION (see genealogical table). The dynasty is best known for its role in several significant religious events. It was responsible for the final defeat of ICONOCLASM, which Michael II had tolerated and Theophilos had revived, but which

Theodora ended (see TRIUMPH OF ORTHODOXY). Michael III created a schism with Rome by permitting the election of Patr. PHOTIOS, but his sponsorship of the mission of CONSTANTINE THE PHILOSOPHER and METHODIOS to Moravia and the baptism of BORIS of Bulgaria helped draw the Slavs into the Byz. cultural orbit. The Amorian dynasty also witnessed the revival of secular learning through patrons such as THEOKTISTOS and Caesar BARDAS and scholars such as LEO THE MATHEMATICIAN. Under the dynasty the Arabs occupied Crete, Sicily, and parts of southern Italy, but, despite victories by MA'MŪN and MU'TAŠIM over Theophilos, they made no permanent gains in Asia Minor and were on the defensive by the end of Michael III's reign (Vasiliev, *Byz. Arabes* 1:22–264).

LIT. B. Melioranskij, "Iz semejnoj istorii Amorijskoj dinastii," *VizVrem* 8 (1901) 1–37. Bury, *ERE* 77–179. Vasiliev, *History* 271–90. *CMH* 4.1:100–16. —P.A.H.

AMORION (Ἀμόριον), now Hisar near Emirdağ on the borderlands of Galatia and Phrygia, was fortified by Zeno but gained importance only in the 7th C. when it became capital of the ANATOLIKON theme because of its strategic location on the main southern invasion route. First attacked by the Arabs in 644 and taken in 646, it was a frequent goal of their raids. In 742–43 it was the base of Constantine V during the revolt of ARTABASDOS. Amorion gained its greatest fame when a native son, Michael II, became emperor and founded the "Amorian" dynasty. In 838, Amorion was taken and destroyed by the 'Abbāsid caliph al-Mu'tašim in a great campaign mounted against it. The officers and civic officials captured at that time and later executed for their refusal to renounce Christianity are renowned as the FORTY-TWO MARTYRS OF AMORION. The city never



recovered from this attack, though it survived as a bishopric (under PESSINOS; autocephalous by 787, metropolis before 860). Although Alexios I defeated the Turks there in 1116, Amorion had fallen definitively to the Seljuks after the battle of Mantzikert in 1071. The site preserves traces of its fortifications and foundations of several buildings, including a large church.

LIT. *TIB* 4:122-25.

-C.F.

AMORKESOS (Ἀμορκέσος, possibly Ar. Imru' al-Qays), 5th-C. Arab chief (probably GHASSĀNID) in the service of Persia who for some reason left the Great King and crossed over to Byz. Having consolidated his position among the Arabs in northern Arabia he began to attack Byz. territory in Palestina III and finally crowned his successes with the occupation of the island of Iotabe in the Gulf of Eilat. Desirous of becoming a Byz. PHY-LARCH, he sent Bp. Petros to Constantinople ca.473 to negotiate with Leo I. This mission was successful and the emperor brought Amorkesos to Constantinople, where he treated him royally and made him phylarch.

LIT. I. Kavar, "On the Patriciate of Imru' al-Qays," in *The World of Islam: Studies in Honor of Philip K. Hitti*, ed. J. Kritzeck, R.B. Winder (London-New York 1960) 74-82. Shahid, *Byz. & Arabs (5th C.)* 59-106. N.V. Pigulevskaja, *Araby u granic Vizantii i Irana v IV-VI vv.* (Moscow 1964) 51-54. -I.A.Sh.

AMPHILOCHIOS OF IKONION, churchman, theologian, and saint; born Diokaisareia? between ca.340 and 345, died after 394; feastday 23 Nov. Amphilochios (Ἀμφιλόχιος) was overshadowed by the big three CAPPADOCIAN FATHERS to whom he was connected by friendship and family, GREGORY OF NAZIANZOS being his cousin. The hypothesis of K. Bonis (*SBN* 8 [1953] 3-10) that Amphilochios was the uncle of the deaconess OLYMPIAS was rejected by Oberg (*infra* 48, 78). After studying under LIBANIOS at Antioch, and a decade or so as rhetor in Constantinople, he was consecrated bishop of Ikonion ca.373 at the behest of BASIL THE GREAT. An efficient fighter of heretics, he spoke at the Council of Constantinople in 381 and earned the praise of Theodosios I; subsequently he procured the condemnation of the supporters of MESSALIANISM at the Council of Side ca.390. His last recorded appearance was at

the synod of Constantinople in 394. The bulk of his writings is lost or fragmentary. Nine homilies survive, mostly on biblical texts, as does a treatise on false asceticism and his letter on the Holy Spirit. Most interesting are his 333 iambics *For Seleucus*, not so much for their routine exhortations to virtue as for their list of biblical books.

ED. *Opera: Orationes, etc.*, ed. C. Datema (Turnhout 1978). *Peri pseudous askeseos*, ed. K.G. Bones (Athens 1979). *Iambi ad Seleucum*, ed. E. Oberg (Berlin 1969); rp. with Germ. tr. in *JbAChr* 16 (1973) 67-97.

LIT. K. Holl, *Amphilochius von Ikonium in seinem Verhältnis zu den grossen Kappadoziern* (Tübingen 1904). -B.B.

AMPHIPOLIS (Ἀμφίπολις), city of Macedonia on the Via Egnatia not far from the mouth of the STRYMON. In Roman times Amphipolis was capital of Macedonia I but by late antiquity it was subject to Thessalonike (Hierokl. 640.2). The bridges across the Strymon both north and south (at Marmarion) of Amphipolis were used throughout the Byz. period. Slavs were established in the region in the 7th-8th C. The bishop of Amphipolis, first mentioned in 553, was suffragan of Thessalonike. The bishopric appears for the last time in a notitia dated after 787 (*Notitiae CP* 3.272). Even though authors of the 12th-14th C. continued to use the name as a geographic designation, F. Papazoglou (*ZRVI* 2 [1953] 7-24) demonstrated that this was the result of conscious archaizing and that the late antique city had ceased to exist; its place was taken by CHRYSOPOLIS, which is mentioned in various documents from the end of the 10th C. onward (including portulans of the 15th C.).

Near ancient Eion south of Amphipolis is a large rectangular fortress, undated but probably still used in the 14th C. Extensive excavation at Amphipolis has revealed the remains of four large basilicas of the 5th-6th C. with rich mosaic pavements (D. Lazarides, *PraktArchEt* [1959] 42-46; [1964] 35-40; E. Stikas, *PraktArchEt* [1962] 42-46; [1964] 41-43; [1978] 59-63). A centralized building with a circular outer wall and a hexagonal nave and projecting apse bears comparison with San Vitale in RAVENNA (E. Stikas, *PraktArchEt* 1966] 46; [1971] 46-48; [1981] 26-32; [1982] 43-51). In 1367 two brothers, the *megas primikerios* John and the *stratopedarches* Alexios, constructed a tower north of Amphipolis to protect lands here that they had given to the Pantokrator monastery on Mt. Athos.

LIT. Lemerle, *Philippe* 172f, 208f. E.G. Stikas, "Les fouilles d'Amphipolis paléochrétienne en Macédoine orientale," *BS/EB* 8, 11, 12 (1981-85) 351-84. -T.E.G., N.P.S.

AMPHORA (ἀμφορεύς), large ceramic transport and storage vessel used in all parts of the empire, at least through the 13th C. The amphora shapes of the 4th-7th C. were developed from ancient prototypes and manufactured in many centers throughout the eastern Mediterranean. Amphoras were normally either round or cylindrical in shape, with two handles extending from the shoulder to the mouth; the shoulder and often the whole body were marked with grooves, wheel-ridges, or combing, presumably to facilitate the use of ropes to secure the vessels in the holds of ships.

Archaeological evidence, from shipwrecks and land sites, reveals the extent of the use of amphoras in contexts ranging from household and commercial storage to long-distance transportation. Excavations in Constantinople (esp. at Saraçhane and Kalenderhane), in Cherson and the eastern Crimea, and in Pliska, Tomis, and Dinogetia show the development of amphora types in the 8th-10th C. when evidence from elsewhere is slight. By the 11th C. Byz. amphoras are again found commonly throughout the eastern Mediterranean and the Black Sea, a characteristic type being a relatively small conical-shaped amphora with heavy wheel-ridges, a mouth with a very short neck, and short handles. While amphoras of the 4th to 7th C. are frequently marked with graffiti, those of the 11th to 12th C. are occasionally stamped, usually on the shoulder. Since these stamps are often monograms or abbreviated names (Nicholas, John, George, etc.), Jakobson (*infra*) believes them to be potters' marks (see STAMPS, COMMERCIAL).

Amphoras were still quite common in the 12th-13th C., but their usage seems to have declined in the 14th C., perhaps because materials were transported in other containers, possibly barrels. Amphoras were inserted into the walls of churches, esp. in the masonry of pendentives; according to some authorities, this was for acoustical purposes, but the amphoras were probably used simply as lightweight filling material. Amphora-like vessels could also be made of metal (see PLATE, DOMESTIC GOLD AND SILVER).

LIT. J. Čangova, "Srednovekovni amfori v Bulgarija," *IzvBulgArchInst* 22 (1959) 243-62. I. Barnea, "Amforele feudale de la Dinogetia," *SCIV* 5 (1954) 512-27. A.L. Jakobson, *Rannesrednevekovnyj Chersones* (Moscow-Leningrad 1959) 302-17. W. Hautumm, *Studien zu Amphoren der spät-römischen und frühbyzantinischen Zeit* (Fulda 1981). J. Schaefer, "Amphorae as Material Indices of Trade and Specialization," *AJA* 84 (1980) 230f. -T.E.G.

AMPHORA STAMPS. See STAMPS, COMMERCIAL.

AMPULLAE, PILGRIMAGE, vessels of lead, clay, and other materials that were used by pilgrims to transport oil, water, earth, etc., from the LOCA SANCTA. Particular types include UNGUENTARIA and MENAS FLASKS. The main collections are at MONZA AND BOBBIO in Italy, where are preserved more than three dozen small (diam. approximately 7-9 cm), embossed tin-lead pilgrim flasks, closely

AMPULLAE, PILGRIMAGE. Ampulla; silver. Monza Cathedral Treasury. To the left of the seated Virgin and Child are the Three Magi; to the right, the Annunciation to the shepherds.



related to the SANCTA SANCTORUM RELIQUARY in date (ca.600), provenance (Palestine), iconography, and function. Their iconography is drawn from the PALESTINIAN CHRISTOLOGICAL CYCLE, with special stress (by frequency of choice and size) on the Veneration of the Cross and the Myrophoroi—scenes evocative of the Holy Land's two most famous shrines, the Holy SEPULCHRE and Golgotha in JERUSALEM. The pilgrim EULOGIA they contained is revealed by a recurrent inscription: "Oil of the Wood of Life of the Holy Places of Christ." Indeed, the PIACENZA PILGRIM describes a ceremony in the Church of the Anastasis in Jerusalem for the blessing of such oil flasks through contact with the True Cross. Their amuletic function for pilgrims is revealed by their emphasis on the scene of Peter Saved from Drowning, and the inscription on one specimen: "Oil of the Wood of Life, that guides us by land and sea."

LIT. Grabar, *Ampoules*. Vikar, *Pilgrimage Art* 20–25.
—G.V.

'AMR ('Αμρος, 'Αμβρος), more fully 'Amr ibn al-'Āṣ; Muslim conqueror of Byz. Egypt; born Mecca between ca.575 and 595, died al-Fustāt (Cairo) 6 Jan. 664. He converted to Islam between 627 and 630. A member of the tribe of Quraysh, he was a trader between Hījāz, al-'Arīsh, and towns in southern Palestine. Short but hardy and broad-shouldered, he was brave, cool-headed, and clever, and an excellent horseman. Muḥammad gave him various military commands; ABU BAKR appointed him to lead one of four armies against Byz. Syria. Victorious in southern Palestine, 'Amr conquered Jerusalem, Askalon, Gaza, and Eleutheropolis (Elousa) and participated in the siege of Caesarea. Strategically well placed for an attack on Byz. Egypt and aware of its vulnerabilities, in Dec. 639 'Amr launched the invasion. At his own or 'Umar's initiative, he set out with a small force (3,500 or 4,000) for Egypt, via the coastal route to al-'Arīsh. Soon 10,000 or 12,000 reinforcements followed. After taking Pelousion, 'Amr defeated the Byz. at Heliopolis (640); by 642 he had overrun Egypt, including Babylon (Cairo) and Alexandria, and captured Barca in Cyrenaica. 'UMAR restricted 'Amr's command to the army in the lower Delta. 'UTHMĀN removed 'Amr, but a Byz.-inspired rebellion of the Greek population in 645 and a Byz. maritime expeditionary army forced his reinstatement.

He checked the Byz. army at Alexandria and retook the city.

LIT. Donner, *Conquests* 113–16, 129–31, 134–37, 151–53. Butler, *Arab Conquest* 194–334, 546–48. A.J. Wensinck, *Et*² 1:451. U. Luft, "Der Beginn der islamischen Eroberungen Ägyptens im Jahre 639," *Forschungen und Berichte, Archäologische Beiträge* 16 (1974) 123–28.
—W.E.K.

AMULET (φυλακτήριον). Although it could take many forms, from medicinal animal fur to apotropaic door frames, an amulet was usually a small artifact worn on the body, such as a pendant, armband (see ARMBANDS, AMULETIC), ring, or token. Severos of Antioch (PO 29.1:79 [583]f) advises against "the suspension and attachment to necks or arms or other members [of those objects] called *phylacteria*, or protective amulets . . ."

Especially common in the 4th to 8th C., and among the lower strata of society, amulets were roundly condemned by the church fathers and the church councils (e.g., Laodikeia I, canon 36). Magical power was invoked through medium, inscriptions, and/or imagery. For example, the earth of which PILGRIM TOKENS were made was believed to convey the power of the deity or saint from whose LOCUS SANCTUS it was taken. As for inscriptions, apotropaic ACCLAMATIONS, such as *Heis Theos*, commonly appear on 4th- through 8th-C. amulets, as do Hebrew sacred names, such as *Iaō*. These were thought to convey the protection of divine power as, commonly, was the 90th Psalm: "He that dwells in the help of the Highest. . ."

Like these inscriptions, amuletic iconography reflects varied, often ancient, sources. The HOLY RIDER—the generic emblem of good conquering evil—was an esp. popular image with pre-Christian roots, as were the Greco-Egyptian RING SIGNS that commonly accompanied it. Alexander of Tralles (Alex. Trall. 2:377) prescribes a treatment for colic involving a jasper ring bezel engraved with HERAKLES choking the Nemean Lion. Yet, much as biblical quotations eventually found a role on amulets, so also did biblical imagery. Most often themes of deliverance or protection—such as the Sacrifice of Isaac—were chosen with the aim of establishing a typological bond. The Adoration of the Magi was a preferred theme for pilgrim amulets. More generic in its applicability was the EVIL EYE.

Medical Amulets. Amulets in this subcategory were designed for specific diseases—thus excluding relics, icons, and pilgrim tokens, whose mi-

raculous powers might incidentally encompass HEALING. Clearly some of the more common Greco-Egyptian medico-magical gem amulet types (governing sciatica and hemorrhaging) continued into Byz. times. Some 5th- through 7th-C. pendants include amulets bearing texts invoking "good digestion" and related benefits. As with more generally efficacious amulets, power could derive from substance (e.g., haematite, which was thought to absorb blood), symbols (e.g., ring signs), phrases, or images: the image of a man bending over to cut grain provided "sympathetic magic" to treat sciatica, much as a representation of the Woman with the Issue of Blood would be used to treat hemorrhaging.

Medusa Amulet. This is the modern term for a very popular form of uterine amulet known from the 5th to 8th C. and esp. favored from the 9th C. onward. Its power derives from an image characteristically formed of a human head with seven (earlier) or 12 (later) serpentlike rays, all enclosed in a solar disc, which may also include magical ring signs. This image appears frequently on pendant medallions and less often on ring bezels and armbands (here, in the company of the Holy Rider and *locus sanctus* iconography). That their magical domain was the uterus is clear from many of their inscriptions. The uterus (*hysteria*) is addressed directly, usually with the double epithet "dark and black one." It is often accused of "coiling like a serpent, hissing like a dragon, and roaring like a lion"—and then is admonished to "lie down like a lamb"; a ring excavated at Corinth is inscribed: *hysterikon phylakterion* ("uterus amulet"). The Medusa-like image on these amulets developed out of the Greco-Egyptian CHNOUBIS, one of antiquity's most popular gem-amulets—and one long recognized as specifically effective in treating disorders of the abdomen and uterus.

LIT. G. Schlumberger, "Amulettes byzantins anciens destinés à combattre les maléfices & maladies," *REG* 5 (1892) 73–93. Vikar, "Art, Medicine, & Magic." Bonner, *Studies* 51–94.
—G.V.

'AMWĀS. See EMMAUS.

ANACHARSIS OR ANANIAS ('Ανάχαρις ἢ 'Ανανίας), title of an anonymous 12th-C. pamphlet (probably written soon after 1158). Chrestides (*infra*) unconvincingly attributed it to Niketas

EUGENEIANOS. The pamphlet is in the form of a dialogue between Aristagoras and the personification of Grammar, but is in fact a soliloquy by Aristagoras. Anacharsis, whose name is John (identified by Chrestides as John KAMATEROS, *logothetes tou dromou*), received his derisive nickname ("delighted with Anna") from the name of his second spouse, Anna. The author presented him as the scion of a rich family who was the antithesis to the ideal of elite behavior: Anacharsis was a failure as a warrior, rider, and hunter and an unsuccessful musician, scribe, and astrologer. (The author dwells much more on these "social" accomplishments of an aristocrat than on traditional moral values or failings.) To make matters worse, after the death of his model first wife, Irene, Anacharsis became involved with the Jewish community. At the instigation of the Jew Mordecai, he married Anna, described as a "frog" who was baptized but was not improved even by this sacrament. The originality of the main image is in contrast to the imitateness of the vocabulary, which relies greatly on the Bible, ancient authors, church fathers, and contemporary writers, primarily Eugeneianos, MICHAEL ITALIKOS, and PRODRAMOS.

ED. D.A. Chrestides, *Markiana Anekdotai* (Thessalonike 1984) 205–90, rev. A. Kazhdan, *Hellenika* 36 (1985) 184–89.
—A.K.

ANACREONTICS, a short-lined lyrical verse named after the 6th-C. B.C. Ionian poet Anacreon. Since Anacreontics always had a basic eight-syllable pattern, they were adapted more easily than other forms of METER (whose syllable numbers were more varied) from ancient patterns of long and short syllables to the Byz. rules of stress accents. Anacreontics were used for religious compositions (e.g., by GREGORY OF NAZIANZOS and SYNESIOS of Cyrene and by SOPHRONIOS of Jerusalem); they were used for a secular composition by DIOSKOROS OF APHRODITO. Subsequently they became assimilated into Byz. metrics as an eight-syllable verse, parallel to 12- and 15-syllable meters (DODECASYLLABLE and POLITICAL VERSE respectively). Later Byz. Anacreontics (which might better be called trochaic octosyllables) had a rather monotonous tendency to include a stress on odd-numbered syllables and a central caesura after the fourth syllable.

LIT. T. Nissen, *Die byzantinischen Anakreonten* (Munich 1940). Hunger, *Lit.* 2:93–95.
—M.J.J.

ANAGNOSTES (ἀναγνώστης), reader or lector, at first a layman, then a cleric in minor orders whose primary function was to read, from the AMBO, the texts from the Epistles (and, until the 7th C., from the Old Testament) prescribed for the liturgy. *Anagnostai* are classified by Byz. canonical commentators among the minor CLERGY (*klerikoi*), who received ordination through the sign of the cross (*sphragis*). In 535 Justinian I tried to limit the number of readers in the Great Church of Constantinople to 110 (Nov. 3); in 612 Heraclios set the limit at 160 (ed. J. Konidaris, *FM* 5 [1982] 68). The emperor Julian was an *anagnostes* before renouncing his Christian faith, as were the 9th-C. patriarchs JOHN VII GRAMMATIKOS and PHOTIOS in the first stage of their clerical careers.

LIT. Beck, *Kirche* 79. Darrouzès, *Offikia* 87–91. —P.M.

ANAGNOSTES, JOHN. See JOHN ANAGNOSTES.

ANAGRAPHUS (ἀναγραφεύς), fiscal official whose functions were hardly distinguishable from those of the ΕΡΟΠΤΕΣ. The earliest mention is on a seal of Leo, imperial *balnitor* and *anagrapheus* of Opsikion (Zacos, *Seals* 1, no. 2095) of 750–850. The term is not used, however, in the TAKTIKA. *Anagrapheis* are mentioned in documents from 941 (*Lavra* 1, nos. 2 and 3) to at least 1189 (MM 4:320.7); Dölger thinks that they existed up to 1204. Their major function was the revision of the cadaster; thus an act of 1044 (?) states that *anagrapheis* can be sent by the emperor to confiscate the lands of those owners who did not pay *demosion* to the DIOIKETES (*Pantel.*, no. 3.1–4). Their function presupposed the measurement of land (see LAND SURVEY), and both THEOPHYLAKTOS of Ohrid and Michael CHONIATES accuse *anagrapheis* of using false measures. *Anagrapheis* were usually attached to specific themes—Peloponnesos (Zacos, *Seals* 1, no. 3220), Thrakesion (V. Laurent, *EO* 32 [1933] 36), Thessalonike, etc. (Dölger, *infra* 88). There were also *anagrapheis* of special departments, such as George, *anagrapheus* of the Eastern DROMOS (Laurent, *Corpus* 2, no. 466), or the *anagrapheus* of the soldiers (*kontaratoi*) and of sailors (Kek. 268.4–5). The *anagrapheus* often combined his duties with those of the KRITES. After 1204 he was replaced by the APOGRAPHEUS.

LIT. Dölger, *Beiträge* 82f. Litavrin, *Bolgarija i Vizantija* 301–03. —A.K.

ANALOGY (ἀναλογία, lit. “proportion” or “resemblance”) was considered in antiquity, primarily by Aristotle, as a mode of predication using a term that is neither univocal nor equivocal but indicates a resemblance between parallel cases. In antiquity analogy served philosophical goals (primarily in mathematics and biology); the church fathers applied it to theology, esp. to discussing an essentially ineffable God. Origen (*Comm. on Gospel of John* 1:26.167—ed. E. Preuschen [Leipzig 1903] 31), while defining Christ as “light of the world,” notes that spiritual concepts could have analogies to sensible objects. Gregory of Nyssa (PG 44:768A) states that the development of the soul presents a certain analogy to the stages of development of the human body through which is revealed order and sequence of the steps that lead man to the virtuous life. Greek theologians, however, did not elaborate a theory of analogy in the style of Thomas Aquinas. JOHN OF DAMASCUS, who rarely mentions the word analogy (e.g., *Contra Jacobitas* 77.3—ed. Kotter, *Schriften* 4:134), broadly uses reasoning by analogy; he also attacks the weak analogies of his opponents, such as the Nestorians’ assertion that Christ was a human being because of his “dwelling” within a human being (i.e., the Virgin), just as he is called a Nazarene because of his “dwelling” in Nazareth, although he had been born in Bethlehem (*Contra Nestor.* 22.6–11—ed. Kotter, *Schriften* 4:271).

—A.K., M.W.T.

ANAMUR. See ANEMOURION.

ANANIAS OF ŠIRAK (Anania Širakac’i), the most notable early Armenian scholar of scientific subjects; he lived in the 7th C. (exact dates unknown). Ananias traveled to Theodosiopolis, Constantinople, and Trebizond, where he studied mathematics with Tychikos, a Greek from Pontus who had learned Armenian. Ananias wrote numerous works on cosmography, a *Chronicle*, and some theological works. The *Geography* (wrongly attributed to MOSES XORENAC’I) has also been ascribed to him. Noteworthy is an introductory textbook of mathematics, with tables and a section of “Problems and Solutions,” the first of its kind in Armenian. The *katholikos* Anastasios (661–67) asked Ananias to establish a fixed calendar, but this was not put into effect (Grumel, *Chronologie* 143).

ED. Anania Širakac’u *Matenagrut’ yune*, ed. A. Abrahamyan (Erevan 1944). *Voprosy i rečeniya vardapeta Ananija Širakca*, ed. I.A. Orbeli, *Izbrannye Trudy* (Erevan 1963) 512–31.

LIT. H. Berbérien, “Autobiographie d’Anania Širakac’i,” *REArm* n.s. 1 (1964) 189–94. R. Hewsen, “Science in Seventh-Century Armenia: Anania of Širak,” *Isis* 59 (1968) 32–45. J.-P. Mahé, “Quadrivium et cursus d’études au VII^e siècle, en Arménie et dans le monde byzantin d’après le ‘K’nnikon’ d’Anania Širakac’i,” *TM* 10 (1987) 159–206. —R.T.

ANAPHORA (ἀναφορά, lit. “offering”), initially the eucharistic offering itself, but by the 6th C. the prayer accompanying that offering, the Eucharistic Prayer. Usually addressed to God the Father, the anaphora is the central element of the entire EUCHARIST, the text that reveals its meaning: it recounts what Jesus did at the Last Supper (see LORD’S SUPPER) when he instituted the rite. Originally extemporaneous, fixed texts of the anaphora first appear in the 4th C. (A. Bouley, *From Freedom to Formula* [Washington, D.C., 1981] 217–53).

Eastern anaphoras show three structural types, Antiochene, Alexandrian, and East Syrian, distinguished from each other by the position of the intercessions (a later interpolation) relative to the anaphora’s other, older elements. The Byz. anaphora of Sts. John Chrysostom, Basil, and James are all Antiochene in structure. They open with an introductory dialogue (R. Taft, *OrChrP* 49 [1983] 340–65; 52 [1986] 299–324; 54 [1988] 47–77; 55 [1989] 63–74) followed by a prayer of praise and thanksgiving to the Father for creation and salvation. This introduces the biblical TRISAGION, which is followed by a prayer recounting in greater or lesser detail the story of salvation in Jesus, esp. the account of the Last Supper, concluding with the chanting of Jesus’ Words of Institution over the bread and cup (“This is my body, this is my blood”). The anamnesis prayer follows, recalling Jesus’ command to repeat the rite (“Do this in memory of me,” Lk 22:19), his death, resurrection, ascension, and second coming. Then in the EPICLESIS the Father is asked to send down the Holy Spirit upon the bread and wine to change them into Jesus’ body and blood for the salvation of those who receive them worthily in COMMUNION. This petition leads to others: the DIPTYCHS and the intercessions for the living and dead. The anaphora concludes with a DOXOLOGY, chanted aloud, to which the people re-

spond with “The Great Amen.” The term *anaphora* may also refer to the PROSPHORA, whether consecrated or unconsecrated, or to the veil (AER).

ED. A. Hänggi, I. Pahl, *Prex Eucharistica* (Fribourg 1968) 101–415, esp. 223–63.

LIT. L. Bouyer, *Eucharist* (Notre Dame, Ind., 1968) 244–314. E.J. Kilmartin, “Sacrificium Laudis: Content and Function of Early Eucharistic Prayers,” *TheolSt* 35 (1974) 268–87. —R.F.T.

ANAPLOUS. See BOSPOROS.

ANARGYROI (ἀνάργυροι, lit. “without money”), epithet of healing SAINTS who, unlike secular physicians, performed cures without taking payment. The wondrous HEALING of the *anargyroi* was favorably contrasted with the activity of pagan deities such as Asklepios and Isis and with ordinary PHYSICIANS (J. Duffy, *DOP* 38 [1984] 24f). The principal *anargyroi* were KOSMAS AND DAMIANOS, but the epithet was applied also to KYROS AND JOHN, SAMPSON, and PANTELEEMON. From the 10th C. a similar term was used to designate a healing saint or his tomb (“the free hospital,” *amisthon iatreion*), for example, LOUKAS THE YOUNGER and ATHANASIOS OF ATHOS.

Representation in Art. The *anargyroi*, generally depicted as young or middle-aged, are clad soberly in tunics and *phelonia*. They carry attributes of their profession: little medicine chests (sometimes oblong, sometimes cylindrical like a pyxis), narrow boxes of medical instruments, phials, little spoons, spatulas, or pincers (see PHYSICIAN’S BOX).

LIT. A. Chatzinikolaou, *RBK* 2:1077–82. A. Müsseler, *LCI* 5:255–59. C.H. Wendt, “Die heilige Ärzte in der Ostkirchenkunst,” *Centaureus* 1 (1950–51) 132–38.

—A.K., N.P.Š.

ANASARTHA (Ἀνασάρθα, now Khanāzīr in Syria) was made a *polis* of SYRIA I in 528 by Justinian I, who renamed it Theodorias after his empress (Malal. 444.20–22). Anasarttha was situated on the desert LIMES. Two *martyria* were built there in the 5th–6th C., apparently by Arab wives of Byz. generals (Victor and Silvanus). City walls were constructed in 594/5, in the name of Emp. Maurice, state officials, and the local bishop, perhaps by ISIDORE THE YOUNGER, a *mechanikos* who had earlier built the walls at CHALKIS and buildings at ZENOBIA. The walls of Anasarttha may have been extended in 604 by a local (Arab?) Gregory

Abimenes in the name of Emp. Phokas and his empress Leontia.

LIT. R. Mouterde, A. Poidebard, *Le "Limes" de Chalcis: Organisation de la steppe en haute Syrie romaine* (Paris 1945) 68, 193–97. —M.M.M.

ANASTASIA, APOCALYPSE OF, a compilation that describes the fate of sinners whom the pious nun Anastasia chanced to see during her visionary journey to Hell. The text, dated by Speranskij (*infra*) in the 10th or 11th C. and by Beck (*Kirche* 653) in the 11th or 12th C., survives in late Greek MSS (of the 15th–16th C.) and in two Slavic versions. Its content is banal, with an emphasis on the moral decline of mankind, and its cosmogony is traditional, resembling that of the Book of Enoch. The author, however, mentions some historical personages and such events as the reconciliation of Emp. Nikephoros II Phokas with his murderer John I Tzimiskes. Anastasia also reports meeting the *protospatharios* Peter of the *kastron* of Corinth, who is replaced in the Slavic version by Paul Samonas.

ED. *Apocalypsis Anastasiae*, ed. R. Homburg (Leipzig 1903).
LIT. M. Speranskij, "Malo izvestnoe vizantijskoe 'Videnie' i ego slavjanskije teksty," *BS* 3 (1931) 110–33. R. Ganszyniec, "Zur Apocalypsis Anastasiae," *BNJbb* 4 (1923) 270–76. —J.I., A.K.

ANASTASIOPOLIS. See DARA.

ANASTASIOS (Ἀναστάσιος), patriarch of Constantinople (22 Jan. 730–Jan. 754), probably of Syrian origin (Gero, *Leo III* 29, n.17). Anastasios was originally a disciple and *synkellos* of Patr. GERMANOS I. He changed sides, however, and supported the Iconoclastic policy of Leo III. After Germanos's deposition, Leo appointed Anastasios patriarch. He compiled and signed a document (*libelloi*) against the veneration of icons and sent *synodika* to Pope Gregory II defending the Iconoclastic position; the papal reaction was to excommunicate the patriarch. Nothing is known of any further activity of Anastasios during the reign of Leo III; after the emperor's death he supported ARTABASDOS and denounced Constantine V, alleging in a public statement that the emperor had confessed to the patriarch that Christ had been an ordinary man and not the Son of God (Theoph.

415.24–29). After his victory, Constantine ordered that Anastasios be flogged and ignominiously paraded naked on a donkey in the Hippodrome; nevertheless he retained him on the patriarchal throne. When Anastasios died, Constantine kept the see vacant for several months before appointing his successor, the Iconoclast Constantine II (754–66); both actions contributed to the declining reputation of the patriarchate.

LIT. *RegPatr*, fasc. 2, nos. 343–44. R. Janin, *DHGE* 2 (1914) 1465f. —A.K.

ANASTASIOS I, emperor (from 11 Apr. 491; born Dyrrachion ca.430, died Constantinople 8 or 10 July 518. He was nicknamed Dikoros ("with two pupils") because his eyes were of different colors. His flatterers called Anastasios a descendant of Pompey, a later legend (in George Hamartolos) made him a son of a priest; his mother is described as a Manichaean. Theophanes the Confessor (Theoph. 149.27–150.1) calls him a supporter of the Manichees and rebukes him for patronizing a painter of this persuasion. He was famous for his Christian devotion (of Monophysite type). Circa 488 he was proposed as successor to PETER THE FULLER as bishop of Antioch. Even though he held the relatively unimportant post of *decurion* of the *silentiarii*, in 491 Zeno's widow ARIADNE selected him as emperor against the wishes of Patr. Euphemios (490–96) and of Zeno, who had wanted his brother Longinos to succeed him. Anastasios married Ariadne on 20 May 491 and banished Longinos to the Thebaid to die of starvation.

By 497 Anastasios quelled the independence of the Isaurian faction both in Constantinople and in ISAURIA. He reformed the fiscal administration by shifting the main tax burden from the urban centers (abolition of the CHRYSARGYRON) to rural areas and transferred tax collection from the *curiales* to state-appointed *vindices* (E. Chrysos, *Byzantina* 3 [1971] 93–102). Anastasios created the *comitiva sacri patrimonii*, transmitting a section of state property to the emperor's private estate. In 494 he reformed the bronze coinage, issuing the large FOLLIS and several subdivisions. His frugal administration resulted in substantial economies so that at the time of his death the treasury contained 320,000 pounds of gold, despite energetic build-

ing activity in various frontier zones (I. Barnea, *Dacia* n.s. 4 [1960] 363–74).

Anastasios met with political resistance, esp. dangerous during the revolt of VITALIAN, as well as religious opposition from the Orthodox, who accused him of Monophysite tendencies. He had to deal with severe tensions on the frontiers. After a period of relative calm on the Danube, the Bulgars began to penetrate into the empire. To check them, Anastasios ordered construction of the LONG WALL in Thrace in ca.503/4 according to B. Croke (*GRBS* 23 [1982] 73f). His relations with THEODORIC THE GREAT were hostile, and the popes condemned the AKAKIAN SCHISM and tried to establish their jurisdiction over the northern Balkans. The Persians attacked Mesopotamia and temporarily seized AMIDA. Anastasios had no children, but his nephews and their descendants retained an influential position for at least five generations (Al. Cameron, *GRBS* 19 [1978] 259–76). Anastasios is sometimes held to be the emperor portrayed on the BARBERINI IVORY.

LIT. C. Capizzi, *L'imperatore Anastasio I (491–518)* (Rome 1969). *PLRE* 2:78–80. P. Charanis, *Church and State in the Later Roman Empire*² (Thessalonike 1974). —T.E.G.

ANASTASIOS I, patriarch of Antioch (559–70; 25 March 593–end of 598); born Palestine, died Antioch end of 598. Scholars (Sakkos, Weiss) now have rejected his identification with ANASTASIOS OF SINAI. Before his election as patriarch he had been *apokrisiarios* of Alexandria to the see of Antioch. For his stiff opposition to the APHTHARTOCETISM of Justinian I, he was banished, probably to Constantinople, under Justin II (570). During this period he was befriended by the future Pope GREGORY I, with whom he was later to correspond. His literary output is primarily dogmatic and polemic. Although the authenticity of some of his homilies is debatable, the address he delivered on his return to Antioch is genuine (25 March 593). Five of his treatises on the Trinity and the Incarnation exist in Latin translation. As a Neochalcedonian, Anastasios used a strict Orthodox vocabulary but in some points (e.g., in the emphasis on the unity of divine and human natures in the Savior) he came close to moderate Monophysites. John of Damascus used him, and during the Iconoclast disputes both parties referred to Anastasios as an authority.

ED. PG 89:1289–1408. J. Pitra, *Juris ecclesiastici graecorum historia et monumenta* (Rome 1868) 2:251–57.

LIT. S.N. Sakkos, *Peri Anastasion Sinaiton* (Thessalonike 1964) 44–86. G. Weiss, *Studia Anastasiana I* (Munich 1965). K.-H. Uthemann, "Des Patriarchen Anastasios I. von Antiochien Jerusalemer Streitsgespräch mit einem Tritheiten (CPG 6958)," *Traditio* 37 (1981) 73–108. —A.P.

ANASTASIOS II, emperor (713–15); baptismal name Artemios; died Constantinople 1 June 719. Following the deposition of PHILIPPIKOS by officers of the OPSIKION theme, the *protasekretis* Artemios was crowned as Anastasios on 4 June 713. He reversed his predecessor's support of MONOTHELETISM by eventually replacing Patr. John VI (712–15) with GERMANOS I and by revalidating the Third Council of Constantinople. The raid of MASLAMA into Galatia in 714 prompted Anastasios to send entreaties for peace to Caliph Walid, but reports of large-scale campaign preparations in Syria spurred him to prepare Constantinople for an assault. He appointed competent thematic officers, including the future LEO III; ordered individuals in Constantinople to be able to support themselves for three years or else to leave the city; rebuilt the fleet; restored the land and sea walls; erected siege weapons; and stored grain. He also dispatched a fleet in 715 to destroy the Arabs' timber supply in Phoenicia, but the expedition broke up in Rhodes and the Opsikion troops revolted in favor of THEODOSIOS III. After a six-month struggle, Anastasios abdicated, became a monk, and was exiled to Thessalonike. In 719, at the instigation of the *magistros* Niketas Xylinites, he marched on Constantinople with help from TERVERL, but eventually the Bulgars surrendered him to Leo and he was beheaded. His wife Irene buried him in the Church of the Holy Apostles, Constantinople.

LIT. Kulakovskij, *Istoriija* 3:312–18. Sumner, "Philippicus, Anastasios II & Theodosios III" 289–91. —P.A.H.

ANASTASIOS OF SINAI, theologian and saint; died after 700; feastday 21 Apr. S. Sakkos identified him with Anastasios II, patriarch of Antioch, murdered by the local Jews ca.609. However, the brief note in the SYNAXARION OF CONSTANTINOPLE (*Synax.CP* 607f) contradicts the hypothesis of Sakkos and reports that Anastasios of Sinai died peacefully after having written "saints' lives

and works which profit the soul." Anastasios participated in anti-Monophysite discussions in Alexandria between 635 and 640 but was still active ca. 700, although he was a monk at the monastery of St. Catherine on Sinai.

His major work is the *Guidebook* (*Hodegos*), completed and supplied with the author's scholia sometime between 686 and 689. It is a polemic against heresies, esp. MONOPHYSITISM and MONOTHELETISM. Anastasios also wrote sermons, including two that dealt with the creation of man: man was created from two natures, mortal and immortal, and thus was a paradigm of God's incarnation or Christ's synthesis. The distinction between his genuine works and spuria is not always clear. An EROTAPOKRISIS and a FLORILEGIUM that had an anti-Monothelite tendency are ascribed in MSS to a certain Anastasios, who may be identical with the monk of Sinai. The HEXAEMERON is evidently not by Anastasios, although the conclusion of J. Baggary (*The Conjugates Christ-Church in the Hexaemeron of pseudo-Anastasios of Sinai* [Rome 1974]) that the author cribbed from Psellos and lived in the 11th-12th C. does not prove valid. In the *Hexaemeron* pseudo-Anastasios interpreted the six-day creation legend allegorically as a prefiguration of the relations between Christ and the Church. Some works of Anastasios are preserved in Oriental translations.

ED. PG 89. *Viae dux*, ed. K.H. Uthemann (Turnhout-Louvain 1981). *Sermones duo in constitutionem hominis secundum imaginem dei*, ed. K.H. Uthemann (Turnhout-Louvain 1985).

LIT. Beck, *Kirche* 442-46. M. Richard, *Opera minora* 3 (Turnhout-Louvain 1977) nos. 63-64. S. Sakkos, *Peri Anastasion Sinaiton* (Thessalonike 1964) 87-171. T. Spáčil, "La teologia di s. Anastasio Sinaita," *Bessarione* 26 (1922) 157-78, 27 (1923) 15-44. —A.K.

ANASTASIS (Ἀνάστασις) or RESURRECTION is the Easter image of the Orthodox church. Usually believed to be based on apocryphal texts such as the Gospel of NICODEMUS (but see Kartsonis, *infra*), it shows Christ bursting the gates of Hell and releasing those said to have believed in him before his Incarnation. First encountered in the 8th C., the Anastasis had assumed its classic form by the 11th: Christ strides over the shattered bolts of Hell's gates, sometimes treading upon the shackled personification of HADES; flanking Christ are sarcophagi from which emerge figures including Adam, Eve, and sometimes Seth on one side and

David, Solomon, and John the Baptist on the other. Christ strides toward Adam, reaching to release him (DAPHNI), or upward, dragging Adam behind him (HOSIOS LOUKAS). A rare variant shows Christ standing centrally, exposing his wounds. In a Palaiologan version he pulls Adam with his right hand and Eve with his left (CHORA). The image of the Anastasis is integral to GREAT FEAST cycles in all media; accompanying the Easter lection (Jn 1:1-18), it opens many LECTIONARIES and precedes John's Gospel in many Gospel books; it illuminates the Easter homily of GREGORY OF NAZIANZOS and hymns of resurrection; and it occupies the apse of certain late funerary chapels (Chora) and Crusader churches (see "Holy Sepulchre" under JERUSALEM).

LIT. A. Kartsonis, *Anastasis: The Making of an Image* (Princeton 1986). —A.W.C.

ANASTASIUS BIBLIOTHECARIUS, papal official, Latin writer, and translator; born Rome? ca. 800 or before 817 (H. Wolter, *LMA* 1:573), died ca. 879. Anastasius was 9th-C. Europe's leading expert on Byz. His rocky career saw him as cardinal priest of St. Marcellus in 847/8, a fugitive around Aquileia in 848-53, excommunicated and reduced to lay status by Pope LEO IV, and unsuccessful antipope in 855. Subsequently rehabilitated, Anastasius became abbot of S. Maria in Trastevere and, from 861 or 862, served as private secretary to Pope NICHOLAS I, regained the priesthood and became *bibliothecarius Romanae Ecclesiae* (head of the archive) to HADRIAN II. From late 861, he shaped policy and authored diplomatic correspondence with Constantinople, particularly concerning PHOTIOS (N. Ertl, *Archiv für Urkundenforschung* 15 [1938] 82-121). Anastasius knew CONSTANTINE THE PHILOSOPHER and METHODIOS and backed their endeavors to evangelize the Slavs (F. Grivec, *Konstantin und Method: Lehrer der Slaven* [Wiesbaden 1960] 78-82). In 868, Anastasius was accused of complicity in his relatives' attack on Hadrian's wife and daughter but was acquitted.

The following year, he traveled to Constantinople as Louis II's envoy to BASIL I and probably negotiated the projected marriage alliance between the two empires. In the same capacity, he participated in the Constantinople council of 869-70 (see under CONSTANTINOPLE, COUNCILS OF),

earning Basil's irritation and papal satisfaction through a murky affair of documents stolen from the pope's ambassadors. Between 2 Feb. and 13 Aug. 871, Anastasius probably wrote the letter of Louis II to Basil I preserved in the CHRONICON SALERNITANUM. After the accession of Pope JOHN VIII in Dec. 872, his influence waned (P. Devos, *Byzantion* 32 [1962] 97-115) and he devoted himself to writing.

In addition to the many letters composed in his lords' names, Anastasius probably wrote sections of the biography of Nicholas I in the LIBER PONTIFICI-ALIS—its views on Byz. are his—and influenced the author of the Life of Hadrian II. His unparalleled, if imperfect, knowledge of Greek allowed him to translate into Latin numerous works of Byz. literature desired in the West. A dozen such hagiographical texts, dedicated to popes, churchmen, and the Frankish ruler include a sermon by THEODORE OF STODIOS, Constantine the Philosopher's lost writings on St. Kliment (the surviving preface from 877 or 878 sheds light on Constantine's earlier career—P. Devos, P. Meyvaert, in *Cyrillo-Methodiana* [Cologne 1964] 65), as well as a *Passion of Peter of Alexandria*. These works seem to betray a fascination with the East combined with fear of Byz. heresy and political oppression (C. Leonardi in *Hagiographie—cultures et sociétés* [Paris 1981] 471-89).

Anastasius's translations of theological works included MAXIMOS THE CONFESSOR, a revision of John Scot Eriugena's translations of pseudo-DIONYSIOS THE AREOPAGITE, and *Collectanea* of documents from the crisis over MONOTHELETISM. The recent relations of the PAPACY with Constantinople explain Anastasius's improved translation of the acts of the Second Council of NICAIA, the version of and commentary on the 869-70 council of Constantinople (C. Leonardi, *StMed* 3 8 [1967] 59-192), and a *Chronographia tripartita* based in large part on THEOPHANES THE CONFESSOR, the nearly slavish translation of which (D. Tabachovitz, *BZ* 38 [1938] 16-22) reflects older and more reliable MSS than the revised Greek originals that have survived.

ED. E. Perels, G. Laehr, in *MGH Epist.* 7:395-442. *Theophanes Chronographia*, ed. C. de Boor, vol. 2 (Leipzig 1885) 31-346. *Sermo Theodori Studitae de sancto Bartholomeo apostolo*, ed. U. Westerbergh (Stockholm 1963). P. Devos, "Une passion grecque inédite de s. Pierre d'Alexandrie et sa traduction par Anastase le Bibliothécaire," *AB* 83 (1965) 157-87.

LIT. G. Arnaldi, "Anastasio Bibliotecario," *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani* 3 (Rome 1961) 25-37. A. Lapôtre, *Études sur la papauté au IXe siècle*, vol. 1 (Turin 1978) 121-476. —M.McC.

ANASTYLOSIS. See DEPOSITION FROM THE CROSS.

ANATHEMA (ἀνάθεμα, "that which is set aside, accursed"), the highest form of ecclesiastical censure directed at obstinate or unrepentant heretics, normally found at the conclusion of conciliar decrees and canons. The earliest recorded usage of the term is at the Council of Elvira, ca. 305 (canon 52). The New Testament formula εἴ τις . . . , ἀνάθεμα ἔστω (Gal 1:9), met frequently in conciliar documents, was first employed by the local council of GANGRA. The term supposed exclusion from the church's fellowship and, as such, does not appear to have been clearly distinguishable from EXCOMMUNICATION. Nevertheless, anathema, in contrast with the disciplinary procedure of excommunication, was essentially a more solemn pronouncement of condemnation. It was thus not a precise ecclesiastical punishment as much as a curse directed almost exclusively against false teaching. From the 7th C. onward the term is clearly distinguishable from excommunication in conciliar decrees (cf. NICAIA II, canon 1). According to BALSAMON the church cannot exercise the right of total or eternal anathema by which the transgressor is deprived of all hope of salvation (PG 137:1237A). The word, which was used broadly as a malediction by individuals (e.g., in purchase deeds, MM 6:159.26-27, 161.30-31), was often coupled with the curse (ἀπά) of the 318 Fathers of Nicaea I. The SYNODIKON OF ORTHODOXY, first drafted in the early 10th C., with additions made up to the 15th C., contains numerous anathemas of heretics.

LIT. A.S. Alivizatos, "Anathema," *ThEE* (Athens 1963) 2:469-73. —A.P.

ANATOLIA. See ASIA MINOR.

ANATOLIKON (Ἀνατολικόν), one of the original THEMES of Asia Minor, attested by 669. Stretching from the Aegean to Lykaonia and Isauria, it ranked first among all the themes. Its troops rebelled against Constantine IV in 681,

and in 714 its *strategos* successfully revolted to become emperor Leo III. Conscious of the power of the general, Leo apparently detached the western districts to form the THRAKESION theme. Anatolikon supported Constantine V in 742 against ARTABASDOS; in 803 its *strategos* BARDANES TOURKOS led a revolt. Early in the 9th C. its eastern districts were removed to form CAPPADOCIA; under Theophilos, SELEUKEIA became a separate theme; and Leo VI added the region west of the Salt Lake to Cappadocia. The capital of Anatolikon was AMORION until at least 838. In the mid-9th C. Anatolikon contained 34 forts; its *strategos*, who bore the title *patrikios*, commanded 15,000 troops and drew a salary of 40 pounds of gold. Anatolikon last appears when its *strategos* Nikephoros Botaneiates was proclaimed emperor in 1077.

LIT. A. Pertusi in *De them.* 114-17. *TIB* 4:63-66. -C.F.

ANATOLIOS (Ἀνατόλιος), member of a famous family of jurists, ANTECESSOR, professor at the law school of Berytus, and one of the eight addressees of the *Constitutio Omnem* of Justinian I from the year 533. Anatolios was appointed by Justinian to the commission for the compilation of the *DIGEST*. He is probably identical with the jurist Anatolios, named specifically in some scholia to the *Basilika*, who wrote Greek paraphrases of constitutions of the *Codex Justinianus*. According to the generally accepted view of K.E. Zachariä von Lingenthal (*Kritische Jahrbücher für Deutsche Rechtswissenschaft* 8 [1844] 803f), the Greek versions of the *Cod. Just.* VIII 4-56 that were admitted into the text of the *Basilika* originate in a paraphrase of the *Codex* by Anatolios. Since Ferrini's edition of approximately 200 anonymous paraphrases of constitutions of the *Codex* (two of which are inscribed with "Anatolios" in the scholia to the *Basilika*), these have been regarded as extracts from this paraphrase.

ED. Heimbach, *Basil.* 6:69-72. C. Ferrini, *Opere*, vol. 1 (Milan 1929) 254-90.

LIT. Zachariä, *Kleine Schriften* 2:326-33. -A.S.

ANAZARBOS (Ἀνάζαρβος, now Anavarza), a city in the eastern plain of Cilicia on a tributary of the Pyramos. The civil and ecclesiastical metropolis of

CILICIA II, Anazarbos was destroyed by earthquakes and rebuilt by Justin I, then Justinian I, and assumed their names in turn. Occupied by the Arabs in the mid-7th C., its exposed frontier location led to depopulation until it was restored in 796. After many Byz. attempts, Nikephoros II Phokas took Anazarbos in 962. It became the seat of a *strategos*, but fell to the Armenians in 1085 and to the Crusaders in 1097. Retaken by John II Komnenos in 1137 and by Manuel I in 1158, it was finally lost again to the Armenians ca. 1174. The site contains two basilicas of the 6th C., a cruciform church of uncertain date, and extensive remains of fortifications, some of them Byz.

LIT. M. Gough, "Anazarbus," *AnatSt* 2 (1952) 85-150. H. Hellenkemper, *Burgen der Kreuzritterzeit* (Bonn 1976) 191-201. -C.F.

ANCHIALOS (Ἀγχιάλος), Thracian city on the Black Sea coast; in the late Roman period it was in the province of Haemimontus. According to Ammianus Marcellinus (*Amm.Marc.* 27.4.12), it was a *civitas magna*. Prokopios (*Buildings* 3.7.18) identified its inhabitants as Thracians. Occupied by Avars at the end of the 6th C., Anchialos was later contested between Bulgarians and Byz.: in 763 Constantine V defeated the Bulgarians in a battle on the "field of Anchialos" (*Theoph.* 433.5). Empress Irene ordered the fortification of Anchialos, but under Michael I the Christian population left the town. In 917 a Byz. army was defeated near Anchialos in the battle at ACHELOUS, and the town was annexed to Bulgaria. Anchialos was in Bulgarian hands in the 13th and 14th C., although Michael VIII tried to regain it by marrying his relative Maria to the Bulgarian tsar Constantine Tich. It was under Byz. control ca. 1423, but soon thereafter was conquered by the Turks.

According to legend, Anchialos was a Christian city as early as the 1st C.; Eusebios mentions its bishop Sotas (ca. 170). From the 7th C. onward, Anchialos was an autocephalous archbishopric under the direct jurisdiction of Constantinople.

LIT. A.N. Diamantopoulos, *He Anchialos* (Athens 1954). V. Velkov, *Gradūt v Trakija i Dakija prez kŭsnata antičnost* (Sofia 1959) 96. I. Dujčev, *LMA* 1:577. S. Vailhé, *DHGE* 2 (1914) 1511-13. -A.K.

ANCHORITE. See HERMIT.

ANCIENT OF DAYS. See CHRIST: Types of Christ.

ANCONA (Ἀγκών), Adriatic port in central Italy and an important Byz. stronghold during the Gothic war of the 6th C. In the mid-12th C. Manuel I used the commune of Ancona, which recognized him as overlord, as a Byz. base to fight the Norman kingdom, the Venetian predominance in the Adriatic, and the growing influence of the Western Empire in Italy. With the help of Byz. money and military advisers Ancona resisted the German assaults in 1158, 1167, and 1173. From the second half of the 12th C. Anconitan merchants are known to have traded in Dalmatia and in the eastern Mediterranean. Their colony in Constantinople, with its Church of St. Stephen (attested from 1199), was headed by a consul. According to a chrysobull of Andronikos II (1308), Anconitan ships paid 2 percent tax on goods entering or leaving the port of Constantinople (*Reg* 4, no. 2315), the same percentage as that paid by Venetian and Genoese ships. The travels of CYRIACUS OF ANCONA in the eastern Mediterranean resulted in the first important archaeological information about this region. In 1453 the Anconitan consul helped to defend Constantinople's walls.

LIT. J.-F. Leonhard, *Die Seestadt Ancona im Spätmittelalter* (Tübingen 1983). D. Abulafia, "Ancona, Byzantium and the Adriatic, 1155-1173," *BSR* 52 (1984) 195-216. A. Pertusi, "The Anconitan Colony in Constantinople and the Report of Its Consul, Benvenuto, on the Fall of the City," in *Charanis Studies* 199-218. -V.v.F.

ANDRAVIDA (Ἀνδραβίδα, Fr. Andreville, origin of the name disputed), city in Elis in the northwestern Peloponnesos; primary residence of the prince of ACHAIA. According to the *CHRONICLE OF THE MOREA* (vv. 1426-29, ed. Schmitt 98f), Andravida was already a town before the Frankish conquest, but was not fortified. GEOFFREY I VILLEHARDOUIN established himself in Andravida almost immediately after his arrival. Its location in the rich Elean plain allowed it to be well supplied for the great gatherings the Frankish chivalry so enjoyed, while its proximity to the sea, through the port at Clarenza, permitted easy contact with the West; never fortified, it was protected by the

castle of CHLEMOUTSI 5 km to the east. The city witnessed great assemblies of troops and courtiers, including the marriage of Hugues de Brienne and Isabelle de la Roche in 1277. Geoffrey I transferred the bishopric of Olena (*Notitiae CP* 21.134) to Andravida and it kept that title, although the bishop was a Frank.

No monuments from before 1204 are known, but three churches of the Frankish period can be identified in the sources: St. Sophia, St. Stephen, and St. James; this last possessed a hospital and was the burial place of the Villehardouins. The sanctuary and side chapels of the Dominican Church of St. Sophia survive: it was an enormous cathedral, more than 41 m long and nearly 19 m wide. It can be paralleled by many late 13th- and early 14th-C. Gothic churches in France and Italy. Its plan resembles that of St. Paraskeve in CHALKIS. Inside the church was the tombstone of the princess Agnes (died 1286), with what is probably the coat of arms of the Villehardouin family (A. Bon, *MonPiot* 49 [1957] 129-39).

LIT. C.D. Shepherd, "Excavations at the Cathedral of Hagia Sophia, Andravida, Greece," *Gesta* 25 (1986) 139-44. Bon, *Morée franque* 1:318-20, 547-53. Panagopoulos, *Monasteries* 65-77. -T.E.G.

ANDREJ OF BOGOLJUBOVO, prince of Suzdal'; born ca. 1111, died 29 June 1174. Intending, like his father JURIJ DOLGORUKIJ, to rule over all of Rus', Andrej did not aim to be prince of Kiev, which his army sacked in 1169. He developed his capital Vladimir on the Kljazma River after Kievan, Byz., and Romanesque models and maintained a country residence at Bogoljubovo, after which he was nicknamed. Andrej tried to erect a second metropolitan see at Vladimir, but the Byz. patriarch LOUKAS CHRYSOBERGES rejected this project in a letter (ca. 1165-1168; wrongly dated to ca. 1161 by Grumel in *RegPatr*, fasc. 3, no. 1052). Andrej promoted the cult of the THEOTOKOS as his and his principality's patroness (see VIRGIN OF VLADIMIR) and the veneration as a saint of Leontios, a Greek and the first bishop of Rostov, who was martyred by local pagans in the 1070s. Andrej participated in church discussions concerning fasting on holy days, a topic simultaneously debated in Constantinople. His relations with Byz. were not as close as those of his father because in Constantinople relations with the Kievan ruler

took priority. Andrej was ruthless toward both his family and his close associates, a policy that precipitated a plot which ended his days.

LIT. N.N. Voronin, *Zodčestvo Severo-Vostočnoj Rusi XII-XV veka* (Moscow 1961) 1:113-342. W. Vodoff, "Un 'parti théocratique' dans la Russie du XI^e siècle?" *CahCM* 17 (1974) 193-215. E. Hurwitz, *Prince Andrej Bogoljubskij: the Man and the Myth* (Florence 1980). —An.P.

ANDREW (Ἀνδρέας), apostle and saint; feastday 30 Nov. He was the brother of PETER and, like him, a fisherman. The early legend, preserved in EUSEBIOS OF CAESAREA, describes only his mission to Scythia; eventually he was said to have visited Thrace, and GREGORY OF TOURS states in passing that Andrew was in Constantinople as well. Not until the end of the 7th C., however, did the idea appear that Andrew ordained Stachys, the first (legendary) bishop of Constantinople. Photios (*Bibl.*, cod.179) mentions "the so-called Acts of the twelve apostles, primarily Andrew" that were used by the Manichaean Agapios, but we do not know the contents of the Manichaean legend.

The story of Andrew was developed by Epiphanius of the monastery of Kallistratos in Constantinople in the early 9th C. (PG 120:215-60); the author's identity with EPIPHANIOS HAGIOPOLITES has been suggested but remains questionable. Epiphanius was followed by various writers, including NIKETAS DAVID PAPHLAGON. Legend called Andrew the *protokletos* (first of the apostles) and made wordplays on his name (which means "courageous"); he is presented as a tireless missionary who traveled to Paphlagonia, the Caucasus, and the northern shores of the Black Sea. However, the notion of Andrew as the founder of the see of Constantinople did not become popular in Byz. and was invoked infrequently (e.g., by Neilos DOXOPATRES in 1143). The cult of Andrew seems to have been more intense at Patras, with which legend associated his martyrdom and death. Constantine VII (*De adm. imp.*, 49.26) ascribes to Andrew's intervention the victory over the Slavs, who besieged Patras between 802 and 806.

Representation in Art. From the 6th C. onward, Andrew's disheveled white hair and beard distinguish his portraits. He is often represented in the FEEDING OF THE MULTITUDE and with Peter in the scene of their calling. This usually follows Matthew 4:1-18 (Sant'Apollinare Nuovo, RA-

VENNA; Tokalı Kilise, GÖREME) and only rarely John 1:37-42, in which Andrew is the central figure, shown introducing Peter to Christ as in an 11th-C. Gospel book in Vienna (ÖNB, theol. gr. 154, fol. 223r). Of the apocryphal events from Andrew's life, only his crucifixion on a cross or tree is illustrated: Belli Kilise, SOĞANLI; bronze doors of San Paolo fuori le Mura in Rome, 1070. He is shown preaching in the marginal PSALTERS (Ps 19) and baptizing in the PARIS GREGORY (fol. 426v). He appears among other saints on 10th- and 11th-C. ivories. Though both the LIBER PONTIFICALIS (s.v. Gregory III) and the LETTER OF THE THREE PATRIARCHS (p.351) mention panels portraying him, the earliest surviving single-figure icons of Andrew are from the 14th C. (Nicosia, Icon Museum; Venice, Museo Correr).

LIT. BHG 93-110c. J. Flamion, *Les Actes apocryphes de l'apôtre André* (Louvain 1911). F. Dvornik, *The Idea of Apostolicity in Byzantium and the Legend of the Apostle Andrew* (Cambridge, Mass., 1958). E.C. Suttner, "Der hl. Andreas und das ökumenische Patriarchat," *Der christliche Osten* 38 (1983) 121-29. Vasil'evskij, *Trudy* 2.1 (1909) 213-95. O. Demus, "Zum Werk eines venezianischen Malers auf dem Sinai," in *Byz. und der Westen* 131-42. K. Wessel, *RBK* 1:154-56. —J.I., A.K., A.W.C.

ANDREW, archbishop of Caesarea (563-614). Andrew composed the second oldest commentary on the APOCALYPSE after that of OIKOUMENIOS, with whom he was often in principled disagreement. His exegesis is esp. valuable as a source for the textual tradition of the Apocalypse. ARETHAS of Caesarea freely exploited it in the 9th C., and its influence spread further afield through translations into Armenian, Georgian, and Slavonic. Fragments also remain of a work of moral comfort entitled *Therapeutike*; his commentary on Daniel is lost.

ED. Commentary on Apocalypse—PG 106:207-458, 1387-1412. *Studien zur Geschichte des griechischen Apokalypse-Textes*, ed. J. Schmid, vol. 1 (Munich 1955). *Therapeutike* frag. in Diekamp, *AnalPatr* 161-72.

LIT. A.M. Castagno, "Il problema della datazione dei Commenti all'Apocalisse di Eumenio e di Andrea di Cesarea," *Atti e Memorie dell'Accademia delle Scienze di Torino. Classe di Scienze morali, storiche e filosofiche* 114 (1980) 223-46. F. Diekamp, "Das Zeitalter des Erzbischofs Andreas von Cäsarea," *HistJb* 18 (1897) 1-36. —B.B.

ANDREW OF CRETE, poet, ecclesiastical orator, and saint; born Damascus ca.660, died Lesbos 4 July 740. Tonsured at an early age at the mon-

astery of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, Andrew became a notary of the Great Basilica there. Contrary to legend, he did not participate in the Council of Constantinople of 680. He was, however, sent on a mission to Constantinople in 685 and administered an orphanage and a poorhouse there. Between 692 and 713 he was elected metropolitan of Crete; the seal of Andrew, *proedros* of Crete (Laurent, *Corpus* 5.1, no.619), is probably his. Andrew's homilies allude to the invasions of the Scythians (Bulgarians) and of "the tribe of the maidservant Hagar" (Arabs) as well as to Leo III's persecution of the Jews.

Andrew is often considered the creator of the new genre of the KANON that replaced the KON-TAKION. His Great Kanon is enormously long, with 250 strophes. As a theologian Andrew was indifferent to MONOTHELETISM and developed the idea that the Virgin, although born of a human marriage, was in a sense the daughter of God (M. Jugie, *EO* 13 [1910] 129-33). Some works ascribed to Andrew in MSS are not genuine, for example the panegyric of James, the brother of the Lord (ed. J. Noret, H. Gaspard [Toronto 1978]). Andrew enjoyed considerable renown. His vita, written (9th C.?) by Patr. Niketas (to be distinguished from NIKETAS MAGISTROS), was later reworked several times. After 1204 a certain Akakios Sabaites produced a commentary on the Great Kanon that mentioned Basil II's victory over the Bulgarians, the foundation of Mosynopolis, and the news of the Latin conquest of Constantinople (M. Richard, *EEBS* 34 [1965] 304-11).

ED. PG 97:790-1444. See list in *Tusculum-Lexikon* 54. Eng. tr. *The Great Canon* (Jordanville, N.Y., 1982).

LIT. BHG 113-114c. S. Vailhé, "Saint André de Crète," *EO* 5 (1901-02) 378-87. S. Eustratiades, "Andreas ho Kretes ho Hierosolymites," *Nea Sion* 29 (1934) 673-88. Beck, *Kirche* 500-02. —A.K.

ANDREW THE FOOL (ὁ σαλός), a "created" saint; feastday 28 May. He was supposedly a contemporary of the 5th-C. emperor LEO I, although his biographer presented him as an imitator of SYMEON OF EMESA, the holy FOOL who lived in the 6th C. A certain Nikephoros, priest of Hagia Sophia, wrote Andrew's Life; its date remains disputed. According to C. Mango (*RSBS* 2 [1982] 309), the most probable date is between 674 and 695; J. Wortley (*Byzantion* 43 [1973] 248) ascribes to the vita a *terminus post quem* of 920, though he

dates some parts of it to the early 880s; L. Rydén (*DOP* 32 [1978] 129-55) prefers a date of ca.950-59. The earliest MS is a quire in Munich (Bayer. Staatsbib. gr. 443) in a 10th-C. uncial script. The vita was translated into Georgian and Slavonic.

The Life of Andrew presents him as Scythian and the slave of the *protospatharios* Theognostos; Andrew acquired fluent Greek surprisingly quickly and became his master's notary, but after a dream he turned to a spiritual life. He rejected all social conventions, lived in the streets, drank from puddles, slept on a dung heap, and not only endured hardships supernaturally but knew hidden things and foresaw the future. His behavior, however, is less extreme than that described in the Life of Symeon. Andrew's endurance is emphasized: he was beaten up by visitors to a tavern, a heavy cart ran over him, he survived bad storms. The Life introduces a certain Epiphanius, who was handsome, rich, socially conventional, and part of the establishment; he was nevertheless Andrew's beloved pupil, whose election as "the bishop of the imperial city" Andrew predicted. The Life is consistently Constantinopolitan, its action unfolding on the streets of the capital. Its several visions and apocalypses include the prophecy that Egypt will pay her tribute, PAKTA (L. Rydén, *DOP* 28 [1974] 202.32-40). The Life describes Epiphanius's vision of HADES: a murky area full of prisons and populated neither by devilish executioners nor tortured sinners but rather by animals that symbolize the souls of sinners.

Representation in Art. One of the very rare images of this saint is a late 12th-C. fresco in the cell in the Enkleistra of St. NEOPHYTOS on Cyprus. The rather emaciated saint wears a fleecy, short-sleeved, belted tunic and carries a little sprig of flowers (C. Mango, E. Hawkins, *DOP* 20 [1966] fig.92).

SOURCE. PG 111:627-888.

LIT. BHG 115z-117k. S. Murray, *A Study of the Life of Andreas, the Fool for the Sake of Christ* (Borna-Leipzig 1910). J. Grosdidier de Matons, "Les thèmes d'édification dans la vie d'André Salos," *TM* 4 (1970) 277-328. L. Rydén, "Style and Historical Fiction in the Life of St. Andreas Salos," *JÖB* 32.3 (1982) 175-83. —A.K., N.P.S.

ANDREW THE SCYTHIAN, late 9th-C. general of BASIL I who distinguished himself in wars against Tarsos. He received the title of *patrikios* and was appointed *domestikos ton scholon*. Andrew was re-

portedly (*TheophCont* 234–36) angered by a blasphemous letter sent him by the emir of Tarsos and led an expedition against this city; at the Podandos River he defeated an Arab army and took prisoner its commander, ‘Abd Allāh ibn Rashīd (878). His enemies charged him with pusillanimity because, after his victory at Podandos, Andrew retreated without proceeding to Tarsos; according to another version (*TheophCont* 847.10–12), SANTABARENOS accused Andrew of supporting Leo against his father, Basil I. Kesta STYPIOTES replaced Andrew as *domestikos* (ca.883?), but Leo VI restored him to his previous position and possibly granted him the title of *magistros*.

LIT. Vasiliev, *Byz. Arabes* 2.1:84, 101–02. Guiland, *Institutions* 1:438f. —A.K.

ANDRONIKOS I KOMNENOS, emperor (1183–85); born ca.1118–20, died Constantinople Sept. 1185. Son of Isaac the brother of JOHN II, Andronikos was nurtured with the future MANUEL I, who remained personally partial to him. Andronikos, however, renewed his father's hostility to the ruling Komnenoi. Reconciled with Manuel in 1180, after many adventures, he became governor of Pontos. During the reign of ALEXIOS II, he stirred opposition to MARIA OF ANTIOCH. In Apr. 1182, Andronikos overthrew her, allowed a massacre of citizens of PISA and GENOA in Constantinople, and became regent for Alexios II. He murdered Maria KOMNENE, her husband, and Maria of Antioch. His coronation as co-emperor (Sept. 1183) led to Alexios II's death.

Internally, Andronikos attempted reforms: provincial governors received adequate salaries, sale of offices ceased, corruption was prosecuted, pillaging of wrecked ships prohibited, and taxation moderated. He used the bureaucracy against the aristocracy; he harshly persecuted nobles, esp. rival Komnenoi (Kazhdan, *Gosp.klass.* 263–65); however, some nobles (including Constantine DOUKAS and Andronikos DOUKAS) were among his supporters. Many aristocrats (notably Alexios KOMNENOS the *pinkernes*) fled to neighboring rulers, stirring opposition to Andronikos.

Externally, he had few successes. BÉLA III occupied Niš (see NAISSUS) and Sofia (see SERDICA) in 1182–83, then withdrew (1184). To gain naval support, Andronikos turned to Venice. The re-appearance of Venetians in Constantinople alien-

ated the populace. CYPRUS fell to ISAAC KOMNENOS. After the forces of WILLIAM II took Thessalonike, the multitude in Constantinople were terrified; the populace seized an occasion to dethrone Andronikos (12 Sept. 1185). Captured after attempted flight, he was cruelly put to death.

Andronikos's talents and personality earned the people's admiration, but his violence and lasciviousness marred his achievements. His first wife was a Byz. aristocrat, his second AGNES OF FRANCE; his favorite mistress was Theodora Komnene, widow of BALDWIN III of Jerusalem. Representations of Andronikos are rare, though he is distinguished on his coins (Grierson, *Byz. Coins*, figs. 1109–12) by his long forked beard, remarked upon by Choniates.

LIT. Brand, *Byzantium* 28–75. Hecht, *Aussenpolitik* 30–86. O. Jurewicz, *Andronikos I. Komnenos* (Amsterdam 1970). —C.M.B., A.C.

ANDRONIKOS II PALAIOLOGOS, emperor (1282–1328); born 1259 or 1260, died Constantinople 13 Feb. 1332. His 46-year reign, the third longest in the history of the empire, was plagued by religious dissension, Ottoman advances, civil war, and financial problems; at the same time, arts and letters flourished, and Andronikos presided over a court that included such distinguished intellectuals as Theodore METOCHITES and Nikephoros CHOUMNOS. During his reign there was considerable construction activity in the capital, esp. the restoration of churches and monasteries.

Co-emperor from 1272, Andronikos repudiated the unpopular Unionist policies of his father, MICHAEL VIII, immediately upon the latter's death in 1282; he was unable, however, to resolve the ARSENITE schism until 1310. He was staunchly Orthodox and pious, even superstitious, and very much under the influence of Patr. ATHANASIOS I.

The financial difficulties of the empire during his reign are reflected in the continuing depreciation of the HYPERPYRON. The resulting rise in prices and the emperor's use of a "scorched-earth policy" in Thrace in an attempt to stop the Catalans (A. Laiou, *Byzantion* 37 [1967] 91–113) led to widespread famine. Andronikos tried to increase revenues by raising taxes, adding a new tax on agricultural produce, and reducing tax exemptions. One of his most serious mistakes was

the dismantling of the fleet in 1285, which proved to be a false economy (Laiou, *infra* 74–76, 114f).

At the beginning of his reign Andronikos had to confront the growing threat of the Serbs on his northern frontier, under the leadership of STEFAN UROŠ II MILUTIN. After the Serbs took considerable Byz. territory in Macedonia, Andronikos decided to negotiate a peace treaty with the Serbs. As a pledge of alliance he married his five-year-old daughter SIMONIS to Milutin in 1298. The efforts of Andronikos to save Asia Minor from the Turks, such as hiring the mercenary CATALAN GRAND COMPANY, proved fruitless; during his reign, the Ottomans seized much of Bithynia, including PROUSA, which fell in 1326. The final years of the reign of Andronikos, 1321–28, were troubled by civil war with his grandson, the future ANDRONIKOS III. He was deposed on 24 May 1328 and died as the monk Antonios four years later.

Andronikos was married twice. His first wife, Anna, daughter of Stephen V of Hungary, whom he married in 1273, bore him MICHAEL IX; his second wife was IRENE-YOLANDA OF MONTFERRAT.

LIT. A.E. Laiou, *Constantinople and the Latins: The Foreign Policy of Andronicus II, 1282–1328* (Cambridge, Mass., 1972). Papadopoulos, *Genealogie*, no.58. —A.M.T.

ANDRONIKOS III PALAIOLOGOS, emperor (24 May 1328–1341); born 25 Mar. 1297 (cf. R.-J. Loenertz, *OrChrP* 29 [1963] 333, 348), died Constantinople 15 June 1341. Son of MICHAEL IX PALAIOLOGOS and Rita-Maria of Armenia, he became co-emperor sometime between 1308 and 1313 (Lj. Maksimović, *ZRVI* 16 [1975] 119–22). Andronikos was second in line to the throne until he antagonized his grandfather, ANDRONIKOS II, by his dissolute behavior and by inadvertently causing the death of his brother Manuel. With the support of JOHN (VI) KANTAKOUZENOS and SYRGIANNES, Andronikos rebelled in 1321 against the old emperor. The civil war lasted, on and off, for seven years; in 1328, Andronikos entered Constantinople and forced his grandfather to abdicate.

During the reign of Andronikos his *megas domestikos*, Kantakouzenos, held real power, while the emperor devoted himself to military campaigns and hunting. He restored northern Thessaly and Epiros briefly to the empire and strength-

ened the imperial navy. These gains were offset, however, by Serbian expansion in Macedonia under STEFAN UROŠ IV DUŠAN and the Ottoman advance in Bithynia. In 1333 Andronikos joined an anti-Turkish alliance with Venice and Latin lords in the Aegean (S. Theotokos, *EEBS* 7 [1930] 283–305). Andronikos reformed the judiciary system by instituting a new "supreme court," composed of four judges with the title KRITAI KATHOLIKOI. He died at age 44, leaving as his heir his nine-year-old son, JOHN V PALAIOLOGOS, fruit of his second marriage to ANNA OF SAVOY.

LIT. U.V. Bosch, *Kaiser Andronikos III. Palaiologos* (Amsterdam 1965). Nicol, *Last Centuries* 159–92. C. Kyrris, "Continuity and Differentiation in the Régime Established by Andronicus III after his Victory of 23/24 v.1328," *EEBS* 43 (1977–78) 278–328. —A.M.T.

ANDRONIKOS IV PALAIOLOGOS, emperor (1376–79); born Constantinople 11 Apr. 1348, died Selymbria 25 or 28 June 1385. Although the eldest son and heir of JOHN V PALAIOLOGOS and his regent in 1366 and 1369–71, Andronikos was on uneasy terms with his father and twice engaged in open rebellion against him. The tension between the two men first surfaced in 1370, when Andronikos refused to help his father who was stranded penniless in Venice. In 1373, Andronikos joined forces with SAVCI BEG, son of MURAD I, in conspiracy against their respective fathers. After the failure of the attempted rebellion, Andronikos was imprisoned and replaced as heir by his brother MANUEL (II). He was also subjected to blinding, but apparently suffered the loss of only one eye.

In 1376, Andronikos escaped from prison. With Genoese and Ottoman support, he seized Constantinople and the imperial power. He was formally crowned on 18 Oct. 1377. His brief reign was marked by dependence on the Genoese and upon the Turks, to whom he ceded the crucial fortress of Gallipoli (KALLIPOLIS). In 1379 John V overthrew his son and regained the throne. In a pact of 1381 he once more recognized Andronikos as his heir and granted him the appanage of SELYMBRIA. In 1385, however, Andronikos again rebelled, unsuccessfully, against his father; he died shortly thereafter.

LIT. Barker, *Manuel II* 18–36, 41f, 50–52, 458–61. R.-J. Loenertz, "La première insurrection d'Andronic IV Paléologue (1373)," *EO* 38 (1939) 334–45. F. Dölger, "Zum

Aufstand des Andronikos IV. gegen seinem Vater Johannes V. im Mai 1373," *REB* 19 (1961) 328–32.
—A.M.T.

ANDRONIKOS V PALAIOLOGOS, a shadowy child emperor whose existence has only recently been acknowledged by Byzantinists; born ca. 1400, died 1407? The title of a monody on the untimely death of a seven-year-old emperor (*basileus*) specifically names the child Andronikos and describes him as the son of JOHN VII. He was thus apparently the son of John and his wife Irene GATTILUSIO (subsequently the nun Eugenia), born while his father was regent in Constantinople. Andronikos must have predeceased his father, probably in 1407, since John VII is said to have died childless in 1408. Other evidence for Andronikos's short life includes an ivory at Dumbarton Oaks, probably depicting John VII and Andronikos at Thessalonike in 1403/4 (Oikonomides, "Ivory Pyxis" 329–37).

LIT. G.T. Dennis, "An Unknown Byzantine Emperor, Andronikos V Palaeologus (1400–1407?)," *JÖB* 16 (1967) 175–87.
—A.M.T.

ANEMAS (Ἀνεμάς), a family of the military aristocracy. The sobriquet Anemas is attested at the beginning of the 9th C. (Theoph. 482.30). The etymology of the name is debatable; the logical derivation from *anemos*, "wind," was rejected by Ph. Koukoules, who connected it with *aneme*, "spool" (*EEBS* 5 [1928] 3). On the other hand, Chalandon (*Comnène* 1:240) considered them descendants of the Cretan emir 'Abd al-'Aziz, whose son is called Anemas by Byz. chroniclers: he deserted to the Byz., became an army commander, and fell in the battle against SVJATOSLAV in 971. Whether the four Anemas brothers who were Alexios I's generals belonged to his progeny is unknown; names of two of them—Leo and Michael—are attested. Despite their involvement in the plot of 1105, the family maintained its position; Manuel Anemas (died 1149), military commander, married Theodora, John II's daughter, and had the high title of *protosebastohypertatos*. The family also intermarried with the Angeloi and Doukai. Alexios Anemas (who as a monk was called Athanasios) was eulogized in an anonymous epigram as a skilled archer and rider (Lampros, "Mark. kod.," no. 276.7–15). In 1162 Pankratios Anemas owned a *proasteion* and *paroikoi* near

Thessalonike and a *pronoia* (*Lavra* 1, no. 64). The family's position declined after Manuel I's reign, although sources mention them through the 15th C. (*PLP*, nos. 974–75).
—A.K.

ANEMODOULION (Ἀνεμοδούλιον, also Anemodourion; etymology, according to Cedr. 1:565.20, from *deris anemon*, "the contest of winds"), a monument in Constantinople, probably located between the Artopoleion (the bakers' quarter) and the Forum Tauri. It was built by order of Theodosios II (in the *PATRIA OF CONSTANTINOPLE*, its builder is called Heliodoros, a contemporary of Leo III), was made of bronze, and had the shape of a pyramid on a square foundation. The monument was ornamented with figures of animals, birds, plants, agricultural laborers, and other symbols of spring. Atop the Anemodoulion was a statue of a woman that moved at the slightest breath of wind and thus served as a weather vane. A part of the bronze ornamentation was reportedly brought from Dyrrachion, where it belonged to the adornment of a pagan shrine. According to a 12th-C. historian (Nik.Chon. 332.37), Andronikos I intended to erect his own statue at the summit of the pyramid, evidently to replace the female figure. The Anemodoulion was destroyed by the Crusaders in 1204.

LIT. Janin, *CP byz.* 100. E. Legrand, "Description des oeuvres d'art et de l'Église des saints Apôtres de Constantinople," *REGr* 9 (1896) 86f.
—A.K.

ANEMOURION (Ἀνεμούριον, mod. Anamur), city and bishopric of ISAURIA, at the southernmost point of Asia Minor opposite Cyprus. Excavations have revealed the nature and development of Anemourion through the 7th C. After a major setback in the late 3rd C., recovery is attested in the 4th by the construction of large baths and in the 5th by basilical churches with mosaic decoration. In 382, a new city wall was erected against the Isaurians, but their attacks led to a decline by the late 5th C.; prosperity returned with the establishment of peace in the 6th C. Major changes affected Anemourion in the late 6th and early 7th C., when large churches were abandoned and the baths and other civic buildings were filled with small houses and industrial workplaces, evidently a reflection of crowding and impoverishment. Anemourion was abandoned peacefully ca. 660

when the Arabs gained control of Cyprus; its population probably retreated to the adjacent hill, whose extensive unstudied fortifications appear to include Byz. sections.

LIT. J. Russell, "Anemurium: The Changing Face of a Roman City," *Archaeology* 33.5 (1980) 31–40. Idem, *The Mosaic Inscriptions of Anemurium* (Vienna 1987).
—C.F.

ANGAREIA (ἄγγαρεία), a term designating both state and private CORVÉE. The term is of Persian origin, as noted by EUSTATHIOS OF THESSALONIKE in his commentary on the *Odyssey*. The term was used in the Roman Empire for state corvée, esp. the service for the *DROMOS*, and for coercive sale of goods to the state. In Byz. it was expanded to include private services owed by peasants to their lord.

LIT. A. Stauridou-Zaphraka, "He angareia sto Byzantio," *Byzantina* 11 (1982) 21–54.
—A.K.

ANGEL (ἄγγελος, lit. "messenger"). Byz. angelology was developed primarily by pseudo-DIONYSIOS THE AREOPAGITE (R. Roques, *L'univers dionysien* [Paris 1954] 135–67) and later by Patr. NIKEPHOROS I (B. Giannopoulos, *Theologia* 44 [1973] 312–38). Angels were construed as spiritual, that is, incorporeal beings (*ASOMATOI*), even if in early patristic writing their incorporeality was treated as relative: they were described there as having spiritual bodies of finer substance than those of men. Angels were held to be much more numerous than men, or even innumerable. Created beings, angels were brought forth by divine will, either before the material world or simultaneously with it. They had free will and were liable to sin: thus the DEVIL was a fallen angel. They had no foreknowledge of the future. Their function first and foremost was to praise God. They also served Christ and the church, assisting the faithful in the struggle against DEMONS. Some theologians (but not Dionysios) developed the idea of guardian angels protecting individuals, nations, and esp. the souls of the dead. John of Damascus insisted that angels were not demiurges, thus rejecting the interpretation of DUALISM.

Dionysios advanced the concept of a hierarchy, dividing the angels according to their proximity to God into nine orders and three triads: SERAPHIM, CHERUBIM, thrones; virtues, dominations, powers; principalities, ARCHANGELS, angels. The

idea of angelic hierarchy was understood as parallel to the human ascent to the divine via three rungs of purification, illumination, and unification with God; in this connection monastic status was defined as the "angelic life." The cult of angels developed esp. in southwest Asia Minor, arousing concern among some church fathers of the 4th–5th C.: the Council of Laodikeia in Phrygia warned against the worship of angels, and Theodoret of Cyrrhus stigmatized it as a specifically Jewish superstition (C. Mango, *DChAE* 4 12 [1984–86] 53). Nevertheless, their veneration was strong in Byz. Hagiographic texts often represented them as fulfilling divine commands and particularly as eunuchlike guardians, clad in white, who accompanied the Virgin.

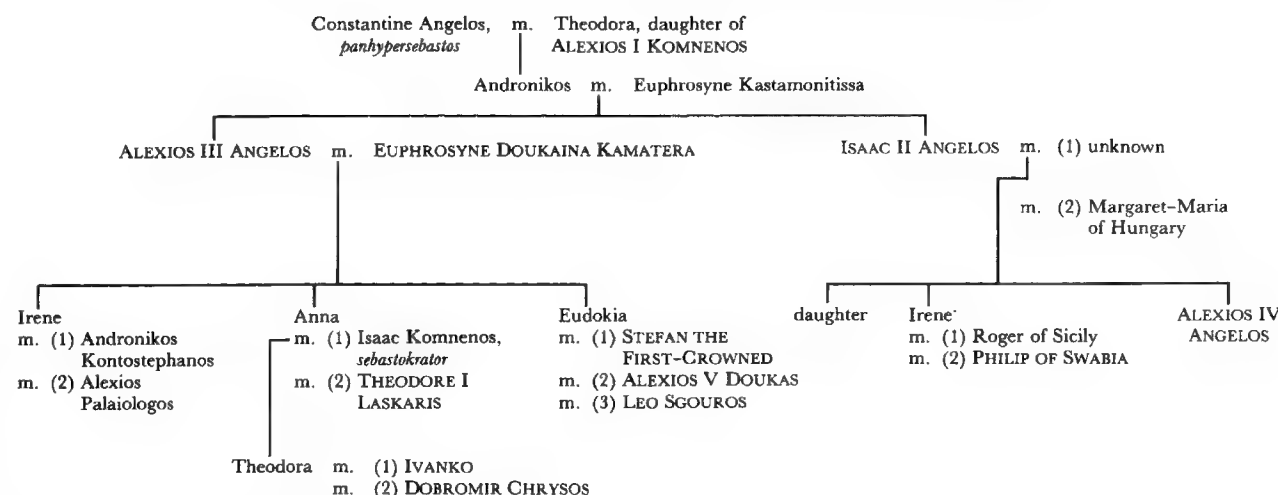
After the 5th C., the wingless divine messengers of the Old Testament (in such scenes as the PHILOXENIA OF ABRAHAM and JACOB'S LADDER) were invariably represented like the NIKE and the winged creatures of the ANNUNCIATION and the MYRRHOPHORI. Endowed with curly heads, Hellenic profiles, and white garments, even in groups angels displayed an unvarying perfect uniformity. Across a millennium, their only significant iconographical development was a marked tendency to multiply in number.

Commenting on their traditional iconography, Psellos (ed. K. Snipes in *Gonimos* 200f) declares that angels have human form because they are rational beings but are winged because of their motion toward heaven. They carry orbs to indicate their speed, for a sphere scarcely touches the ground; the fillet around their heads suggests purity and chastity.

LIT. J. Daniélou, *The Angels and their Mission* (Westminster, Md., 1957). L. Heiser, *Die Engel im Glauben der Orthodoxie* (Trier 1976). U. Mann, "Ikone und Engel als Gestalten geistlicher Mittlerschaft," *Erano-Jahrbuch* 52 (1983) 1–53. M. Alpatov, "Gli angeli nell'iconografia," *L'altra Europa* 10 (1985) 44–62. A. Recheis, *Engel. Tod und Seelenreise* (Rome 1958). E. Turdeanu, "Le mythe des anges déchus," *RSBS* 2 (1982) 73–117.
—G.P., A.C.

ANGELOS (ἄγγελος, fem. Ἀγγελίνα), a noble Byz. lineage founded by Constantine from Philadelphia, who married Theodora (born 1096), the daughter of Alexios I. According to a 12th-C. historian (Zon. 3:740.1–2), Constantine Angelos was handsome but of lowly origin. The derivation of the name from "angel" seems plausible; rhetoricians called members of the family *angelony-*

SELECTED GENEALOGY OF THE ANGELOS DYNASTY (1185-1204)



Based on C. Brand, *Byzantium Confronts the West, 1180-1204* (Cambridge, Mass., 1968) 278.

moi, "named after the angels" or "bearing the name of angels." This type of name formation is exceptional, however, in Byz., and it is possible that the Angeloi took their name from the toponym of Angel or Agel (a district near Amida); this would explain why John Kamateros called ISAAC II ANGELOS "a man of the Orient" (Regel, *Fontes* 2:247.12). In the 12th C. several Angeloi served as military commanders; their identification is not always possible. In 1185 Isaac II Angelos was proclaimed emperor, succeeded by ALEXIOS III ANGELOS and ALEXIOS IV. After the fall of Constantinople in 1204, the Angeloi asserted their power in EPIROS and THESSALONIKE, first as independent rulers, later as imperial dignitaries; there they assumed the name of Angeloi Komnenoi Doukai to distinguish themselves from the "humble" Angeloi who are known as functionaries, physicians, clergymen, etc. (PLP, nos. 159-224). (See MICHAEL I KOMNENOS DOUKAS, MICHAEL II KOMNENOS DOUKAS, THEODORE KOMNENOS DOUKAS, DEMETRIOS ANGELOS DOUKAS, NIKEPHOROS II of Epiros. See also genealogical table.)

LIT. Ostrogorsky, *Byz. Geschichte* 166-82. L. Stiernon, "Notes de prosopographie et de titulature byzantines. Constantine Ange (pan)sébastohypertate," *REB* 19 (1961) 273-83. J.-L. van Dieten, "Manuel Prinkips † 17.06.6719 (1211). Welcher Manuel in welcher Kirche zu Nikaia?" *BZ* 78 (1985) 63-91. P. Rokai, "O jednom naslovu Kalojana An-

djela," *ZRVI* 19 (1980) 167-71. R. de Francesco, *Michele II° Angelo Comneno d'Epiro e la sua discendenza* (Rome 1951). -A.K.

ANI (Ἄνιον), fortress and city in the district of Širak on the west bank of the Aẖurean/Arpa-Çayı River in northeast Anatolia. It became the capital of ARMENIA under the later BAGRATIDS.

Ani, which had an important strategic position, was already known in the 5th C. as a fortress belonging to the Kamsarakan family. In the 9th C. Ani was sold to the Bagratids and became the royal capital with the coronation of Ašot III in 961. The city grew so rapidly as an administrative and trade center that its dimensions tripled within 40 years and it became known as "the city of 1,001 churches."

In 1045, the Armenian *katholikos* Peter Getadarj surrendered the city to Byz. and it became for a time the capital of the theme of IBERIA. Captured by the Seljuks in 1064 and sold by them to the Kurdish Shaddādid emirs in 1072, Ani continued to flourish under them and under the ZAK'ARIDS. Its slow decline began with the Mongol capture in the 13th C.

Monuments of Ani. Although the city has only been partially excavated, hundreds of its structures are known. It is closed at the south by Smbat II's walls (989) and dominated by a citadel at its

narrow north end. Buildings lie outside the walls and along the cliffs; under the city, extensive chambers were cut from living rock. Palaces, comfortable homes, dovecotes, caravanserais, warehouses, cisterns, meeting halls, monasteries, churches, and at least one mosque survive. Very few of these structures are dated, and none to the period of Byz. rule.

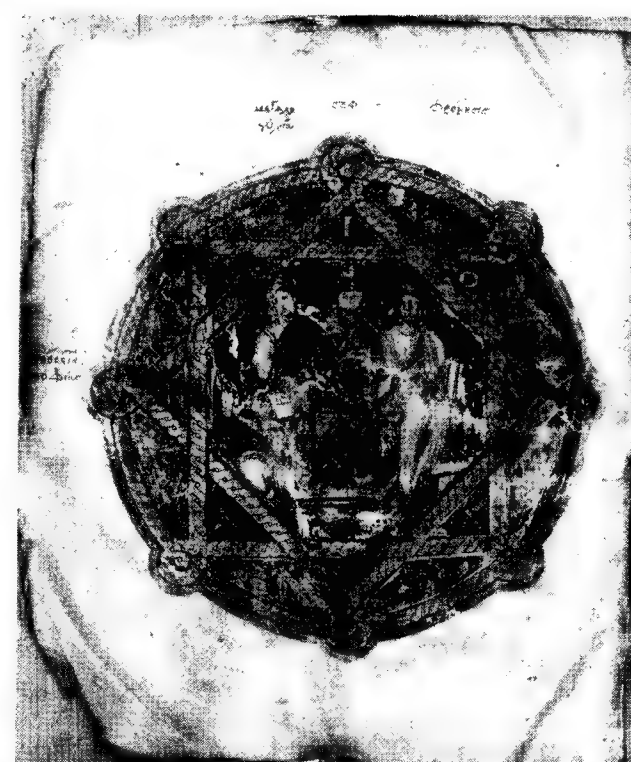
Three buildings are attributed by inscription to the architect Trdat: for Smbat II and Katranide, the wife of GAGIK I, he built the cathedral (989-1001); for Gagik I, he built in 1001-20 St. Grigor (i.e., GREGORY THE ILLUMINATOR). Like other Bagratid donations, these are variations on 7th-C. church plans: the cathedral on that of St. Gayanē at VALARŠAPAT; St. Grigor, on ZUART'NOC'. The Church of the Redeemer, which Trdat built for the merchant Apllarip in 1036, is an octafoil carrying a very large dome.

A lifesize relief, almost in the round, of Gagik I (now lost) was unearthed at St. Grigor, along with bronze censers with New Testament scenes and a chandelier with birds. Commissioned by the merchant Tigran Honens', Georgians frescoed (1215) the Church of St. Grigor, but the program includes Armenian features, such as a life of the saint. N. Thierry (in Cuneo [1984] *infra*) believes that the poorly preserved frescoes of its fore-church, which have Greek and Georgian inscriptions, are late 13th-C. Byz. work.

Ani adopted Turko-Iranian elements, particularly under the Zak'arids. Armenian and Georgian palaces and forechurches in the city feature *muqarnas* (stalactite squinches) and double-storied portals in geometric polychrome stonework and carpet like filigree relief.

LIT. N.G. Garsoïan, *DMA* 1:290f. N. Marr, *Ani* (Moscow 1934). Manandyan, *Trade and Cities* 139-51, 154f, 173, 178-87, 197-99. V.F. Minorsky, *Studies in Caucasian History* (London 1953) 79-106. P. Cuneo et al., *Ani* [Documenti di architettura armena 12] (Milan 1984). Ibid., *L'architettura della scuola regionale di Ani nell'Armenia medievale* (Rome 1977). -N.G.G., A.T.

ANICIA JULIANA (Ἰουλιάννα), *patrikia* and patron of the arts; born Constantinople probably 461 or 463, died Constantinople 527 or 529. The daughter of the future Emp. Anicius Olybrius and Placidia the Younger, Anicia Juliana remained at Constantinople with her mother when Olybrius went to Italy to become emperor in 472.



ANICIA JULIANA. Portrait of Anicia Juliana as donor in a manuscript of the works of Dioskorides (Vienna, med. gr. 1, fol.6v); ca.512. Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna. Anicia Juliana is shown seated between Magnanimity and Prudence.

Probably by 478 Anicia Juliana was the sole heir of her two famous parents. She married AREO-BINDUS soon after 478 and had a son, Olybrius (junior), who married Irene, niece of Anastasios I. Anicia Juliana often visited St. Sabas at Constantinople in 511/12; she reportedly was served by many eunuchs, who became monks of the monastery of St. Sabas in Palestine after her death. At her house in Constantinople a mob proclaimed Areobindus emperor in 512. She was a devout Chalcedonian who resisted the theological pressures of Emp. Anastasios and the Constantinopolitan patriarch Timotheos (511-18); she also corresponded with Pope Hormisdas to help to end the AKAKIAN SCHISM. She built and embellished many churches in Constantinople, including St. Euphemia, St. POLYEUKTOS, and a church of the Theotokos in the Honoratae quarter. The Vienna DIOSKORIDES was written for her.

LIT. PLRE 2:635f. C. Capizzi, "L'attività edilizia di Anicia Giuliana," *OrChrAn* 204 (1977) 119-46. Idem, "Anicia Giuliana (462 ca.-530 ca.): Ricerche sulla sua famiglia e la

sua vita," *RSBN* n.s. 5 (1968) 191–226. R.M. Harrison, "A Source for Anicia Juliana's Palace-Church," in *Philadelphie et autres études* (Paris 1984) 141f. —W.E.K.

ANICIUS, a noble family, originating from Praeneste, which in the 4th C. became one of the most influential and wealthy lineages in Rome. Unlike most Roman senatorial aristocrats, the Anicii converted to Christianity and supported the emperor of Constantinople. In the 5th C. the Anicii were believed to favor the barbarians and rumor spread that Anicia Falconia Proba ordered her servants to open the gates of Rome to ALARIC. Between 455 and 457 Anicius Olybrius married Placidia, youngest daughter of Valentinian III, and in 472 became Roman emperor; after a few months' reign he died on 2 Nov. 472 of natural causes, a rare case among 5th-C. Western emperors. His daughter ANICIA JULIANA moved to Constantinople and was an important patron of art and architecture. Sextus Claudius Petronius PROBUS belonged to this lineage. The family retained influence until at least the mid-6th C., when Anicius Faustus Albinus Basilius was the last CONSUL.

Another branch of the Anicii stayed in Italy and contributed much to the alliance of the Roman aristocracy with the house of the AMALI; BOETHIUS, for example, served Theodoric. Theodahad, while promoting Maximus, a member of the family, praised the Anicii as a lineage almost equal to the *princeps*. JORDANES completed his *Getica* with the statement that a union between the Amali and Anicii was embodied in the persons of Germanos, the son of Justinian I's nephew, and of Mathesuentha (MATASUNTHA), granddaughter of THEODORIC THE GREAT.

LIT. F.M. Clover, "The Family and Early Career of Anicius Olybrius," *Historia* 27 (1978) 169–96. A. Momigliano, "Gli Anicii e la storiografia latina del VI secolo d.C.," in *Histoire et historiens dans l'antiquité* (Geneva 1958) 247–83. M.T.W. Arnheim, *The Senatorial Aristocracy in the Later Roman Empire* (Oxford 1972) 109–13. —A.K.

ANIMAL COMBAT (τοῦ θεάτρου κυνήγια). The exhibition of animals at the circus games, the so-called *venationes*, was popular in ancient Rome, but it seems that by the 4th C. large-scale shows were hard to arrange. Although the *Historia Augusta* describes the games in the Circus Maximus in 281, when thousands of ostriches, stags, and

boars were on display and the next day hundreds of lions, leopards, and bears, the correspondence of SYMMACHUS is a more dependable source. He tells of the difficulties he encountered while organizing animal shows, saying that he had to be satisfied with Irish hounds, Italian and Adriatic bears, Egyptian crocodiles, and probably some antelopes, lions, and leopards from Africa. *Venationes* were still being held in the Colosseum under the rule of Theodoric the Great, and Justinian I, in novel 105.1, ordered the consuls to arrange *venationes* and to show men fighting beasts. A Byz. legend relates that ritual required the emperor to kill a bear and a lion in the "theater"; since Galerius was allegedly afraid to undergo this trial, the young Constantine (I) slaughtered the beasts (A. Kazhdan, *Byzantion* 57 [1987] 216f).

Scenes of animal combat were common on consular DIPTYCHS, while, later, scenes of hunting animals and birds became predominant. Although gladiatorial battles were prohibited by Constantine in 325, animal combat survived despite protests of the church fathers (thus, John Chrysostom [PG 59:519.33–34] condemned both horse races and the show of *theriomachountes*, as did the Council in Trullo). In the 12th C., Benjamin of Tudela observed the combat of lions, bears, leopards, and wild asses in the HIPPODROME.

Combat between animals and humans occupies an important place in hagiography and art, providing numerous legends about martyrs thrown into the arena and beasts refusing to attack them, or about martyrs who were killed by wild animals.

LIT. G. Jennison, *Animals for Show and Pleasure in Ancient Rome* (Manchester 1937) 93–98, 177–81. A. Manodori, *Anfiteatri, circhi e stadi di Roma* (Rome 1982) 55–68. J. Théodoridès, "Les animaux des jeux de l'Hippodrome," *BS* 19 (1958) 73–84. T. Talbot Rice, "Animal Combat Scenes in Byzantine Art," in *Studies in Memory of D. Talbot Rice* (Edinburgh 1975) 17–23. —A.K.

ANIMAL EPICS, narratives akin to the FABLE, though normally on a larger scale and lacking an explicit moral. Such material, which also had a worldwide currency (see STEPHANITES AND ICHNELATES), circulated throughout Europe from antiquity onward in the stories attributed to AESOP, which were well known in Byz. Though it lacks the narrative element and includes inanimate objects in its christianizing observations, the PHY-

SIOLOGOS can perhaps be viewed as an extension of the Aesopic tradition. In late 12th-C. France, the *Roman de Renart*, drawing on traditional material, but adding an element of social satire to the tales of the cunning Fox, sparked a new interest in animal epics, which spread rapidly throughout Europe.

Byz.'s representative in this genre is the SYNAXARION OF THE HONORABLE DONKEY. With a similar tone of mild cynicism, though a different range of characters, are the DIEGESIS TON TETRAPODON ZOON, the POULOLOGOS, and the *Cat and the Mice* (*Ho kates kai hoi pontikoi*), all anonymous and written in POLITICAL VERSE at a popular level of the language; they reflect 14th-C. social conflicts. Shorter, and in prose, are the PORIKOLOGOS and the OPSAROLOGOS of approximately the same date, also anonymous; these satirize Byz. legal customs. Lively and written in the vernacular, the late Byz. animal epics offer many insights into both the small matters of everyday life and the larger issues of contemporary social tensions.

LIT. Beck, *Volksliteratur* 173–79. J. Irmscher, "Das mittelgriechische Tierepos, Bestand und Forschungssituation" in *Aspects of the Medieval Animal Epic*, ed. E. Rombauts, A. Welkenhuysen (Leuven–The Hague 1975) 207–28. V.S. Šandrovskaja, "Svedenija o remesle v vizantijskom basennom epose XIII–XIV vv." in *Issledovanija po istorii kul'tury narodov Vostoka* (Moscow–Leningrad 1960) 504–10.

—E.M.J.

ANIMALS. The Byz. kept a wide variety of domesticated animals and LIVESTOCK to provide meat, milk, eggs, leather, wool, and feathers (see SWINE; SHEEP; GOATS; FOWL, DOMESTIC) and to serve as draft animals, BEASTS OF BURDEN, or riding mounts (HORSES, CAMELS, donkeys, oxen, etc.). Horses were also used for CAVALRY, HUNTING, and equestrian SPORTS. The Byz. kept DOGS, cats, and some BIRDS as pets; predator birds, like hawks and falcons, were also used for HAWKING.

The Byz. clearly distinguished between wild beasts and domesticated animals; the wild were not always identified with evil and the domesticated with good, however. The DIEGESIS TON TETRAPODON ZOON (11.15–16) discriminates between carnivorous and herbivorous beasts, and domesticated animals such as dogs and swine were sometimes perceived as the embodiment of demonic power.

Exotic Animals. In an empire that, at its greatest extent, stretched from the Atlantic to the Ti-

gris and from the Danube to the Nile, the Byz. encountered a wide range of exotic animals. They were exhibited in the hippodrome (see also ANIMAL COMBAT) and zoos, paraded through city streets, and presented as diplomatic gifts. The existence of exotic animals excited chroniclers and geographers alike. TIMOTHEOS OF GAZA reported on two giraffes and an ELEPHANT that passed through his city and eventually arrived in Constantinople, as noted by MARCELLINUS COMES. KOSMAS INDIKOPLEUSTES describes the rhinoceros of Ethiopia and the hippopotamus of Egypt. In the capital in the 11th C. wild and exotic animals were displayed in a menagerie organized by Constantine IX Monomachos (Attal. 48–50). Attalicates described a giraffe as a *kameleopardos*, a combination of a leopard and camel. LIONS were also exhibited in Constantinople.

Mythical Animals. Fantastic creatures haunted the imagination of poets, sculptors, potters, and illuminators who favored motifs such as the Iranian *simurgh*, winged felines, and GRIFFINS. PHILOSTORGIOS reported that he had seen a picture of a unicorn. Dragons, which were the embodiment of evil, were overcome by saints such as GEORGE, ELISABETH, and MERKOURIOS; they might also be used to represent enemies of the church, such as Emp. Julian, or symbolize temptation. John of Damascus insisted that dragons existed, but affirmed that they could not be killed by thunder, contrary to popular opinion.

Animal Imagery. Animal imagery was important in the Byz. world view, animals being treated, esp. in the PHYSIOLOGUS and the HEXAEMERON, as symbols of passions and virtues; even sober writers such as Symeon SETH preserve traces of legendary perception (e.g., about deer feeding on snakes and echidnae—*Syntagma kata stoicheion peritrophon dynameon*, ed. B. Langkavel [Leipzig 1868] 36.1–2). Literature actively used animal images in ANIMAL EPICS, in particular for political satire, as found in the *Katomyomachia* of Theodore PRODROMOS or later FABLES. Political and religious ideology also developed standard animal attributes: the lion was a constant symbol of imperial power and the serpent (see SNAKE) that of the DEVIL (both images evidently derived from the Bible).

LIT. N. Vačnadze, "A propos de l'histoire de symbolique chrétienne," *BS* 48 (1987) 39–44. Mango, *Byzantium* 179f. J. Théodoridès, "Les animaux des jeux de l'Hippodrome

et des menageries impériales à Constantinople," *BS* 19 (1958) 73–84. — A.K., A.C., A.M.T.

ANKARA, BATTLE OF. In 1402, on the Çubuk plain north of Ankara (ANKYRA), the Ottomans, whose power had been rapidly expanding, suffered a temporary setback when they were decisively defeated by the Mongols. The battle took place on 28 July (*Kleinchroniken* 2:370). The course of the fighting is described by Greek historians (Chalk. 1:145–47; Sphr. 208.6–10). The Ottoman army of BAYEZID I that occupied a hill was attacked by TIMUR and was defeated, chiefly owing to the defection of the Anatolian Muslim contingents, in contrast to the sultan's Christian vassals (notably STEFAN LAZAREVIĆ) who fought loyally. Bayezid and his younger son MUSA were taken captive by the victor. Rumors spread that JOHN VII PALAIOLOGOS had conspired with Timur (Barker, *Manuel II* 504–09). After the battle Timur reestablished the traditional *beyliks* (see BEG) and reduced Ottoman territory in Anatolia to its original heartland; he did not, however, invade RUMELI. The ensuing struggle for succession among Bayezid's sons 'İsā, Süleyman Çelebi, Musa, MEHMED (I), and later Mustafa allowed Byzantium to recover its autonomy for a short period, down to 1424, when it again became tributary to the Ottomans.

LIT. K.-P. Matschke, *Die Schlacht bei Ankara und das Schicksal von Byzanz* (Weimar 1981). M.M. Alexandrescu-Dersca, *La campagne de Timur en Anatolie (1402)* (Bucharest 1942). G. Dennis, "Three Reports from Crete on the Situation in Romania, 1401–1402," *SlVen* 12 (1970) 243–65. Idem, "The Byzantine-Turkish Treaty of 1403," *OrChrP* 33 (1967) 72–88. G. Roloff, "Die Schlacht bei Angora," *HistZ* 161 (1940) 244–62. —S.W.R., A.K.

ANKYRA ("Ἀγκυρα, mod. Ankara), civil and ecclesiastical metropolis of GALATIA. Ankyra's strategic location on the main highway across Anatolia made it a center of trade and a major military base. Frequently visited by emperors, it was an imperial summer residence in the late 4th and early 5th C. In the 4th C., Ankyra was the seat of a cultivated pagan landowning aristocracy (known from the letters of LIBANIOS); they were closely connected with the governors, who frequently adorned the city with public works. The local ruling class became Christian only in the 5th C., when the rich were famed for their piety and

philanthropy. In the 6th C., the governor, bishop, and local magnates dominated Ankyra; its population was devoted to St. THEODORE OF SYKEON, who reportedly wrought many miracles in the city. Ankyra remained peaceful and prosperous through the early 7th C. In 610–11 it was the base of the revolt of KOMENTIOLOS. Sources attest a large range of public buildings, both pagan and Christian; few survive.

In 622, the Persians captured and destroyed Ankyra; afterward the large area of the ancient city was abandoned and Ankyra retreated to its heavily fortified acropolis. It became capital of the OPSIKION theme in the 7th C. and of the BOUKEL-LARION in the 8th. The frequent goal of Arab attacks, Ankyra fell to al-MU'TASIM in 838, was rebuilt by Michael III in 859, and taken by the Paulicians in 871. After the Turks captured it ca. 1080, Ankyra only briefly returned to Byz. rule following the Crusade of 1101.

An important center of Christianity, Ankyra was the home of Sts. Plato and Clement and the site of councils in 314, 358, and 375. The council of 325, planned for Ankyra, was transferred to Nicaea.

The site contains scattered remains of civic buildings, including a large bath that functioned until the 7th C., traces of luxurious houses, and the Church of St. Clement, a cross-domed brick structure (8th/9th C.). Its fortress, one of the greatest of Anatolia, consists of a citadel, an upper rampart with closely spaced pentagonal towers, and an extensive lower wall. The inner fortress apparently dates to the mid-7th C., the outer to the early 9th; all were rebuilt by Michael III.

LIT. C. Foss, "Late Antique and Byzantine Ankara," *DOP* 31 (1977) 27–87. Foss-Winfield, *Fortifications* 133–35, 143f. *TIB* 4:126–30. —C.F.

ANNA ("Ἀννα) or Hanna, feminine personal name of Hebrew origin (etym. "veneration"). A similar name appeared in Greek and Roman mythology (G. Wissowa, *RE* 1 [1894] 2223–25; M. Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion*³ [Munich 1967] 251). In the New Testament (Lk 2:36) Anna is a prophetess of the tribe of Asher, but in a later Christian legend another Anna appeared, mother of the VIRGIN MARY. There is confusion between the female name Anna and the male Annas (also present in the New Testament); thus, ca. 507 or

511 a man, Anna (probably of Germanic origin), was known as *comes* in Italy (*PLRE* 2:91f). Relatively rare in late Roman texts, the name became popular by the 11th C.: Skylitzes cites six Annas, more than Theodora and Irene. In the late Byz. acts Anna remained one of the most popular female names: vols. 2–3 of *Lavra* list 48 Annas, second only to MARIA.

LIT. M. Schönfeld, *Wörterbuch der altgermanischen Personen- und Völkernamen* (Heidelberg 1911; rp. 1965) 22. —A.K.

ANNA, princess of Kiev; porphyrogennete daughter of Romanos II and sister of Basil II; born Constantinople 13 Mar. 963, died Kiev 1011 (acc. to Skylitzes, after her husband). In 968 Otto I unsuccessfully sought Anna's hand for his son Otto II. Hugh Capet (king of France 987–96), who desired alliance and kinship with Byz., was surprised in early 988 by news of Anna's impending marriage to VLADIMIR I of Kiev and withdrew from his plan to ask for the princess's hand for his son Robert. Although legend places Anna's marriage in Cherson in 989, it actually took place in Kiev in 988. In summer of that year Anna was welcomed in Rus', accompanied by a large retinue headed by Theophylaktos, the first metropolitan of Kiev (and formerly of Sebasteia). In the 990s Byz. architects engaged by Anna raised Kiev's first stone buildings—the palace and the palace church of the Virgin, called the "Church of the Tithe." YAHYĀ OF ANTIOCH attributed to Anna the construction of many churches. BORIS AND GLEB were probably her sons. —An.P.

ANNA KOMNENE. See KOMNENE, ANNA.

ANNALES BERTINIANI (so-called from the provenance of one MS from St. Bertin) continue the ANNALES REGNI FRANCORUM. The first, anonymous section (a.830–34) was begun in the chapel of the Carolingian emperor Louis the Pious (814–40); it was continued by Prudentius, who took his work with him when he became bishop of Troyes (843–61), after which the tone grows increasingly independent of Charles the Bald. The continuation by Hincmar, archbishop of Reims (845–82), offers a wide-ranging but very personal view of

the history of his times. In the royal annals' tradition, the *Annales Bertiniani* record Byz. diplomacy and military relations with the Franks (a.842, p.42; a.853, p.68; a.869, pp. 153, 164f; a.873, p.192) and the "Rhos" (a.839, pp. 30f) as well as Frankish activities among the Bulgars and Slavs (e.g., a.853, p.68; a.864, p.113; a.866, p.133f). They also attest to the impact of Byz. ceremonial on Frankish kingship (a.876, p.205) and Byz. pirates' activity in the western Mediterranean (a.848, p.55). Hincmar's relations with the papacy explain his knowledge of its affairs, particularly the Photian schism (a.867, pp. 138f; a.869, pp. 155f; a.872, p.187).

ED. F. Grat et al., *Annales de Saint-Bertin* (Paris 1964). Germ. tr. R. Rau, *Quellen zur karolingischen Reichsgeschichte*, vol.2 (Berlin 1956) 11–287.

LIT. Wattenbach, Levison, Löwe, *Deutsch. Gesch. Vorzeit u. Karol.* 348f, 502f, 520. J.L. Nelson, "The Annals of St. Bertin," in *Charles the Bald: Court and Kingdom* (Oxford 1981) 15–36. A.V. Riasanovsky, "The Embassy of 838 Revisited," *JbGOst* 10 (1962) 1–12. —M.McC.

ANNALES FULDENSES, Latin narrative of events from 714 to 887. The first section was compiled in the Mainz area (838–63) and subsequently (864–82) reflects views characteristic of the court of Louis the German (843–76) and his son, apparently in connection with the career of Liutbert, archbishop of Mainz, as royal archchaplain (870–82). Although it is not clear where compilation ends and year-by-year redaction begins, the *Annales Fuldenses* record eastern Frankish events, particularly in relation to Moravia, the Bohemians, and Bulgars (e.g., a.828–29, pp. 25f; a.845, p.35; a.866–67, pp. 65f), and document Byz. diplomacy, mentioning a crystal reliquary sent by Basil I to Louis the German (a.872, p.75; a.873, p.81), Western repercussions of the Photian schism (a.867, pp. 66f), and of Byz. ceremonial (a.876, p.86). The Bavarian continuation (a.882–901, pp. 107–35) preserves the court connection and describes Byz. embassies and Byz.-Magyar relations (a.896, pp. 129f).

ED. F. Kurze, *Annales Fuldenses* [= MGH SRG 7] (Hannover 1891).

LIT. H. Löwe, "Geschichtsschreibung der ausgehenden Karolingerzeit," *DA* 23 (1967) 1–30. M. Hellmann, "Bemerkungen zum Aussagewert der Fuldaer Annalen und anderer Quellen über slavische Verfassungszustände," in *Festschrift für Walter Schlesinger*, ed. H. Beumann, vol. 1 (Cologne 1973–74) 50–62. —M.McC.

ANNALES IANUENSES, official historical record of the commune of GENOA and a prime source on relations with Byz. between 1099 and 1294. Caffaro (ca. 1080–1166) began the *Annales Ianuenses* (by 1100?) and established the model for his successors. He had joined the First Crusade's Genoese contingent (Aug. 1100–Jan. 1101) and visited the Orient again between ca. 1130 and 1140. His career included stints as a diplomat (e.g., negotiations with Pisa, the papacy, and Frederick I), a successful admiral, and eight terms as consul (1122–49). In 1152, at Caffaro's urging, the commune ordered a copy of the *Annales Ianuenses* for the public archive (preserved in Paris, B.N. lat. 10136; sketches illustrate various personalities and places), which he continued to 1163, narrating Genoa's enterprises in the Levant and her competition with Italian rivals (e.g., the Pisan attack on 300 Genoese merchants at Constantinople: a. 1162, 11.67.22–68.15). Caffaro also wrote a work *On the Liberation of the Cities of the East* (*De liberatione civitatum orientis*; ca. 1155–56 in connection with a dispute with the kings of Jerusalem?) describing Genoese relations with Emp. Alexios I Komnenos and his lieutenants (11.114.15–115.7; 117.5–118.19) as well as travel distances in the Levant. From 1169 to 1294, the *Annales Ianuenses* were continued by various chancery officials, including the scribe and diplomat Ogerius, whose detailed account (1197–1216) records conflicts with the Latin rulers of Constantinople (e.g., a. 1205, capture of a Venetian textile cargo, 12.98.22–99.16). Subsequent sections added by an anonymous continuator and by a committee treat the Palaiologans (a. 1261, 1262, 1264–14.42.14–43.6, 44.9–45.15, 65.11–66.19).

ED. L.T. Belgrano, C. Imperiale di Sant'Angelo, *Annali genovesi di Caffaro e de'suoi continuatori* [= FSI 11–14 bis] (Genoa 1890–1929).

LIT. G. Petti Balbi, *Caffaro e la cronachistica genovese* (Genoa 1982). R.D. Face, "Secular History in Twelfth-Century Italy: Caffaro of Genoa," *JMedHist* 6 (1980) 169–84.

—M.McC.

ANNALES REGNI FRANCORUM, written in the chapel of CHARLEMAGNE and Louis the Pious (814–40), present a detailed but slanted—particularly by omission—record of royal activities (741–829). Writing probably began sometime between 787 and 793 with a retrospective account of events

from 741 and continued to 795. The *Annales Regni Francorum* were then composed on a year-by-year basis to 829, with probable shifts in authorship in 808 and 820, and were continued in the ANNALES BERTINIANI. They are an essential source on Byz. relations with the FRANKS, esp. diplomacy; a Byz. invasion of southern Italy (a. 788, p. 82); the capture of Sisinnios, Patr. Tarasios's brother (a. 798, p. 104); Emp. Nikephoros I's recognition of Charlemagne as *basileus* (a. 812, p. 136); competition over Venice and Dalmatia (a. 806–10, pp. 122–30; a. 817, pp. 145f; a. 821, pp. 155f); relations of Byz. and the Franks with the Bulgars (e.g., a. 812–13, pp. 136–39; a. 824, pp. 164–67); an earthquake at Constantinople (Aug. 815, p. 143); etc. Between 814 and 817, an unidentified member of the court began rewriting the text down to 817, improving the Latin, changing the political perspective slightly, and adding some details on Byz. (e.g., exarchs of Sicily in 788, p. 83; a. 798, p. 105, the family name "Ganglianos" of an ambassador). This revised version is called *Annales Einhardi*, reflecting an abandoned theory on its authorship.

ED. F. Kurze, *Annales regni Francorum* [= MGH SRG 6] (Hannover 1895). Tr. B.W. Scholz, B. Rogers, *Carolingian Chronicles* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1972) 37–125.

LIT. Wattenbach, Levison, Löwe, *Deutsch. Gesch. Vorzeit u. Karol.* 247–57, 260–65, 347f. M. McCormick, *Les annales du haut moyen âge* (Turnhout 1975) 16–19, 38–49.

—M.McC.

ANNALS OF BARI (Lat. *Annales Barenses*). The region of BARI produced three closely connected historical works on Apulia that are valuable sources for Byz.'s conflict with the Arabs and the Normans: (1) the *Annales Barenses* (605–1043), whose short notes grow more detailed for the 11th C. and are essentially local in focus; (2) the *Annals* (860–1102), ascribed in the 17th C. to "Lupus Protospatharius," which are somewhat less parochial in their awareness of events elsewhere in the Empire; and (3) the *Anonymous Chronicle of Bari* (860–1115). All three relied on earlier, lost sources, some of which they shared (cf. Skabalanovič, *Go-sudarstvo* xxix–xxxiii).

ED. *Annales Barenses*—MGH SS 5:52–56. "Lupus"—ibid. 52–63. *Anon. Chronicle*—RIS 5:147–56.

LIT. *RepFontHist* 2:251f. W.J. Churchill, "Per una edizione critica degli *Annales Barenses* e degli *Annales Lupi Protospatharii*," *BollCom* n.s. 27 (1979) 113–37.

—M.McC.

ANNALS OF RAVENNA, conventional title of a Latin chronicle (probably of the 6th C.) of which only half of an 11th-C. folio (MS 202) has survived in the library of the cathedral in Merseburg (Saxony, in central Germany). The preserved folio encompasses events of 411–54, with numerous lacunas because of the absence of the upper half of the folio. The *Annals*, in the form of consular *fasti* with brief historical notes, belong to the type of the CALENDAR OF 354 and like the latter are illustrated. The special characteristic of the Merseburg folio is its attention to RAVENNA, usually ignored in other late Roman chronicles, and its indication of precise dates; the *Annals* mention the death of the Western emperor Honorius (who died in Ravenna) and give its precise date—27 Aug. 423—thus permitting a rejection of the date in Sokrates and Theophanes, 15 Aug. The Merseburg folio confirms the existence of the lost local annals of Ravenna, which may have been a source for such later chronicles as AGNELLIUS as well as CASSIODORUS and MARCELLINUS COMES. Drawings in the columns of the text illustrate martyrdoms and other scenes of violence as well as an emperor (Valentinian III) enthroned on an orb in the manner of Christ in the apse of S. Vitale, Ravenna.

ED. B. Bischoff, W. Koehler, "Eine illustrierte Ausgabe der spätantiken Ravennater Annalen," in *Medieval Studies in Memory of A. Kingsley Porter*, ed. W. Koehler, vol. 1 (Cambridge, Mass., 1939) 125–38; reissued (in Ital.), *Studi Romagnoli* 3 (1952) 1–17.

LIT. G. Kaufmann, "Die Fasten der späteren Kaiserzeit als ein Mittel zur Kritik der weströmischen Chroniken," *Philologus* 34 (1876) 235–95. O. Holder-Egger, "Untersuchungen über einige annalistische Quellen zur Geschichte des V. und VI. Jahrhunderts," *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde* 1 (1876) 13–120, 213–368; 2 (1877) 47–109. B. Croke, "The City Chronicles in Late Antiquity," in *Reading the Past in Late Antiquity*, ed. G. Clarke et al. (Canberra 1989) 165–204.

—A.K., B.B., A.C.

ANNA OF SAVOY, empress; baptismal name Ioanna; born 1306?, died Thessalonike ca. 1365 (R.J. Loenertz, *OrChrP* 21 [1955] 218). Daughter of Count Amadeo V of Savoy, Anna married Emp. Andronikos III Palaiologos in Oct. 1326. She was accompanied by a large Italian entourage and promoted such Western customs as tournaments (see SPORTS) at the Byz. court. After her husband's death in 1341, she became regent for her nine-year-old son John V. She joined with

Patr. JOHN XIV KALEKAS and Alexios APOKAUKOS in opposition to JOHN (VI) KANTAKOUZENOS, eventually forcing him into the CIVIL WAR OF 1341–47. The war necessitated drastic measures. Anna pawned the Byz. crown jewels to Venice (1343) and hired Turkish mercenaries to fight Kantakouzenos (1346). Although she converted to Orthodoxy at the time of her marriage, in 1343 Anna declared her submission and that of her son to the pope. In the hesychast controversy, she supported Kalekas, the opponent of PALAMAS, until 1347 when she turned against the patriarch and presided over the synod that deposed him, just as Kantakouzenos was entering Constantinople in triumph. Kantakouzenos pardoned Anna, but relations remained tense. In 1351 the empress went to Thessalonike to dissuade John V from rebelling against John VI. She remained there until her death, ruling the city as her appanage. Historians such as Gregoras and Kantakouzenos are very hostile to Anna, depicting her as a foreigner and cruel tyrant, but Nicholas KABASILAS composed a eulogy of her (M. Jugie, *IRAIK* 15 [1911] 112–21). Mosaic portraits of Anna and Andronikos survived in the PAMMAKARISTOS church in Constantinople until at least 1579.

LIT. D. Muratore, "Una principessa sabauda sul trono di Bisanzio. Giovanna di Savoia imperatrice Anna Paleologina," *Mémoires de l'Académie de Savoie* 11 (1909) 221–475. A. Christophilopoulou, "He antibasileia eis to Byzantion," *Symmeikta* 2 (1970) 91–127. T. Bertelè, *Monete e sigilli di Anna di Savoia* (Rome 1937), corr. Dölger, *Paraspora* 208–21. D. Nicol, S. Bendall, "Anna of Savoy in Thessalonica: The Numismatic Evidence," *RN* 19 (1977) 87–102.

—A.M.T., A.C.

ANNONA (*res annonaria*, ἀννῶνα), financial term referring to (1) in-kind taxation, including both *annona civica* (which governed the requisition and transfer of commodities from Africa and Egypt for the maintenance of Rome and Constantinople) and *ANNONA MILITARIS*, or (2) any type of rations or provisions. Originally an irregular imperial levy of commodities, *annona* was established by Diocletian as the empire's fundamental tax, paid in kind and based upon periodic assessments. From the end of the 4th C., however, the role played by *annona* in taxation diminished, as taxes came to be assessed and remitted in money; even the remaining *annona*, although still assembled in kind, was now frequently commuted into cash

payments (*adaeratio*). Thus, by the 6th C., the term was applied almost exclusively to rations and supplies, distinct from the public tax. When the term *annona* appears in later sources (e.g., the will of Eustathios BOILAS [ed. Lemerle, *Cinq études* 27.217]), it invariably refers to that portion of a salary paid in kind rather than with cash.

LIT. A. Cerati, *Caractère annonaire et assiette de l'impôt foncier au Bas-Empire* (Paris 1975) 1–183. —A.J.C.

ANNONA MILITARIS (ἀννῶνα). The *annona militaris* began as an unofficial tax in kind imposed by Septimius Severus (193–211) to obtain rations (wine, meat, oil, bread) or other necessities (e.g., wood) for the army. Another ration, the *capitus*, provided fodder for its horses. The *annona* and *capitus* became regular issue during the 3rd C., and the task of their assessment, collection, and distribution fell to the praetorian prefecture (Jones, *LRE* 448–62). These provisions were collected in supply depots and issued to the soldiers by the army quartermasters (*actuarii*). As taxes in kind were increasingly commuted to cash throughout the 5th C., the *annona* and *capitus* became ration allowances (in some cases at fixed rates of 5 and 4 solidi, respectively, in the *Cod. Just.* I 27.1, par.22), although rations in kind continued to be issued, esp. in the East. Eventually soldiers' pay, and that of civil officials, was computed in the cash equivalents of the *annona* and *capitus*, assessed at varying rates according to rank or grade of service (Haldon, *Praetorians* 120–25).

LIT. A. Cerati, *Caractère annonaire et assiette de l'impôt foncier au Bas-Empire* (Paris 1975) 103–51. W.E. Kaegi, "The *Annona Militaris* in the Early Seventh Century," *Byzantina* 13.1 (1985) 589–96. —E.M.

ANNUNCIATION (εὐαγγελισμός τῆς Θεοτόκου), feast of the angel Gabriel's announcement of the coming of the Holy Spirit on the Virgin Mary (Lk 1:26–38), celebrated 25 Mar. In Syria, Constantinople, and possibly Asia Minor, a feast of the Virgin that included the annunciation theme was originally part of pre-Nativity celebrations on the first or second Sunday before Christmas; this preparatory Sunday is attested in Constantinople before 431 (F.J. Leroy, *L'Homilétique de Proclus de Constantinople* [Vatican 1967] 66). But in 560 a letter of Justinian I defended 25 Mar. as the historical date of the annunciation event and af-



ANNUNCIATION. The Annunciation; icon, 12th C. Monastery of St. Catherine, Sinai.

firmed that the feasts of the Nativity and Presentation in the Temple (HYPAPANTE) should be celebrated 25 Dec. and 2 Feb., respectively, because they depend on the Annunciation (M. van Esbroeck, *AB* 86 [1968] 351–71; 87 [1969] 442–44). Actually, the March date, probably introduced to Antioch in the 6th C., and to Jerusalem and the whole Christian world shortly thereafter, was chosen not in order to coordinate with Christmas, but because the identification of John the Baptist's conception with the autumn equinox put Jesus' conception at the spring equinox six months later and his Nativity (25 Dec.) at the winter solstice. The date 25 Mar. was, furthermore, considered the day of the Crucifixion, and to make Jesus' life a perfect cycle, his conception and death had to coincide, since fractions were imperfect (Talley, *Liturgical Year* 8–13, 91–103).

One of the five Marian GREAT FEASTS, and, with the Hypapante, one of two not based on New Testament apocrypha, the Annunciation is the

only one of the 12 fixed Great Feasts that can fall in Lent, Holy Week, or the week after Easter; if in Lent, it has an afterfeast of but one day, and if in Holy or Easter Week, this *metheorta* is suppressed entirely. On the day of the Annunciation, the emperor went in procession to the column of Constantine, celebrated the liturgy in the Church of the CHALKOPRATEIA, and feasted in the palace (*De cer.*, bk.1, ch.30; Philotheos, *Kletor.* 195.16–197.5).

Illustrations of the Annunciation show GABRIEL approaching the standing or seated Virgin Mary. Depicted by the 3rd C., the Annunciation became a pervasive Christian image. It appears in Christological cycles and also independently on jewelry, icons, bema doors, the triumphal arches of churches, and in some Gospel books preceding the text of Luke. The initial, simple confrontation of the holy figures was quickly elaborated. The well and purple wool, derived from the PROTO-EVANGELION OF JAMES (11:1–3), appear in 5th-C. art. The 6th-C. mosaic at POREČ shows Mary enthroned before a basilican façade, as a royal figure, a type of the Church, and a portal of salvation. Post-Iconoclastic art, drawing on homilies, embroiders the scene with springtime elements incorporating Marian symbols (lilies, the closed garden) and doctrinal ones (the arc of Heaven, the dove and impregnating light, and—in the Hagioi Anargyroi at KASTORIA—God himself). The richest of all Byz. Annunciation compositions is the late 12th-C. icon on Mt. Sinai, which, along with numerous Marian motifs, includes on Mary's breast a faint mandorla containing the infant Christ, a reference to the VIRGIN BLACHERNITISSA.

LIT. R.A. Fletcher, "Celebrations at Jerusalem on March 25th in the Sixth Century A.D.," *SlP* 5 (1962) 30–34. Idem, "Three Early Byzantine Hymns and their Place in the Liturgy of the Church of Constantinople," *BZ* 51 (1958) 53–65. D.M. Montagna, "La liturgia mariana primitiva," *Marianum* 24 (1962) 84–128. D. Denny, *The Annunciation from the Right: From Early Christian Times to the Sixteenth Century* (New York 1977). Maguire, *Art & Eloquence* 44–52. —R.F.T., A.W.C.

ANOINTING (χρίσμα), a ritual rubbing with a blessed OIL or chrism, derived from widespread ancient use of unguents. Early Christian initiation rites like BAPTISM used anointing; in the medieval West it marked accession to political power from the 7th C. onward. At what date anointing entered Byz. CORONATIONS is controversial. Old Tes-

tament metaphors, the Septuagint's very frequent use of the phrase *chriein basilea* (e.g., 1 Sam [1 Kg] 11:5, 15:17), and the iconography of Davidic kingship (C. Walter, *BMGS* 2 [1976] 58–73) encouraged similar wording for the Byz. emperor's accession, regardless of ritual. Neither *De ceremoniis* nor *euchologia* make reference to coronation anointing. Although there is some discussion about Niketas Choniates' testimony (Nik.Chon. 457.15), anointing in connection with coronations appears irrefutably only after 1204, when debate waxed over whether Byz. anointing was introduced in response to Baldwin I's Latin-style coronation anointing at Constantinople or could have entered Byz. ceremonial shortly before. Even in the latter case, the Western presence at court and in the imperial family scarcely excludes the possibility of Latin influence.

Theodore I Laskaris was anointed emperor in 1205 and anointing became solidly entrenched thereafter. A 14th-C. ceremonial book (pseudo-Kod. 258.3–29) describes how the patriarch mounted the ambo and anointed the emperor's head just before crowning him, as he declared him "Holy!" (*hagios*) and the audience echoed the ACCLAMATION. Symeon of Thessalonike (PG 155:353B–D) gave the rite a christomimetic interpretation, reasoning that the emperor's anointing paralleled that of Christ by the Holy Spirit. (For anointing of the sick, see UNCTION.)

LIT. G. Ostrogorsky, *Byz. Geschichte* 142–52. D.M. Nicol, "Kaisersalbung: The Unction of Emperors in Late Byzantine Coronation Ritual," *BMGS* 2 (1976) 37–52. M. Arranz, "L'aspect rituel de l'onction des empereurs de Constantinople et de Moscou," in *Roma, Costantinopoli, Mosca* (Naples 1983) 407–15. —M.McC.

ANONYMOUS, "ENANTIOPHANES," jurist. Numerous scholia to the BASILIKA are inscribed "(τοῦ) Ἀνωνύμου" or "(τοῦ) Ἐναντιοφανοῦς." According to the generally accepted opinion of K.E. Zachariä von Lingenthal (*Kleine Schriften* 2:152–54), these texts originate in the writings of an "elder Anonymous" and a "younger Anonymous," the latter of whom should be identified with "Enantiophanes." The "elder Anonymous" was perhaps active under Justinian I and may have composed a paraphrase of the DIGEST that served as the basis for the text of the *Basilika*. The "younger Anonymous" may have lived under Herakleios and provided the *Digest* paraphrase of

the "elder Anonymous" with explanatory notes (*paragraphai*). The "younger Anonymous" was called "Enantiophanes" because he wrote a work entitled *Peri enantiophaneion* (On Apparent Contradictions), which is mentioned in the NOMOKANON OF FOURTEEN TITLES, a work that likewise can be attributed to him.

LIT. Scheltema, "Kommentarverbot" 308–15. N. van der Wal, "Wer war der 'Enantiophanes?'" *Tijdschrift* 48 (1980) 125–36. L. Burgmann, "Neue Zeugnisse der Digestensumme des Anonymos," *FM* 7 (1986) 101–16. —A.S.

ANONYMOUS FOLLES. See COINS; MINTS.

ANONYMUS VALESII. See EXCERPTA VALESIANA.

ANSBERT. See HISTORIA DE EXPEDITIONE FRIDERICI.

ANSELM, author, ambassador, bishop of Havelberg (1129–55), and archbishop of Ravenna (1155–58); born Germany? ca. 1100, died Milan 12 Aug. 1158. In 1135/6 Anselm visited Constantinople as the ambassador of the German emperor Lothair III to John II Komnenos to discuss possible joint action against ROGER II of Sicily. In Apr. 1136, with the cooperation of Emp. John and Patr. Leo Styppes (1134–43), he participated in public debates in Constantinople with Niketas, archbishop of Nikomedeia, on the FILIOQUE, the AZYMES, and papal PRIMACY. In order to rebut Niketas's criticism of the Roman church's "innovations" in faith and practice, Anselm used his own theory of the church's historical growth in understanding the faith through the Holy Spirit. He politely, but firmly, upheld the Latin *filioque* doctrine and claimed that Niketas accepted his compromise formula: the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son, but "properly and principally" only from the Father. Niketas evidently also agreed that the Greek "through the Son" was equivalent to the Latin "from both" (*ab utroque*). Both Anselm and Niketas called for an ecumenical council that would, they hoped, result in UNION OF THE CHURCHES. At the request of Pope Eugenius II, Anselm wrote (1150) the *Dialogues*, a detailed account of his debates with Niketas.

In 1153 Frederick I Barbarossa sent Anselm to

Manuel I Komnenos to negotiate a marriage between Frederick and the Byz. princess Maria. While in Thessalonike in 1154, en route home, Anselm discussed the procession of the Holy Spirit with BASIL OF OHRID and acknowledged that Latin arrogance impeded reunion.

ED. *Dialogues*—PL 188:1139–1248. Fr. tr. of book 1 by G. Salet (Paris 1966); book 2 by P. Harang, *Istina* 17 (1972) 375–424.

LIT. J. Dräseke, "Bischof Anselm von Havelberg und seine Gesandtschaftsreisen nach Byzanz," *ZKirch* 21 (1901) 160–85. L.F. Barmann, "Reform Ideology in the *Dialogi* of Anselm of Havelberg," *ChHist* 30 (1961) 379–95. N. Russell, "Anselm of Havelberg and the Union of the Churches," *Sobornost* 1.2 (1979) 19–41; 2.1 (1980) 29–94. J. Darrouzès, "Les documents byzantins du XIIe siècle sur la primauté romaine," *REB* 23 (1965) 59–65. —F.K.

ANTAE (*Ἄνται*), a group of people in the area north of the Black Sea. According to Jordanes, in the 4th C. the Goths defeated the Antae and murdered their "king" (*rex*) Boz and 70 elders. Other authors (Prokopios, pseudo-Maurice, etc.) mention the Antae, usually alongside the SKLAVENOI, in connection with the events of 535–602. Prokopios describes the Antae as a conglomeration of primitive and dirty nomads who practiced democracy and made war on foot, half-naked, armed with only spears and shields; they venerated the god of lightning.

The origin of the Antae is hotly discussed. Many scholars (e.g., Č. Bonev, *EtBalk* 19 [1983] no. 3, 109–20) consider them early Slavs; G. Vernadsky (*JAOS* 59 [1939] 56–66) developed the theory of their ALAN origin; B. Strumins'kyj (*HUKSt* 3/4 [1979–80] 786–96) saw in them Goths. The Antae were probably professional warriors, neighbors originally of the Alans and subsequently of the Ostrogoths, the Huns, the Bulgars, and the Avars. Justinian I, who accepted the title "Antikos," made them allies, and between 545 and 602 the Antae usually cooperated with the empire. Around 560 the Avars began to assume hegemony in eastern Europe and to demand the loyalty of the Antae. Attempts at negotiation failed, and the Avars killed the Antae envoy Mezamer. In 602 the Antae allied with Maurice against the Avars; Simokattes (Theoph. Simok. 293.15–16) relates that the *khan* dispatched an army under the command of Apsich to exterminate the Antae but the Avars were afraid and began to desert; after 602 the Antae disappear from the sources.

LIT. O. Pritsak, "The Slavs and the Avars," *SeltStu* 30 (1983) 394–411. R. Werner, "Zur Herkunft der Anten," in *Studien zur antiken Sozialgeschichte: Festschrift Friedrich Vittinghoff* (Cologne-Vienna 1980) 573–95. —O.P.

ANTECESSORES (*ἀντικλήνσορες*, "those who precede"), an honorary designation used by Justinian I for the professors of jurisprudence at the state LAW SCHOOLS in Constantinople and Berytus. The Constitutio *Omnem* (a. 533), which regulated legal education, is addressed to eight *antecessores*: THEOPHILOS, DOROTHEOS, Theodore, ISIDORE, ANATOLIOS, THALELAIOS, Kratinos, and Salaminios. Of their writings—mainly summaries of and notes on the *Corpus Juris Civilis*—only the paraphrase of the *Institutes* by Theophilos has been preserved in full; numerous fragments from works on the *Digest* and on the *Codex Justinianus* are transmitted, esp. in the scholia to the *Basiliika*, often inscribed with the author's name. With the decline of state legal instruction in the second half of the 6th C., the designation *antecessor* fell out of use.

LIT. P. Jörs, *RE* 1.2 (1894) 2347f. H.J. Scheltema, *L'enseignement de droit des antécédents* (Leiden 1970). P. Pieler, *LMA* 1:692. —A.S.

ANTHEMIOS (*Ἀνθέμιος*), prefect under Arkadios and Theodosios II; died after 414. Probably of Egyptian origin, Anthemios was a member of one of the most distinguished aristocratic families of the period. He was *magister officiorum* in 404 and praetorian prefect of the East from 405 to 414. He may have assisted in the deposition of John Chrysostom in 404, but he was presumably a Christian and escorted the relics of the prophet Samuel into Constantinople in 406. Sokrates (Sokr. *HE* 7.1.1) reports that he was the virtual ruler of the empire during the critical period of the minority of Theodosios II. He reorganized the food supply of the capital (*Cod.Theod.* XIII 5.32) and rebuilt its walls (*Cod.Theod.* XV 1.51) before he fell from power (see PULCHERIA).

LIT. *PLRE* 2:93–95.

—T.E.G.

ANTHEMIOS Western emperor (467–72); born Constantinople, died Rome 30 June or 11 July 472. Grandson of the prefect ANTHEMIOS and son-in-law of Marcian, *patrikios*, and commander

against the Huns and Ostrogoths, Anthemios was a candidate for the throne in Constantinople in 454. Leo I named him caesar and in 467 sent him to Italy, where he was proclaimed augustus by the army. Leo concurred in the nomination as did RICIMER (who married the daughter of Anthemios), both hoping to counter the power and influence of the Vandal king GAISERIC. Celebrated by Sidonius Apollinaris and by Leo as the hope for unity between East and West, Anthemios was distrusted as a Greek and suspected of pagan sympathies. He played no part in the naval expedition against the Vandals in 468. Hostility developed with Ricimer, who finally invested Olybrius with the purple in 492. Ricimer attacked Rome, and Anthemios was captured and beheaded.

LIT. Bury, *LRE* 1:335–40. Kaegi, *Decline* 35–43. G. Härtel, "Die zeitgeschichtliche Relevanz der Novellen des Kaisers Anthemius," *Klio* 64 (1982) 151–59. *PLRE* 2:96–98. —T.E.G.

ANTHEMIOS OF TRALLES, architect, engineer, physicist, and mathematician; born Tralles in Lydia, died Constantinople? before 558 (the traditional date of his death, ca. 534, is erroneous: G. Soulis, *Speculum* 35 [1960] 124). Anthemios was the son of a physician, Stephen; one of his brothers, Metrodoros, was a grammarian, another was a lawyer, and others were doctors. Anthemios achieved fame as the architect (with ISIDORE OF MILETUS) of HAGIA SOPHIA in Constantinople. Nothing is known of his other architectural projects. Prokopios relates that Justinian I consulted Anthemios about flood control at Dara. According to Agathias, Anthemios was one of those scientists "who apply geometrical speculation to material objects and make models or imitations of the natural world" (Agath. 5:6.3). Anthemios's experiments included the production of an artificial earthquake (using steam power) and artificial thunder as well as the creation of a powerful reflector. He wrote treatises such as *Concerning Remarkable Mechanical Devices* and *On Burning-Mirrors*; in the former he describes a curved reflector similar to one that he is said to have built. According to TZETZES, Anthemios also wrote on mechanical and hydraulic subjects.

LIT. G.L. Huxley, *Anthemios of Tralles* (Cambridge, Mass., 1959). G. Downey, "Byzantine Architects," *Byzantion* 18 (1946–48) 112–14. —M.J., A.K.

ANTHIMOS OF NIKOMEDEIA, martyr under Diocletian and saint; feastday 3 Sept. According to Eusebios of Caesarea (Eusebios, *HE* 8.6.6), Anthimos (Ἀνθίμος), bishop of Nikomedeia, was decapitated in 303; he was among those charged with setting fire to the imperial palace in Nikomedeia. A Life attributed to SYMEON METAPHRASTES presents the trial and torture of Anthimos by Maximian. It is questionable whether any of his writings survive: the legend of Sts. Domna and Indes mentions a letter of Anthimos to persecuted communities (PG 116:1073C–1076B); a fragment, *On the Holy Church*, attributed to Anthimos by G. Mercati, is actually a work of MARKELLOS OF ANKYRA according to Richard (*Opera minora* 2, no.33).

Representation in Art. The earliest known portrait of Anthimos, on a mosaic (now lost) in the south tympanum of HAGIA SOPHIA, apparently showed the saint as an elderly bishop; this is the most usual type, though his features vary. In the THEODORE PSALTER (fol.95v), he bears witness to the burning of the church in Nikomedeia in which 20,000 Christians are said to have lost their lives. Four scenes enclosed in roundels recount his martyrdom (including torture on a wheel) in a *menologion* MS of Symeon Metaphrastes (London, B.L. Add. 11870, fol.44v); other MSS depict only his beheading.

SOURCE. PG 115:171–84.

LIT. BHG 134y–135c. U. Knochen, *LCI* 5:199f.

—A.K., N.P.Š.

ANTHOLOGIA PALATINA AND ANTHOLOGIA PLANUDEA. See GREEK ANTHOLOGY.

ANTHOLOGIES, collections of largely secular verse, esp. EPIGRAMS, similar to a FLORILEGIUM (excerpts from theological texts) or a *gnomologion* (GNOMAI, or moralizing excerpts from secular texts in both prose and verse). Selections from the major classical anthologies (those of Meleager of Gadara, Philip of Thessalonike, etc.) were combined in the 10th C. by Constantine KEPHALAS with material from the Byz. period, esp. from the *Cycle* of AGATHIAS. This collection, now lost as an independent work, in turn formed the basis for the main surviving Byz. anthologies, the *Anthologia Palatina* and the *Anthologia Planudea* (see GREEK ANTHOLOGY). There also survive a number of

short anthologies (e.g., the 9th-C. *Sylloge Euphemi-ana*, the 13th-C. *Sylloge Crameriana*, the 14th-C. *Appendix Barbaro-Vaticana*), which contain a few epigrams not attested by the two major collections.

ED. See GREEK ANTHOLOGY.

LIT. *AnthGr* 1:82–84.

—E.M.J.

ANTHOUSA (Ἀνθοῦσα, lit. “flourishing”), the name or epithet given by Constantine I the Great to Constantinople–New Rome. John Lydos uses the epithet as a translation of Roman Flora, but E. Fenster (*Laudes Constantinopolitanae* [Munich 1968] 93, n.5) questions his explanation. The epithet appears in historians and panegyrics; PAUL SILENTIARIOS, for instance, speaks of “golden-clad Anthousa” who subjugates barbarians (vv. 156–58). It is also found in geographical nomenclature (e.g., Eustathios of Thessalonike’s commentary on Dionysios Periegetes), and Manuel Holobolos still used it in his speech on Michael VIII’s reconquest of Constantinople.

LIT. J. Bernays, “Quellennachweise zu Politianus und Georgius Valla,” *Hermes* 11 (1876) 129–34. A. Riese, “Anthousa,” *Hermes* 12 (1877) 143f. M. Alföldi, *Die constantinische Goldprägung* (Mainz 1963) 151, n.2. —A.K.

ANTHROPOLOGY. The classical Byz. definition of man stems from the Greek philosophical tradition and is common to theologians, philosophers, and even elementary school textbooks; man is a rational, mortal being, or corporeal essence, endowed with speech and thought, capable of reason and knowledge. Man, a being that unites two natures in one person, was the favorite model for the hypostatic union from the 6th C. In this context the SOUL or spirit of man is contrasted to the BODY in purely negative terms (incorporeal, immortal, incorruptible), and man is perceived as a simultaneous synthesis of opposites: as “a being united ineffably and simultaneously of different essences” (Anastasios of Sinai, ed. Uthemann, *Viae Dux* 2.5, p.58f), or as a “mixture of opposites” (Maximos the Confessor, PG 91:212D, 1032B).

In referring to Genesis 1:27, the patristic tradition sees man as the image of God, or, insofar as the Logos alone is the image of God, man is seen as an “image in the image of God.” From Genesis 1:26, “Let us make man in our image, and according to our likeness,” man is seen as an image of the Trinity in the structure of his soul,

not in the sense of Plato’s tripartite division of the soul, but rather in the relationship of man’s *psyche* to his *logos* and *nous* or *pneuma*.

The ability of Byz. anthropology to shed its theological context, at least outwardly, is shown in the thought of Michael Psellos and John Italos in the 11th C. (See also NEMESIOS.)

LIT. S. Otto, *Person und Subsistenz: Die philosophische Anthropologie des Leontius von Byzanz* (Munich 1968). K.-H. Uthemann, “Das anthropologische Modell der hypostatischen Union,” *Kleronomia* 14 (1982) 215–312. F.R. Gahbauer, *Das anthropologische Modell: Ein Beitrag zur Christologie der frühen Kirche bis Chalkedon* (Würzburg 1984). L. Benakis, “Die Stellung des Menschen im Kosmos in der byzantinischen Philosophie,” in *L’homme et son univers au moyen âge* (Louvain-la-Neuve 1986) 56–76. P. Joannou, *Die Illuminationslehre des Michael Psellos und Joannes Italos* (Ettal 1956) 88–106, 126–135. —K.-H.U.

ANTHROPOS (ἄνθρωπος, “man,” Lat. *homo*), a term designating an individual in a relation of personal dependence; its synonyms were *philos* (“friend”), *oikeios*, and *lizios*. The term *anthropos* could cover relations between a *strategos* and his retinue, as in the *Strategikon of Maurice*; this usage is also found later, for example, in a 10th-C. source (*TheophCont* 374.17) that relates that Leo Argyros attacked Tephrike “with his *anthropoi*.” An *anthropos* could be a subordinate of a civil official; thus an anonymous letter of the 10th C. was addressed to an *anthropos* of the *krites* of the Aegean Sea (Darrouzès, *Epistoliers* 377, no.47). More evidence of the “parafeudal” nature of Byz. “homage” is revealed in sources of the 11th and 12th C., in a Cretan charter of 1118 (MM 6:95–99), and in Kekaumenos as well as in the *typika* of Pakourianos and of the Kosmosoteira monastery. A seal of Niketas, “*anthropos* of the most fortunate caesar,” is published but not dated (Zacos, *Seals* 1, no.643). *Anthropoi* not only served as a private retinue that followed their commander to battle, but also received land for their service. In later documents the term *anthropoi* was also applied to PAROIKOI. The “imperial men,” BASILIKOI ANTHROPOI, formed a special category.

LIT. Kazhdan, *Gosp.klass.* 236–38. V. Arutjunova, “K voprosu ob *anthropoi* v ‘tipike’ Grigorija Pakuriana,” *Viz-Vrem* 29 (1968) 63–76. N. Oikonomides, “Hoi authentai ton Kretikon to 1118,” *Pepragmena tou D’ diethnous Kretologou symedriou*, vol. 2 (Athens 1981) 313–17. —A.K.

ANTHYPATOS (ἀνθύπατος), Greek translation of Latin *proconsul* or CONSULARIS, a governor of

some special provinces (B. Kübler, *RE* 4 [1901] 1140–42). The term probably also designated the head of the administration of Constantinople until 359, when it was replaced by the URBAN PREFECT. From the 9th C. *anthypatos* was used as a DIGNITY. According to E. Stein (*BNJbb* 1 [1920] 372f), the TAKTIKON of Uspenskij (842/3) still listed the *anthypatos* as a provincial governor—a conclusion based only on the place of the title in the list. Guiland suggests that *anthypatos* as a dignity was first applied to Alexios Mousel under Emp. Theophilos. In the late 9th-C. *Kletorologion* of Philotheos the term, often in conjunction with PATRIKIOS, was listed in a position between MAGISTROS and regular *patrikios*. The term *protanthypatos* is known from 11th-C. sources. A *disanthypatos* is also mentioned on a seal. These titles were not used after the beginning of the 12th C.

LIT. Guiland, *Institutions* 2:68–79. Oikonomides, *Listes* 287, 294. Bury, *Adm. System* 28f. C. Emereau, “L’archonteproconsul de Constantinople,” *RA* 5 23 (1926) 103–08. —A.K.

ANTICHRIST (Ἀντίχριστος), the greatest antagonist of Christ, esp. at the Second Coming (PAROUSIA). The Greek word *Antichristos* appears in the Bible only in the epistles of John (1 Jn 2:18–22; 4:3; 2 Jn 7), but the concept of the final struggle between a diabolic ruler (anti-Messiah or “the beast”) and the divine forces is to be found in the Hebrew (esp. Essene and apocalyptic) tradition. Hippolytos of Rome in the 3rd C. was the first Christian author to devote a tract to the Antichrist (*On Christ and on the Antichrist*), the core of which was opposition to the Roman Empire. The theme was developed in Byz. commentaries on the APOCALYPSE by OIKOUMENIOS, ANDREW of Caesarea, ARETHAS OF CAESAREA, and NEOPHYTOS ENKLEISTOS, since the two beasts in the Apocalypse that are identified with the Roman Empire or the cult of the emperor were interpreted as referring to the Antichrist.

Byz. theologians gave the Antichrist various names: Lampetis, Tetian, Lateinos, Benediktos (or Niketas), names for which the numerical equivalents of their Greek letters add up to 666, the number of the Antichrist (Rev 13:18). He was perceived either as the DEVIL incarnate or as a being consisting of a man combined with satanic energy. He was expected to come “when the time of the Roman Empire was fulfilled” (Cyril of Je-

rusalem, *Catech.* 15.12, PG 33:885A) and to subjugate Egypt, Libya, and the Ethiopians. He will deceive people by his external resemblance to Christ and by his power of working miracles. Drought, famine, and portents will manifest his coming, and he will persecute the saints. Accordingly, drought and similar phenomena were often interpreted as foreboding the coming of the Antichrist. The years of the reign of the Antichrist are numbered, and in the end he is to be defeated.

The Antichrist was often connected with the Jews, whom he specially honors, even rebuilding the Temple, over which he will preside, proclaiming himself a god. Pseudo-METHODIOS OF PATARA as well as SOPHRONIOS of Jerusalem (PG 87.3:3197D) identified the Antichrist with Islam—an interpretation that spread particularly in the post-Byz. period.

LIT. B. Rubin, "Der Antichrist und die 'Apokalypse' des Prokopios von Kaisareia," *ZDMG* 110 (1961) 55–63. G. Podskalsky, *Byzantinische Reicheschatologie* (Munich 1972) 79–99. P.J. Alexander, *The Byzantine Apocalyptic Tradition* (Berkeley 1985) 193–225. K. Wessel, "Der Antichrist am Kreuz," in *Eikon und Logos*, ed. H. Goltz, vol. 2 (Halle 1981) 323–37. —G.P.

ANTIGRAPHEUS (ἀντιγραφεύς), in the *Kletorologion* of Philotheos a subordinate of the *QUAESTOR*. According to Bury (*Adm. System* 75f), *antigraphes* were successors of the late Roman *magistri scriniorum* under the *MAGISTER OFFICIORUM*. As the Greek rendition of the *magister* of a *scrinium*, the term *antigraphes* was used by various late Roman authors. It is not known what the functions of the *antigraphes* were after they moved to the department of the quaestor. *Antigraphes* are mentioned in the *ECLOGA* (162.42, 166.104) as involved in the preparation of legislative acts. Later, the term *antigraphes* designated responses issued by the emperor (e.g., *Lavra* 1, no.67.17), letters sent abroad (Dölger-Karayannopoulos, *Urkundenlehre* 89), etc. The seals of *antigraphes*, some dated to the 7th C., do not clarify their duties.

LIT. J. Bury, "Magistri scriniorum, antigraphes, and rephendarioi," *HStClPhil* 21 (1910) 23–29. Zacos, *Seals* 2:159. —A.K.

ANTIMENSION (ἀντιμήνσιον), also *antimesion* (from Lat. *mensa*, "table"), a portable ALTAR, often made of cloth. The term is first found in an *enkion* of an obscure saint, Markianos of Syra-

cuse (text probably early 8th C.), where the "antimimension" is identified as "*mystike trapeza*" (AASS June 3:281C–282D). Patr. Niketas I (766–80) reportedly set up an "antimimension" in the Hippodrome and prayed before it when Leo IV crowned his son Constantine VI (Theoph. 450.16). The word occurs more frequently from the 12th C. onward when it refers specifically to a piece of cloth—linen (Symeon of Thessalonike, PG 155:332D–333A) or possibly silk. The so-called Nomocanon of Cotelier (J.B. Cotelier, *Monumenta ecclesiae graecae* 1 [Paris 1677]), produced between the 12th and 14th C., prescribes punishment for a priest who officiates without an *antimimension*. The *antimimension* contained a small pocket for RELICS and had to be consecrated by a bishop. Although consecrated as a portable altar, an *antimimension* was to be used only when a consecrated altar-table was not available, or if consecration was in doubt. Its usage was quite common, esp. during the late period. The *antimimension* became mandatory for the celebration of liturgy only in the post-Byz. period when it replaced the *EILITON* as the altar cloth on which eucharistic vessels were set; in earlier practice the *antimimension* had been spread underneath the *ENDYTE*. Since no Byz. *antimensia* are preserved, their exact appearance is not known, and there is no evidence that they were ever extensively decorated.

LIT. J. Izzo, *The Antimimension in the Liturgical and Canonical Tradition of the Byzantine and Latin Churches* (Rome 1975) 23–144. S. Pétridès, *DACL* 1.2:2319–26. —A.G.

ANTINOÖPOLIS (Ἀντινόου πόλις, also Antinoë, Antinou, mod. Shaikh Abāda), town in Upper Egypt founded by Hadrian in 130; a flourishing center of Hellenic culture. In 297 Diocletian made Antinoöpolis an important administrative center and under Justinian I it became the seat of the *doux* of the Thebaid. It had a Christian community and was an episcopal see already in the early 4th C. The ANTINOÖPOLIS PAPYRI make reference to many churches, but excavations have unearthed only a few. There are two large basilicas in the east and south parts of the town, the latter of which dates probably from the 4th C.; it has five aisles and is built entirely of mudbrick. Of the former, only the crypt and sections of the atrium have survived. A third smaller church was discovered in the north cemetery. The site preserves traces of a colonnaded street, a large bath,

a theater, a hippodrome, and other public buildings. The ruins to the south of Antinoöpolis are of early monasteries.

Among the burials of Antinoöpolis the most famous is the chapel of Theodosia (probably late 4th C.); its frescoes represent Christ and the owner of the tomb accompanied by several saints. Other painted tombs were discovered in the mountains east of the city. The so-called Underground Church contains biblical scenes, e.g., The Marriage at CANA and the Massacre of the Innocents.

LIT. *Antinoe 1965–1968*, ed. S. Donadoni (Rome 1974). P. Grossmann, "Die von Somers Clark in Ober-Anšinā entdeckten Kirchenbauten," *MDAI K* 24 (1969) 144–68. E. Mitchell, "Osservazioni topografiche preliminari sull'impianto urbanistico di Antinoe," *Vicino Oriente* 5 (1982) 171–90. Timm, *Ägypten* 1:111–28. —P.G.

ANTINOÖPOLIS PAPYRI, literary and documentary papyri and parchments in Greek, Latin, Coptic, Arabic, Hebrew, and even Gothic, found by British and Italian excavations at the site of Hadrian's foundation in Middle Egypt (modern Shaikh Abāda), attesting to the flourishing and multiform culture of ANTINOÖPOLIS from the 2nd C. until after the Arab conquest. They include biblical, theological, medical, legal, grammatical, and stenographic texts, poetry, drama, philosophy, rhetoric, and all the usual documentary genres, from petitions to letters. The role of Antinoöpolis as capital of the Thebaid under its *doux* in the 6th C. is apparent from the abundant paperwork generated by the official chancery. The lawyer-poet DIOSKOROS OF APHRODITO lived and practiced there during 566–73, and many papyri from his archive were written at Antinoöpolis. Illustrated Greek papyri were found at the site, including herbal illustrations and a drawing of charioteers. Coptic papyri, esp. tax receipts, provide evidence of ecclesiastical institutions and of the role of the *doux* of the Thebaid into post-conquest times.

ED. C.H. Roberts, J.W.B. Barns, H. Zilliacus, *The Antinoöpolis Papyri*, 3 vols. (London 1950–67).

LIT. *Antinoe 1965–1968* (Rome 1974). M. Manfredi, "Notizie sugli scavi recenti ad Antinoe," *Atti del XVII Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia*, vol. 1 (Naples 1984) 85–96. S. Timm, *Das christlich-koptische Ägypten in arabischer Zeit*, vol. 1 (Wiesbaden 1984) 111–28. —L.S.B.MacC.

ANTIOCH (Ἀντιόχεια), the name of two cities in the Byz. Empire. The less important city was

located in Anatolia, while Antioch on the Orontes, in Syria, was one of the major cities of late antiquity and the seat of one of the four Eastern patriarchates.

ANTIOCH OF PISIDIA, metropolis east of Lake Eğirdir on major routes through southern Anatolia; now Yalvaç. A Roman colony, Pisidian Antioch saw a revival of Latin and of prosperity in the 4th C. It remained a stronghold of paganism—centered on its temple of the moon god, Men—until ca.400, when the temple was destroyed and replaced by a church. Remains, which include a church with a floor mosaic of ca.380, indicate an active civic life in late antiquity. Thereafter, Antioch was exposed to attack: the Arabs wintered there in 665/6 and destroyed it in 717. The city never really recovered, but it did remain the ecclesiastical metropolis into the 12th C. The PAULICIANS established their church, Philippi, here in the mid-8th C. In 1097, the First Crusade rested in the fertile plain of Antioch, which by then had been permanently lost to the Turks.

LIT. B. Levick, *Roman Colonies in Southern Asia Minor* (Oxford 1967) 178–81. D.M. Robinson, "A Preliminary Report on the Excavations at Pisidian Antioch," *AJA* 28 (1924) 435–44. E. Kitzinger, "A Fourth Century Mosaic Floor in Pisidian Antioch," in *Mél. Mansel* 385–95. S. Mitchell, "Pisidian Antioch," *AnatSt* 34 (1984) 8–10. —C.F.

ANTIOCH ON THE ORONTES (now Antakya in Turkey), city about 25 km from the Mediterranean and its port at SELEUKEIA PIERIA, situated between the Orontes River and Mt. Silpios, and crossed east to west by the Parmenios torrent. Seleucid Antioch came to replace BERROIA as the principal city of SYRIA until the latter city regained preeminence following the Arab conquest (636/7). The evidence varies as to the size of Antioch's population. In 363 Libanios referred to 150,000 *anthropoi*, while 250,000 or 300,000 people reportedly perished in the earthquake of 526 (G. Downey, *TAPA* 89 [1958] 87–90). Excavations in 1939–45 at Antioch, its port, and the suburb of Daphne, revealed large houses and five churches at the three sites; a circus, stadium, the *cardo*, and several baths in Antioch itself; and a theater at Daphne. The numerous tessellated pavements uncovered illustrate the development of FLOOR MOSAICS from the 2nd to 6th C. As an imperial residence (of Constantius II, Julian, Jovian, and Valens) in the 4th C., Antioch expanded. In its

environs, at Kausiye, a cruciform basilica was built, probably in 379, for the local martyr BAYLAS. The city walls were extended by Theodosios II in 430/1, and numerous other emperors also erected public buildings at Antioch. At least four gates led into the walled city, which was 3 km long from the years 430 to 540 and 2.3 km thereafter, when it was approximately 1.6 km wide.

The Tetrarchic palace, public baths, circus, and stadium (built 5th–6th C.) were on an island in the Orontes excluded from Justinian I's circuit wall, which reduced the defended perimeter of Antioch. The island was connected by a bridge with the heart of the city, which was constructed in part over the Parmenios and contained the Forum of Valens, the *praetorium* of the governor of Syria I, a public bath (the Kommodion), and a market. To the southeast of this lay the district of Epiphaneia built against the slopes of Mt. Silpios. Here were concentrated the *bouleuterion*, the *praetorium* of the *comes Orientis*, a law court, two tetrapylons, an *antiphoros* (an open space in front of a forum), various civil basilicas and stoas, and the Church of Sts. Kosmas and Damianos. The south gate of the city, beyond the Jewish quarter of Kerateion, led to Daphne with its theater, hippodrome, and closely spaced "country houses."

Antioch was capital of the diocese of ORIENS under the *comes Orientis*, provincial capital from ca. 350 of Coele-Syria, and from ca. 415 of Syria I under a governor, and seat of the *MAGISTER MILITUM* for Oriens. Antioch was also the seat of a patriarch (see ANTIOCH, PATRIARCHATE OF). In 451, JERUSALEM (which had been a suffragan of CAESAREA MARITIMA) became a separate patriarchate with control over the three provinces of Palestine; in 488, the church of Cyprus was likewise made independent of Antioch.

Antioch has been described (Jones, *LRE* 857f) as a consumer rather than a manufacturing city. Certain goods were, however, produced there in connection with its role as an administrative center. It had an arms factory and a provincial mint from the 4th C. to 611, with workshops producing ceremonial armor and, in the 4th C. and 602–10, silver vessels with SILVER STAMPS. Antioch was also a commercial center whose port linked the trade routes from the East with the Mediterranean. There were KOMMERKIARIOI of Antioch from the 6th C. The city apparently had a large middle

class: in the late 4th C. John Chrysostom claimed that only 10 percent of the population was wealthy and only 10 percent poor. The inhabitants of Antioch were, moreover, "urbanized," preferring the suburban pleasures of Daphne to rural villa life (Liebeschuetz, *infra* 51). The country around Antioch was noted for its pasture land (Libanios, or. 11.23, 26), and the province of Syria I contained such agriculturally productive centers as DEHES and KAPER BARADA.

The literary culture of Antioch was primarily Greek, and the use of Latin by the imperial government was considered an intrusion. The city was noted for rhetoricians, historians, and theologians. In the 4th C. all these came under the influence of the pagan rhetor LIBANIOS whose pupils at Antioch included—in addition to numerous future civil servants—not only AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS but also the Christian authors BASIL THE GREAT, JOHN CHRYSOSTOM, and THEODORE OF MOPSUESTIA. The last, the foremost member of the ANTIOCHENE SCHOOL, which later came to include THEODORET OF CYRRHUS, applied to the Bible the principles of Hellenistic exegesis learned from his teacher. A prolific church writer in Greek in the 6th C. was the Monophysite SEVEROS of Antioch (although his works survive only in Syriac). Three types of historiography are represented by the works of Antiochene authors: the classical history of Ammianus, who followed Tacitus; the universal chronicle of MALALAS; and the church history of EVAGRIOS SCHOLASTIKOS—the last following in the tradition of EUSEBIOS OF CAESAREA.

Antioch was proud of a classical heritage that also manifested itself in art (e.g., in the personifications and mythological subjects of its 5th–6th C. pavements) and in a civic pride, best exemplified by Libanios's *Oration on Antioch*. In 438 the city was flattered by another oration, that of the visiting empress ATHENAIS-EUDOKIA, who alluded to the Athenian heritage that she shared with Antioch. The city responded appropriately with the erection of two statues in her honor by the local *boule*. Other classical traditions were maintained: curial building continued alongside public works financed by the imperial government. Although described by Prokopios in 540 as hedonistic and "not seriously disposed" (*Wars* 1.17.37, 2.8.6), the Antiochene mentality was then undergoing a change toward a collective religious

consciousness. When in 459 the body of Symeon the Stylite the Elder was brought from Telanissos into Antioch, the people refused to give it up to Emp. Leo I because they felt it would protect their city. The sanctification of the city proceeded when, after the earthquake of 526, a cross appeared in the sky and Antioch was renamed (528) Theoupolis in propitiation for contemporary calamities.

Like other cities, Antioch experienced incidents of urban unrest in the 4th–7th C. After the Riot of the Statues (387), when, in response to increased taxation, the population overturned the imperial images, both city and rioters were punished by Theodosios I: Antioch was for a time stripped of metropolitan rank and its baths, hippodrome, and theaters closed; some rioters were executed. Antioch also witnessed the intrigues of the imperial usurpers GALLUS (died 354) and ILLOS (died 488). The first outbreak of violence at Antioch involving the Blue and Green circus FRACTIONS occurred in the Hippodrome ca. 490, with further riots in 494/5 and 507, when the charioteer Porphyrios was transferred to Antioch from Constantinople. The unruliness of the factions and financial problems led to the closing of the Olympic Games at Antioch in 520, but the theater was still in use in 531.

Religious divisions and conflict recurred in this period. Paganism continued late at Antioch: the sophist Isokasios was prosecuted for pagan beliefs in 468, and in 562 two pagan priests from Antioch were brought to trial in Constantinople. In 578 a circle of pagans, exposed by popular protest, was said to include highly placed individuals in several cities including HELIOPOLIS, EDESSA, and, at Antioch, the patriarch Gregory himself, who was, however, acquitted. Antioch was also the scene of heretical conflict: until 378 the Arians at Antioch were alternately supported and persecuted by the resident emperors Constantius, Julian, and Valens. The local council of 341 (see under ANTIOCH, LOCAL COUNCILS OF) dealt with the problem of Athanasios and Arianism by drawing up four creeds. With the rise of the Monophysite movement in the 5th–6th C., the Chalcedonian patriarch Stephen was murdered (479) and succeeded by the Monophysites PETER THE FULLER (died 488) and Severos (512–18). From 518, when a separate Monophysite patriarch was established in exile, local Monophysites were persecuted, notably by

Ephraim, Chalcedonian patriarch of Antioch (526–45). In 610 there was an uprising of both Monophysites and Jews at Antioch.

Antioch served as a military administrative center between the 4th and 7th C. The large army stationed in the East was paid and provisioned from here. It was the headquarters of the *magister militum* (e.g., Zeno, Belisarios, Tiberios, Maurice) and served as a base for imperial campaigns led by Constantius, Julian, and Jovian into Persia in the 4th C. and for Herakleios's defense against the Arabs in the 7th C. The city itself was besieged by the Lakhmids in 529 and taken and sacked in 540 by the Persians; the Sasanians led away many of the inhabitants and resettled them in a replicated Antioch at Ctesiphon. After an unsuccessful attack in 573, the Persians occupied the city from 609/10 to 628.

According to Downey the decline of Antioch was occasioned by the Persian sack of 540, after which the city was rebuilt by Justinian on a lesser scale but never recovered its former vitality. Lásus, however, has demonstrated that in the 2nd half of the 6th C. the reconstruction of the main street was on a large scale. Furthermore, the city was again rebuilt by Maurice in 588, following an earthquake, and in 592 Evagrios Scholastikos mentions by name as still standing many of the buildings erected from the 4th C. onward (*HE* 1.16, 18, 20; 3.28; 6.8). From the late 6th through 10th C. Antioch's local history is obscure. Physically, however, many buildings erected before the 7th C. still stood in the Arab (later Byz. and Crusader) city, as attested by Arab geographers, and Justinianic circuit walls enclosed the medieval city.

After Antioch fell to the Arabs in 636–37 (Donner, *Conquests* 148–51), it became part of a frontier district called al-ʿAwāṣim and was hardly mentioned. In 944 it was taken by the Ḥamdānīd SAYF AL-DAWLA, who lost it in turn to the Byz. generals Michael BOURTZES and Peter Phokas on 28 Oct. 969. NIKEPHOROS II PHOKAS described it as the third city of the world, noted for its beauty, strength, size of population, and impressive buildings (Leo. Diac. 73.12–15). While Arab geographers likewise praised its attractions, IBN HAWQAL complained in 978 of the damage inflicted there by the Byz. (G. LeStrange, *Palestine under the Moslems* [rp. Beirut 1965] 369). After its recovery by the Byz., Antioch was administered after 969 first

by a *strategos* and then a *doux* or *katepano* (V. Laurent, *MélUnivJos* 38 [1962] 221–54). It served as a base of military operations elsewhere in the region against the Hamdānids and, starting in 974, the Fāṭimids, whose authority had extended into central Syria. The Seljuk invasions of the Caucasus in the 1040s drove the inhabitants of Armenia into northern Syria, where they infiltrated the government at Antioch until in 1078 Philaretos BRACHAMIOS established his rule there, becoming a vassal of the *atabeg* of Mosul. Six years later Antioch fell to the Seljuks and in 1098 to the Crusaders (see ANTIOCH, PRINCEDOM OF).

LIT. G. Downey, *A History of Antioch in Syria* (Princeton 1961). P. Petit, *Libanius et la vie municipale à Antioche au IV^e siècle après J.-C.* (Paris 1955). J.H.W.G. Liebeschuetz, *Antioch: City and Imperial Administration in the Later Roman Empire* (Oxford 1972). G.L. Kurbatov, *Rannevizantijskij gorod (Antiochia u IV veke)* (Leningrad 1962). J. Lassus, *Antioch on the Orontes: V. Les portiques d'Antioche* (Princeton 1972). —M.M.M.

ANTIOCH, LOCAL COUNCILS OF. Antioch was the site of two notable local councils.

LOCAL COUNCIL OF 324/5. This pre-Nicene council convened under the presidency of Hosius of Cordoba. Its purpose was to forestall, through its censure of ARIANISM, any favorable outcome regarding ARIUS at the first ecumenical council of NICAEEA. Its relationship to the latter is underscored by its provisional excommunication of the Arian sympathizer EUSEBIOS OF CAESAREA, whose formal rehabilitation or condemnation was left to Nicaea to decide. Additionally, its anathemas anticipate those adopted later by the general council. Furthermore, its censorship of Arianism was quite explicit—Christ was said to be begotten “not from that which is not,” but ineffably and indescribably from the Father—even though the council was unaware of the theological terminology subsequently used at Nicaea. The council’s existence was unknown until E. Schwartz discovered a Syriac translation of its synodal letter. Its authenticity is now generally assumed, although contested initially by A. Harnack (*Sitzungsberichte der königlichen preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 26 [Berlin 1908] 477–91).

ED. Synodal letter—E. Schwartz, “Zur Geschichte des Athanasius, VI,” *NachGött* (1905) 271–88. Eng. tr. F.L. Cross, “The Council of Antioch in 325 A.D.,” *Church Quarterly Review* 128 (1939) 49–76.

LIT. R. Seeberg, *Die Synode von Antiochien im Jahre 324–5* (Berlin 1913; rp. Aalen 1973). H. Chadwick, “Ossius of Cordova and the Presidency of the Council of Antioch, 325,” *JThSt* n.s. 9 (1958) 292–304. D.L. Holland, “Die Synode von Antiochien (324/25) und ihre Bedeutung für Eusebius von Caesarea und das Konzil von Nizäa,” *ZKirch* 81 (1970) 163–81. L. Abramowski, “Die Synode von Antiochien 324/25 und ihr Symbol,” *ZKirch* 86 (1975) 356–66. —A.P.

LOCAL COUNCIL OF 341. The pretext for the convocation (6 Jan.) of this “Dedication” council (*concilium in encaeniis*) was the consecration (ENKAINIA) of the Golden Basilica, begun in the reign of Emp. CONSTANTINE I THE GREAT. Ninety-seven bishops and Emp. CONSTANTINUS II, an Arian sympathizer, attended. The four creedal statements associated with the council were intended to avoid, if not reject, the homoousian terminology adopted by NICAEEA I; hence their subsequent condemnation by the orthodox party. The first of these statements, it is true, is susceptible to an orthodox interpretation, while the second is possibly based on the creed of LUCIAN OF ANTIOCH. Equally, the council was not intentionally disloyal to Nicaea. Indeed, it expressly denied that its members were Arians. Still, the council’s pre-Nicene theology was semi-Arian, as ATHANASIOS of Alexandria and the Western episcopate perceived. Most scholars believe the so-called 25 disciplinary “Canons of Antioch” to be the work of this council.

SOURCE. Mansi 2:1305–50.

LIT. Beck, *Kirche* 50f. E. Schwartz, “Zur Geschichte des Athanasius, IX,” *NachGött* (1911) 469–522. G. Bardy, *Recherches sur S. Lucien d'Antioche et son école* (Paris 1936) 85–132. J.N.D. Kelly, *Early Christian Creeds* (New York 1981) 263–74. W. Schneemelcher, “Die Kirchweihsynode von Antiochien 341,” in *Bonner Festgabe Johannes Straub* (Bonn 1977) 319–46. —A.P.

ANTIOCH, PATRIARCHATE OF, one of the earliest bishoprics. Its archiepiscopal status and jurisdiction received canonical sanction at NICAEEA I when it was recognized, together with the bishoprics of Rome and Alexandria, as a major see of Christendom (canon 6). Given Antioch’s size and importance within the empire, the city—the capital of the civil diocese of ORIENS—was the major ecclesiastical center in the East after Alexandria. In the 5th C., however, the patriarchate began to lose its prestige as well as some of its jurisdiction—the result often of imperial pressure. At the Council of EPHEBUS (431) it failed to annex CYPRUS, which was declared autocephalous. Then, at the

Council of CHALCEDON (451), its Palestinian dioceses were placed under the jurisdiction of the newly created patriarchate of JERUSALEM. This reduced the see to eleven provinces. The religious crises of NESTORIANISM and MONOPHYSITISM and the simultaneous growth of the patriarchate of CONSTANTINOPLE also contributed to Antioch’s weakness and dismemberment. Monophysitism, in fact, resulted in permanent schism dividing the faithful into MELCHITES and JACOBITES and the formation of a separate “heretical” hierarchy within its borders.

After the Arab conquest (636) Antiochene metropolitans with provinces still under imperial control were placed under the jurisdiction of Constantinople. The vacancy in the throne that occurred after 702 ended only in 742 when elections were again permitted. After the Byz. reconquest (969) candidates were appointed by the emperor and often consecrated, as in the case of JOHN III, by the patriarch of Constantinople, but Antioch did not sever its relations with Rome (J. Nasrallah, *Istina* 21 [1976] 184f, 375f). Eventually, though, the synod of Antioch was allowed to present its own candidates for the emperor’s selection. The Crusaders’ promise not to elect the patriarch was not always kept. The existence of a Latin patriarch along with the Orthodox of course caused frequent tension. During the Crusades and Mamluk period, the titular patriarchs of this once powerful see usually resided in Constantinople. The transfer of the see to Damascus occurred under the MAMLUKS.

LIT. R. Devréesse, *Le patriarcat d'Antioche* (Paris 1945). Ch. Papadopoulos, *Historia tes Ekklesias Antiocheias* (Alexandria 1951). Grumel, “Patriarcat.” J. Nasrallah, *Notes et documents pour servir à l'histoire du patriarcat Melchite d'Antioche* 1 (Jerusalem 1965). E. Honigmann, “The Patriarchate of Antioch: A Revision of Le Quien and the Notitia Antiochena,” *Traditio* 5 (1947) 135–61. H. Kennedy, “The Last Century of Byzantine Syria: A Reinterpretation,” *ByzF* 10 (1985) 141–83. —A.P.

ANTIOCH, PRINCIPALITY OF. Founded by BOHEMUND after he took the city, the principality included the lower Orontes valley, the adjacent coast, and occasionally parts of Cilicia. ALEXIOS I and his successors never abandoned their claims to the region, which still had a substantial Orthodox population. Bohemund’s promised allegiance (1108) was refused by TANCRED. Prince RAYMOND OF POITIERS was constrained by John II to render

homage but avoided surrendering the citadel to the emperor. Following conflicts with John and MANUEL I, Raymond had to visit Constantinople and renew his allegiance. After Raymond’s death, his widow Constance married Renaud of Châtillon, who first allied himself with Manuel, then, in 1155, plundered Cyprus. In 1158 Manuel’s advance through Cilicia obliged Renaud to beg for mercy. He acknowledged his vassalage to Byz. and promised to yield the citadel of Antioch and accept a Greek patriarch. In 1159 Manuel entered the city in triumph. After Renaud’s capture by the governor of Aleppo-BERROIA (1160), Manuel assisted Antioch. In 1161 he married Constance’s daughter MARIA OF ANTIOCH. His general Constantine KALAMANOS was captured by Nūr al-Dīn along with Bohemund III in 1164. After Bohemund was ransomed by Manuel, he had to introduce an Orthodox patriarch into Antioch (1165–70). About 1178 Bohemund married a niece of Manuel, but abandoned her when Manuel died. Thereafter, Byz. was too preoccupied to pursue domination of the principality, one of the long-term goals of the Komnenoi. Antioch was seized by the Mamluks on 18 May 1268.

LIT. C. Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord à l'époque des croisades et la Principauté franque d'Antioche* (Paris 1940). S. Runciman, “The Greeks in Antioch at the Time of the Crusades,” *Pepragmena*, 9 CEB (Athens 1956) 2:583–91 [= *Hellenika* supp. 9.2]. —C.M.B.

ANTIOCH “CHALICE,” dated to the 6th C., an ornate silver goblet on a low foot, composed of a plain cup set inside an openwork shell decorated with a grapevine containing 12 seated figures (identified as two representations of Christ and ten Apostles). It was reportedly found at Antioch in 1910, as part of the Antioch Treasure (see KAPER KORAON TREASURE), and is now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Its first modern owners, Kouchiakji Frères, maintained that the inner cup was the Holy Grail, which Christ used at the Last Supper and which, as a holy object, had been placed soon after within the protective and decorative outer cup. Although initially accepted by some scholars as a work of the 1st C., it was seen by others as either a late Roman object or a modern forgery; the general consensus is for a date of 500–550 (*Age of Spirit.*, no.542). Now corroded and in fragile condition, its craftsmanship was of a high order, including

figures carved from solid silver. Its original function—as a CHALICE OR LAMP—remains unclear.

LIT. G.A. Eisen, *The Great Chalice of Antioch*, 2 vols. (New York 1923). Mango, *Silver* 183–87. —M.M.M.

ANTIOCHENE ERA. In antiquity there was a proliferation of eras in which events were dated from some fixed starting point of purely local, rather than cosmic, significance. The era used at Antioch in Syria began on 1 Oct. 49 B.C. in honor of some event associated with Julius Caesar (probably the commencement of his dictatorship). It was established in 47 B.C. when Caesar visited Antioch. Each new year of the Antiochene Era began on 1 Oct., until some point in the second half of the 5th C. when it reverted to 1 Sept., thereby bringing it into line with the official Byz. year. The Antiochene Era continued in use until the time of the Arab conquest and was esp. employed by two 6th-C. Antiochenes, the chronicler John MALALAS and the church historian EVAGRIOS SCHOLASTIKOS. To convert an Antiochene date to an A.D. date, subtract 49 for dates between 1 Sept. (or 1 Oct.) and 31 Dec., but 48 for dates between 1 Jan. and 31 Aug. (or 30 Sept.).

LIT. Grumel, *Chronologie* 215f. G. Downey, *A History of Antioch in Syria* (Princeton 1961) 157f. —B.C.

ANTIOCHENE SCHOOL, a conventional designation for a group of theologians (DIDOROS OF TARSOS, THEODORE OF MOPSUESTIA, JOHN CHRYSOSTOM, THEODORET OF CYRRHUS) active mainly in Syria in the 4th and 5th C. Unlike the ALEXANDRIAN SCHOOL it had no formal institution, and the "Antiochene" theologians taught in different cities. The origin of the tradition is obscure; it is often connected with LUCIAN OF ANTIOCH who reportedly conducted a *didaskaleion* ca.270–312, but Lucian was probably an editor of the Old Testament rather than an exegete. EUSTATHIOS OF ANTIOCH, the anti-Arian leader, attacked the Alexandrian School and its allegorical interpretation of the Bible and thus set the foundation for future Antiochene exegesis and theology. One of its main points was an emphasis on "historical" (sometimes literal) interpretation of the Bible in the manner of classical philology and its commentaries on Homer; allegorical exegesis was not completely rejected but the Antiochenes criticized ar-

bitrary associations between the Old Testament, the New Testament, and contemporary events. Their glorification of the human nature of Christ was closely connected with this "rationalist" interpretation of the Bible. The Antiochene stress on the immutability of the Logos, and accordingly the existence of two natures in Christ as "Son of God" and "Son of Mary," led to a conflict with Alexandrian Monophysitism and to a moderate attitude toward Nestorianism. The "school" did not survive the 5th C.; some of its representatives were posthumously condemned in the 6th C. (see THREE CHAPTERS, AFFAIR OF THE), and allegorical biblical interpretation won out over a rationalist historical approach.

LIT. A. Grillmeier, *Christ in Christian Tradition* (London 1965) 243–70, 329–452. R.V. Sellers, *Two Ancient Christologies*² (London 1954) 107–201. C. Schaublin, *Untersuchungen zu Methode und Herkunft der antiochenischen Exegese* (Cologne-Bonn 1974). —T.E.G.

ANTIOCHOS (Ἀντίοχος), or Antiochites (Ἀντιοχ(ε)ῖτης, fem. Ἀντιοχεΐτισσα), a name, later a family name, deriving from the city of Antioch where it was common in the 4th C. Several 5th-C. Antiochoi were high-ranking officials in Constantinople (O. Seeck et al., *RE* 1 [1894] 2491; *PLRE* 2:101–06): the eunuch Antiochos, Persian by origin, had much influence with Arkadios but was dismissed by Theodosios II ca.421; Antiochos Chouzon (died between 438 and 444), was praetorian prefect of the Orient (430) and a member of the commission on the Theodosian Code; his son was praetorian prefect of the Orient in 448. Another Antiochos was prefect of Italy from 552 to 554. Some Antiochoi were active in cultural life: Antiochos, the rhetorician, bishop of Ptolemais (Palestine) ca.400, is known as an adversary of John Chrysostom; another Antiochos, author of the *Pandektes*, a collection of biblical and patristic quotations, witnessed the fall of Jerusalem in 614—his identification with ANTIOCHOS STRATEGOS, however, cannot be proved. In the mid-8th C., Antiochos, *logothetes tou dromou*, was a very influential politician; condemned by the council of 754, he was blinded and exiled. Another Antiochos was *protostrategos* of Italy ca.763. Antiochoi of the 10th and 11th C. held military posts: Antiochos, father of PAUL OF LATROS, was *homes* of the fleet; another Antiochos was *doux* of the ME-

LINGOI; the *protospatharios* Antiochos was *doux* of Calabria probably in the 11th C.; another Antiochos commanded a troop of Macedonians in 1081.

As a surname, Antiochos appears from the 11th C. onward: Leo Antiochos, Isaac I's general, fell in battle in 1057; Constantine was *megas hetairiarches* ca.1094; his contemporary Michael Antiochos was *primikerios* of the external *vestiariitai*. The sister of Stephen Antiochos married Constantius, son of the *sebastos* Isaac Komnenos ca.1100—the identification of the Isaac is impossible. The noble family of Antiochos was supposedly involved in a plot against Alexios I. In the 12th C. Gregory Antiochos was an official and a literary figure (see ANTIOCHOS, GREGORY).

Several 11th- and 12th-C. Antiochitai are known, primarily from seals that preserve their titles but rarely their offices (e.g., Theocharistos, a fortress commander, or *kastrophylax*). Epigrams of the 12th C. also mention several Antiochitai, praising George for decorating a monastery and Theodore and John for supporting the poor (Lampros, "Mark. kod.," nos. 77.3, 82.11). The social character of the Antiochites family is unclear, esp. since their identification with the Antiochoi remains questionable. Apparently part of the 11th-C. military aristocracy, they seem to have lost their military functions after Alexios I. They possessed lands and supported monasteries; they produced a few intellectuals, including a military engineer ca.1091 and an Antiochites who corresponded with EUSTATHIOS OF THESSALONIKE. The names of Antiochos and Antiochites are rare in later centuries (*PLP*, nos. 1031–40); Theodore Antiochites (died 1407), a friend of John Chortasmenos, was John VIII's tutor in 1400–03.

LIT. *PLRE* 1:71f. J. Darrouzès, "Notice sur Grégoire Antiochos," *REB* 20 (1962) 76f. Kazhdan-Franklin, *Studies* 198f. Chortasm. 67f. Seibt, *Bleisiegel* 233f. —A.K.

ANTIOCHOS, GREGORY, high-ranking official, writer; born Constantinople 1125?, died after 1196. Antiochos did not claim descent from a noble lineage (Darrouzès incorrectly hypothesized his relationship to the Komnenoi), but his father was a man of means able to found a small convent. Antiochos was educated in Constantinople under *magistros ton rhetoron* Nicholas KATAPHLORON,

Nicholas Hagiotheodorites, and EUSTATHIOS OF THESSALONIKE. His first datable work is of ca.1159. He gave up intellectual circles and his literary career, however, and entered the civil service. After a brief and unhappy period of private employment, he served in the imperial administration; in 1181 he was imperial secretary, then a judge. It is plausible that Antiochos supported ANDRONIKOS I and Patr. Basil II Kamateros (1183–86) and was forced to resign under ISAAC II. He reappeared in the administration as *megas droungarios* ca.1196. Antiochos was a defender not only of imperial omnipotence, but also of the senate; he favored "democratic" phraseology but stood aloof from military commanders. As a writer he was influenced by Eustathios of Thessalonike (esp. in letters addressed to the latter). He presents a vivid description, tinged with sarcasm, of the climate of Bulgaria and the Bulgarian way of life. He gives life to books and fruits, and endows animals with reason.

ED. Regel, *Fontes* 183–228, 300–04. M. Bachmann, F. Dölger, "Die Rede des *megas droungarios* Gregorios Antiochos auf den Sebastokrator Konstantinos Angelos," *BZ* 40 (1940) 364–401. J. Darrouzès, "Deux lettres de Grégoire Antiochos écrites de Bulgarie vers 1173," *BS* 23 (1962) 276–80; 24 (1963) 65–86.

LIT. Kazhdan-Franklin, *Studies* 196–223. Darrouzès, *Littérature*, pt. VII (1962), 61–92. G. Cankova, P. Tivčev, "Novi dannii za istorijata na Sofijskata oblast prez poslednite desetiletija na vizantijskoto vladичество," *IzvInstBulgIst* 14–15 (1964) 315–24. Wirth, *Untersuchungen* 10–12, 22f. —A.K.

ANTIOCHOS STRATEGOS, author of a narrative on the capture of Jerusalem by the Persians in 614. The Greek original is lost, the text preserved in Georgian and Arabic versions. The identification of Antiochos Strategos with a contemporary monk ANTIOCHOS, author of the *Pandektes*, is not proved. Antiochos Strategos describes the siege of Jerusalem, stressing, on the one hand, the role of the Jews in the massacre and, on the other hand, the desire of the patriarch Zacharias (609–31) to conclude a treaty with the Persians and to prevent the pillaging of the city. The last chapter of the narrative is dedicated to the restoration of the TRUE CROSS to Jerusalem by Herakleios on 21 Mar. 631.

ED. Georgian version with Lat. tr.—G. Garitte, *La prise de Jérusalem par les Perses en 614*, 2 vols. (Louvain 1960). Eng. tr., F.C. Conybeare, "Antiochus Strategos' Account of

the Sack of Jerusalem in A.D. 614," *EHR* 25 (1910) 502-17. Arabic version—P. Peeters, *Recherches d'histoire et de philologie orientales*, vol. 1 (Brussels 1951) 78-116. —A.K.

ANTIOCH TREASURE. See KAPER KORAON TREASURE.

ANTIPHON (*ἀντίφωνον*), a selection from the Psalter, followed by a DOXOLOGY, to be sung in the liturgy by two choirs in alternation. The singing of *antiphona* (*antipsallein*) is known from the 4th C. onward (Basil the Great, PG 32:764A). An *antiphon* may consist of several psalms, not necessarily consecutive; of one psalm only; or even of single verses. A refrain is not essential, but when found it is called *hypopsalma*, *ephymnion*, *hypakoe*, or TROPARION—the name *antiphon* never being applied to the refrain itself. An archaic musical feature survives in the cadence of the *antiphon*, where the last four syllables of a line are applied mechanically, without regard for word accent, to four fixed, stylized melodic elements.

LIT. Strunk, *Essays* 112-50, 165-90.

—D.E.C.

ANTIPROSOPON (*ἀντιπροσωπῶν*), a deputy, probably identical with the ΕΚ ΠΡΟΣΟΠΟΥ. The term is known from 995 onward (*Ivir.* 1, no.8.10-11) and was used primarily in the 11th C. The earlier chrysobulls describe exemptions from the *antiprosopountes* of the *strategoi*, but a charter of 1081 (*Lavra* 1, no.43.45-49) mentions the deputies of both military commanders and civil officials; in later documents the *antiprosopon* of the PARATHALASSITES is cited (nos. 55.32-33, 67.57). Seals dated by the editors to the 11th C. belonged to the *antiprosopountes* of the GENIKON (*Zacos, Seals* 2, no.957), of the *sekretion* of the *sakelle* (*Laurent, Corpus* 2, no.817), and of an unspecified *sekretion* (*Zacos, Seals* 2, no.851).

—A.K.

ANTIQUITY. The Greco-Roman heritage was a powerful tradition, which, together with that of the Bible, influenced Byz. CULTURE. From antiquity Byz. inherited the Greek LANGUAGE, the system of EDUCATION, Roman LAW, the basic principles of RHETORIC and literary STYLE, and substantial forms of social and political organization. The Byz. did not differentiate themselves from their ancestors who lived in the eastern Roman

Empire, but called themselves RHOMAIOI and viewed classical Greek authors as models for IMITATION: HOMER was the Poet, ARISTOTLE the Philosopher, GALEN the Physician, etc. They often compared events of their lives with episodes of Greek or Roman history, their institutions with those of the Greco-Roman past. Nevertheless, Byz. cannot be placed within the framework of antiquity.

First of all, the general social and cultural setting had changed: high antiquity was primarily an urban society, but after the 7th C. the empire lost its predominantly urban character; antiquity was a society of *cives* ("citizens"), united around *municipia* and *gentes*, whereas Byz. was family oriented; antiquity was pagan, while Byz. was consistently Christian, thus entailing a radical change in ethical values and the replacement of pluralistic approaches in philosophy by mandatory doctrine. The ancient heritage, always present, was in a state of constant flux. This was partly a natural result of the passage of time. Thus the VERNACULAR, developing beneath the surface of written compositions, from the 12th C. onward overtly penetrated into written literature, first into poetry: meter based on the length of vowels—HEXAMETER, etc.—was pushed into the background by meter based on accentuation; toward the very end of Byz. RHYME began to develop under Western medieval influences. The transformation of the ancient heritage was also connected with the change in the social and cultural setting. Even though the principles of Roman law remained alive in the works of 14th-C. jurists, the elaborate system of contracts was simplified, the distinction between ownership and possession confused, the law of marriage radically changed, and the impact of the totalitarian state on law grew substantially. Education also retained general patterns of the ancient system, but Christian textbooks were introduced, concern with physical development (gymnastics) was abandoned, elementary education shifted from the school of the *paedagogus* to the church, monastery, or the family circle, and the purpose of liberal education became the development not of a free and noble citizen, but of a state functionary or a high ecclesiastic.

Second, even though the Byz. referred often to classical authors they were more likely to cite late Roman masters. In an analysis of Byz. attitudes toward the past, I. Ševčenko (*infra* [1987-88] 20-

24) has suggested three phases, corresponding to the 4th-6th C., the 7th-11th C., and the 12th-15th C., respectively. During the 4th-6th C., there was a manifest familiarity with antique authors. In the 7th-11th C., Byz. writers made greater use of late antique models than of ancient Greek authors. Thus the works produced in the 10th C. under the patronage of Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos more frequently cited the Old Testament, Hellenistic and late Roman authors, even authors of the 6th-9th C., than Homer or Demosthenes. Similarly the *Bibliotheca* of Photios cites a number of late Roman historians while ignoring classical poetry. Finally, during the 12th-15th C., admiration for classical Greek authors revived, and Byz. scholars prepared commentaries on and new editions of the writings of high antiquity.

Third, there was an ideologically mandated ambivalent attitude toward antiquity among Byz. lay and ecclesiastical literati. Conditional veneration and respect had to go side by side with official rejection—this ambivalence was codified by church fathers (esp. the Cappadocians), who repudiated paganism, mythology, theater, "licentious behavior," luxury, and the ideology of success, but in practice retained most elements of Hellenic culture (as transmitted by the SECOND SOPHISTIC) as a powerful means of education and mental training. In the 10th and 11th C., involvement in the study of antiquity and ancient philosophy could make one liable to accusations of anti-Christian attitudes, and a few literati discussed the images of mythology and history to claim that "our" events are more significant, more virtuous, and more beneficial than those of antiquity. It must be remembered that more than half of surviving Byz. literature, for example, hagiography and hymnography, was virtually devoid of any influence from or allusions to classical authors.

Not many Byz. were able to understand the achievements of antiquity as well as did Michael Psellos or Eustathios of Thessalonike; cases of misunderstanding and distorting of tradition are numerous. Sometimes this distortion reflected a Byz. perspective: when Photios read Herodotus, he remained lukewarm to the development of Athens as a democratic republic—in his perception Herodotus was a historian of Persian *basileis* and of a Persian usurper; Eustathios used Homeric images to criticize excessive asceticism.

The concept of antiquity varied, depending on

a Byz. author's social and educational level. Thus the world chronicle of MALALAS mentions almost nothing about Periclean Athens, but a great deal about Roman history, esp. the imperial period. On the other hand, Nikephoros BLEMMEDES is well informed on Persian campaigns against Athens. The concept of antiquity also changed as time went on. The late Roman period assumed antiquity to be a living phenomenon. Consequently, we view the philosophy of this period, represented by PROKLOS, OLYMPIODOROS OF ALEXANDRIA, and even John PHILOPONOS, as a branch of ancient philosophy, while in 6th-C. Italy BOETHIUS continued the same tradition. Historians such as PROKOPIOS OF CAESAREA also worked in the classical vein and even many church fathers were educated in the principles of classical rhetoric and applied it to their sermons. It was probably the art and architecture of the period that diverged most from the antique ideal.

The second half of the 7th C. and the 8th C. were difficult times, when much of the learned tradition, including the ancient heritage, was lost. It is therefore logical that the next period of material and cultural revival—which acquired, undeservedly, the title of "Macedonian renaissance"—was devoted primarily to the retrieval and collection of the cultural, including ancient, heritage; from the *Bibliotheca* of Photios to the *Souda* the main tasks were the reediting and copying of the surviving texts, the accumulation of excerpts and fragments, and the ordering of scraps of information.

The situation changed in the 11th and 12th C., when the simple collection and organization of materials was replaced by commentaries and the development of the heritage. An advance was made from the satisfaction of practical needs (mathematics, agriculture, moral "science," political "science") that was predominant in the 9th-10th C. to an aesthetical perception of antiquity. The study of Homer, the tragedians, and Aristophanes progressed from the copying of scholia typical of the 9th and 10th C. to the essays and detailed commentaries of scholars such as Michael PSELLOS, EUSTATHIOS OF THESSALONIKE, and John TZETZES; a very nonorthodox LUCIAN was broadly copied and imitated, and PLATO gained popularity on a level with Aristotle. There was a trend to combine both heritages—the ancient and the biblical—and direct comparison with personages of

myth and ancient history became legitimate. Scholars and writers like Psellos, Tzetzes, and Eustathios had an enormous, if antiquarian, knowledge of ancient events, names, and terms.

Thus reacquired in the 9th–12th C., after a short gap around the 8th C., the ancient tradition was not lost during the Palaiologan period. The greatest achievements of Byz. classical philology occurred during that period, in the work of Maximos Planoudes, Thomas Magistros, and Demetrios Triklinios. As a result of contacts with the West, the Byz. concept of antiquity was even expanded to the Latin heritage, including poets such as Ovid. PLETHON made the most passionate attempt ever to use ancient tradition as a tool for reorganization of society and its beliefs, or at least as a vehicle for criticism of its social, political, and religious shortcomings. It was, however, impossible to restructure the Byz. world and to achieve a Platonic UTOPIA. Moreover, the Byz. began to feel some weariness with regard to antiquity: Theodore Metochites was extremely well read in ancient literature (albeit he sometimes misunderstood his reading), but he complained that the ancestors of the Byz. had said everything so perfectly that there was no room for improvement by posterity. This awe of antiquity was in stark contrast to a RENAISSANCE perception of ancient culture as exemplary, but distinct from the present.

LIT. *Byzantium and the Classical Tradition*, ed. M. Mullett, R. Scott (Birmingham 1981). *Antičnost' i Vizantija*, ed. L. Freiberg (Moscow 1975). I. Ševčenko, "A Shadow Outline of Virtue: the Classical Heritage of Greek Christian Literature," in *Age of Spirit*, 53–73. Idem, "Byzantium, Antiquity and the Moderns," *Association Internationale des Études Byzantines: Bulletin d'Information et de Coördination* 14 (1987–88) 19–26. Dölger, *Paraspora* 38–45. E. von Ivanka, *Hellenisches und Christliches im frühbyzantinischen Geistesleben* (Vienna 1948). A. Garzya, "Visage de l'hellénisme dans le monde byzantin (IVe–XIIe siècle)," *Byzantion* 55 (1985) 463–82. G. Cavallo, "Conservazione e perdita dei testi greci: fattori materiali, sociali, culturali," in *Società romana e impero tardoantico* 4 (Bari 1986) 83–172. —A.K., I.Š.

ANTIRRHETIKOS (ἀντιρρητικός), "refutation," a genre of polemical literature; often used as an adjective with such nouns as *logos*, *kephalaia*, and *biblion*. The word is rare in classical Greek (e.g., Sextus Empiricus 1:21), but Photios (*Bibl.*, cod.160) uses it as a generic term when he writes that CHORIKIOS OF GAZA produced panegyrics, mono-

dies, epithalamia, and antirrhetics; by the last term Photios probably meant Chorikios's refutation of the common views that attacked the theater. Palladios in the *Lausiac History* (ch.38, ed. C. Butler [Cambridge 1898; rp. Hildesheim 1967] 2:121.1–2) relates that a certain deacon Evagrius wrote three books against demons, one of them entitled *Antirrhetikon*. From the 9th C., when Patr. NIKEPHOROS I and THEODORE OF STOUDIOS issued their antirrhetics against the Iconoclasts, and esp. in the 12th–15th C., the term designated treatises refuting heretical tenets: thus NICHOLAS OF METHONE devoted an *Antirrhesis* to the refutation of Soterichos Panteugenos, and George Moschabbar and JOHN XI BEKKOS exchanged antirrhetics (Beck, *Kirche* 678, 683); an anti-Palamite Arsenios wrote several antirrhetics against the Latins (Beck, *Kirche* 722), and Patr. PHILOTHEOS KOKKINOS composed antirrhetics against GREGORAS.

—A.K., E.M.J.

ANTI-SEMITISM. In Byz. anti-Semitism was manifested primarily in legal, secular, and religious texts; iconography; and periodic forced baptism of Jews. The economic rivalry and mob violence that characterized post-11th-C. Western Christendom appeared late in Latin-controlled areas such as Crete and Corfu. Theodosios II's codification of many local or ad hoc anti-Jewish laws effectively reduced Jews to a second-class citizenship, prohibiting proselytism, government or military service, and use of public baths. The *Codex Justinianus* interfered with their hitherto guaranteed social and religious autonomy as a *religio licita* (nov.146). Subsequent Byz. law codes (*Basilika*, *Ecloga*) and legal collections (HARMENOPOULOS) perpetuated some restrictions. Parallel-ing Muslim discrimination, Jews were forbidden to ride horses.

BENJAMIN OF TUDELA observed that 12th-C. Greeks hated Jews (particularly tanners); further evidence of this prejudice is found in ANACHARSIS's snub of social climbers and Tzetzes' outright nastiness; the introduction of a humiliating oath; and their expulsion from Chonai by Metr. Niketas. This secular and intellectual animosity was replaced under the Palaiologoi by concern over Jewish influence. Patr. Athanasios I protested their importance at court and in the market and objected to Byz. recourse to Jewish doctors; he tried

to banish all Jews from Constantinople. So too Maximos Planoudes complained of Jewish tanners housed in an abandoned monastery.

Byz. anti-Semitism derived mainly from polemics that justified the Christian appropriation of the Bible by denigrating Jews and Judaism. Byz. ecclesiastics effectively used the chastising and polemical language of the Septuagint and New Testament against Jews. In his *Evangelical Demonstration*, Eusebios of Caesarea emphasized Paul's teaching of God's rejection of Old Israel and Christ's salvation of New Israel. Patristic and later sermons (John Chrysostom's attack on the Jewish Sabbath) and hagiography (the vita of Basil the Younger even questions whether Jews can attain salvation) influenced the masses as did an iconography that depicted Jews as Christ-killers. In marginal PSALTER illustration they are physically caricatured, to the point of being given dogs' heads, and are shown tormenting Christ. Athanasios I refers to the "deicidal synagogue"; and from the 11th C., in MS illustration the personification of Synagogue (see EKKLESIA) is driven from the crucified Christ by an angel, while the apocryphal story of Jephonias the Jew, whose hands are cut off for upsetting the Virgin's bier, enters images of the DORMITION. Indeed, Jews were frequently accused of desecrating icons while Jewish insults to icons are an abiding theme in hagiography. A vocabulary of rejection permeates church canon and liturgy (esp. in Jerusalem). Theological polemics continued as a popular literary genre, for example, Matthew Blastares and John VI Kantakouzenos. The non-Orthodox practices and beliefs of heterodox Christians (pejoratively called "Jews") were rejected or punished as "judaizing," as in Latin AZYMES. Even ICONOCLASM was blamed on the Jews; for example PHOTIOS (*Hom.* 17.3) attributes the destruction of the apse mosaic of Hagia Sophia, Constantinople, to a Jewish hand. Christian ecclesiastics recognized and feared the passive challenge of Judaism both as ideology and system of practices and its potential appeal to Christian converts, heretics, and rebels against the state religion. Condemnation of judaizing heresies—Quartodecimanism, NOVATIANISM, Tetradi-tism, etc.—permeate Byz. legislation. Judaism thus became the perennial foil against which Christian Byz. expressed its self-identity. (See also JEWS and JUDAISM.)

LIT. A.L. Williams, *Adversus Judaeos* (Cambridge 1935). D.J. Constantelos, "Greek Orthodox–Jewish Relations in Historical Perspective," *GOrThR* 22 (1977) 6–16. Z. Ankori, "Greek Orthodox–Jewish Relations in Historical Perspective—The Jewish View," *ibid.* 28–46. J. Mann, "Changes in the Divine Service of the Synagogue due to Religious Persecutions," *Hebrew Union College Annual* 4 (1927) 241–310. A.W. Epstein, "Frescoes of the Mavriotissa Monastery near Kastoria: Evidence of Millenarianism and Anti-Semitism in the Wake of the First Crusade," *Gesta* 21 (1982) 21–29. —S.B.B., A.C.

ANTITHESIS (ἀντιθεσις), opposition or confrontation, was considered by ancient rhetoricians as a kind of RHETORICAL FIGURE of expression (Martin, *Rhetorik* 312f). Church fathers used antitheses both for doctrinal and stylistic purposes (opposition between divinity and humanity of Christ; Christ the child and Christ the universal ruler). Byz. writers broadly employed traditional antitheses, such as light and darkness; esp. masterful use of antithesis is found in ROMANOS THE MELODE. Antithesis encompasses not only the contrasting of opposites (strong-weak, cold-hot), but also more complex cases; thus, Niketas Choniates constantly contrasts the objective and result: describing the defeat of the Normans, he exclaimed that "the captors became captives and the victors were vanquished" (Nik.Chon. 362.81–84, tr. Magoulas 200). On the lexical level, antithesis could be expressed as oxymoron, e.g., "unplowed plowland" in Germanos I (PG 98:308C). More than a figure of speech, however, antithesis was a substantial element of the worldview: the cosmos was an antithesis between earth and heaven, the microcosm an antithesis between soul and body. Existence seemed to be permeated by oppositions, floating in a constant imbalance. The resolution of this contradiction could be achieved only by means of a miracle: in the sphere of theology, the major miracle was that of the INCARNATION. Literature also sought to resolve antitheses. Thus Gregoras (Greg. 3:130f) tells the legend of the kingfisher, based on the antithesis between violent storms and the bird hatching its chicks; the resolution is achieved "by God's hand" that cares for both the chicks and, by analogy, Gregoras himself. The principle of antithesis was also used by Byz. artists (e.g., juxtapositions of the birth of Christ and the death of the Virgin; Christ as an infant and presiding over the Last Judgment; Christ

entering earthly Jerusalem on a donkey and Christ in heavenly glory).

LIT. H. Hunger, "Die Antithese," *ZRVI* 23 (1984) 9–29. Maguire, *Art & Eloquence* 53–83. —A.K., I.S.

ANTONINA (Ἀντωνίνα), wife of BELISARIOS; born Constantinople (?) ca.484, died probably Constantinople after 548. She was the daughter and granddaughter of charioteers in Constantinople and Thessalonike. Her mother may have been an actress at Constantinople. Married to an Antiochene merchant, Antonina had one legitimate daughter and no legitimate sons before being widowed. She married Belisarios and accompanied him to Carthage in 533 and thence to Italy in 535/6; she was at Porto during the siege of Rome by TOTILA in 546. Antonina remained at Constantinople when Belisarios was ordered to lead armies against the Persians in 540, but later set out to join him. Prokopios accuses her of sinister political influence on Justinian's wife THEODORA (e.g., contriving to depose Pope Silverius [536–37] and undermine JOHN OF CAPPADOCIA) and of conduct that made Belisarios look foolish, allegedly including a romance with her adopted son Theodosios and the execution of two pages to hide the affair.

LIT. Cameron, *Procopius* 70–74, 159–62. Stein, *Histoire* 2:285f, 495–98. E.A. Fisher, "Theodora and Antonina in the Historia Arcana," *Arethusa* 11 (1978) 253–79. —W.E.K.

ANTONY (secular name Dobrynja Jadrejkovič), archbishop of Novgorod (1210–22, 1223, 1225–28); died 8 Oct. 1232. He authored a description of Constantinople, *Kniga palomnik* (The Pilgrim Book, ca.1200), and possibly also the TALE OF THE TAKING OF TSAR'GRAD [by the Franks] (M. Aleškovskij, *Povest' vremennych let* [Moscow 1971] 71–83). The most detailed account of Constantinople's sacred sites immediately preceding 1204, the *Kniga palomnik* is esp. valuable for its information on objects destroyed or looted by the Latins, such as the icon of Christ Antiphonetes taken from the Chalkoprateia. It describes sites in Constantinople, Pera, and Galata as well as Hagia Sophia, where Antony pays particular attention to the relationship between the church's layout and the conduct of services, although he is not above inventing pipes, a cistern, and "patriarchal baths"

in the galleries. Antony is esp. interesting on the use made of RELICS—the head of STEPHEN THE YOUNGER carried around Constantinople by the city eparch on the saint's day—and miraculous objects: a door bolt, called the Romaniston, located somewhere in Hagia Sophia, would draw the venom from snakebites. Antony also notes items of specific interest for the Rus' (two tombs, an icon and church of BORIS AND GLEB) and provides the only known reference to an embassy to Constantinople from Roman of Galič (GALITZA) in 1200. The literary and formal qualities of the *Kniga palomnik* have been variously interpreted as either a plain and factual guidebook with anecdotal digressions or as a rhetorical narrative in which Constantinople is presented as a model.

ED. *Kniga palomnik*, ed. Ch. Loparev (St. Petersburg 1899). Fr. tr. by M. Ehrhard, *Romania* 58 (1932) 44–65.

LIT. Seemann, *Walfahrtslit.* 213–21. G. Lenhoff, "Kniga Palomnik: A Study in Old Russian Rhetoric," *Scando-Slavica* 23 (1977) 39–61. O.A. Belobrova, "O 'Knige Palomnik' Antonija Novgorodskogo," *Vizŭ* (Moscow 1977) 225–35. —S.C.F., A.C.

ANTONY I KASSYMATAS (Κασσ(σ)υματᾶς), patriarch of Constantinople (ca. Jan. 821–Jan. 837?); baptismal name Constantine. Of low birth, he received a good education and became a lawyer (*nomikos*) in the Sphorakiou district of Constantinople ca.800. Subsequently he became a monk and then *hegoumenos* of the Constantinopolitan monastery called *Ta metropolitou* (Janin, *Églises CP* 197). By 814 he was the Iconodule bishop of Syllaion; when Emp. LEO V ushered in a new period of ICONOCLASM, however, Antony shifted his position, tempted by the offer of the patriarchate (*Script. incert.* 350–52). In 814 he became a member of the committee headed by JOHN (VII) GRAMMATIKOS that prepared a florilegium of scriptural and patristic passages supporting Iconoclasm. In 821 Emp. Michael II named Antony patriarch, thus disappointing Theodore of Stoudios, who hoped that NIKEPHOROS I might be recalled to the patriarchal throne. Around 822 Antony excommunicated Job, patriarch of Antioch, for proclaiming THOMAS THE SLAV emperor (*RegPatr*, fasc. 2, no.412). According to the *Letter of the Three Patriarchs* (ed. L. Duchesne, *Roma e l'Oriente* 5 [1912–13] 359), Antony participated in an Iconoclast council (of uncertain date) and, as divine punishment, was stricken with a loathsome

disease. The sources differ on the length of his patriarchate, ranging from 12 to 16 years. V. Grumel argues that Antony was still alive in Apr. 836, but gravely ill, and continued to be patriarch until 837, when he was succeeded by his *synkellos*, John VII Grammatikos (*EO* 34 [1935] 162–66, 506). He was anathematized in the SYNODIKON OF ORTHODOXY (ed. Gouillard, "Synodikon" 57.173).

LIT. *RegPatr*, fasc. 2, no.112. Lemerle, *Humanism* 161f. Laurent, *Corpus* 5.1, no.4. —A.M.T.

ANTONY II KAULEAS, patriarch of Constantinople (Aug. 893–12 Feb. 901 [*Synax.CP* 461]) and saint; feastday 12 Feb. The scanty facts of Antony's biography are known primarily from a 14th-C. vita by Nikephoros GREGORAS. According to this source, Antony lost his mother as a child, became a monk at age 12, was subsequently ordained priest, and elected *hegoumenos* of an unnamed monastery. He then came to the attention of Emp. Leo VI, who made him patriarch; Antony supported the emperor against Photios. Gregoras emphasized the charitable works of the patriarch and praised his acts of social justice.

Antony is best known as the founder or restorer of the monastery known variously as *tou Kaleos*, *tou Kalliou*, or *tou Kaulea*. After 1192 the foundation was called *tou kyr Antoniou*. Emp. Leo VI preached at the dedication of a church in this monastic complex (ed. Akakios, *Leontos tou Sophou panegyrikoi logoi* [Athens 1868] 243–48), describing its mosaics, pavement, and polychrome marble revetment. This text, outlining a conventional program of church decoration of the 9th–10th C., is notable for the analogy drawn between the splendor of the mosaics and that of the emperor's entourage. Antony was buried in this church, as was Stylianos Zaoutzes. The vita by Gregoras describes a number of posthumous miracles at Antony's shrine.

SOURCE. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Monumenta graeca et latina ad historiam Photii patriarchae pertinentia*, vol. 1 (St. Petersburg 1899) 1–25.

LIT. R. Guillard, *Essai sur Nicéphore Gregoras* (Paris 1926) 174f. BHG 139–139b. *RegPatr*, fasc. 2, nos. 594–97. A. Frolov, "Deux églises byzantines," *Études byzantines* 3 (1945) 43–63. Janin, *Églises CP* 39–41. —A.C., A.M.T.

ANTONY IV, patriarch of Constantinople (Jan. 1389–July 1390; early 1391–May 1397); died Constantinople May 1397. A former hieromonk,

perhaps from the Dionysiou monastery on Athos (F. Tinnefeld, *JÖB* 36 [1986] 106 and n.130, 115), Antony served twice as patriarch under John V and Manuel II. He was deposed in 1390 during the occupation of Constantinople by JOHN VII PALAIOLOGOS and temporarily replaced by Makarios (who had previously been patriarch during 1377–79). Antony was restored to the patriarchate after Manuel regained his throne.

Antony is best known for a letter addressed to Grand Prince BASIL I of Moscow, probably in 1393 (Meyendorff, *infra* 254), which not only asserts the universal spiritual authority of the ecumenical patriarch but also defends the universal sovereignty of the Byz. *basileus*, even though the empire was severely weakened by Ottoman invasions. In response to Basil's statement, "We have a Church, but not an emperor," Antony replied, "It is not possible for Christians to have a Church without an emperor," and urged that the name of the Byz. emperor be restored to the diptychs in Moscow. Antony also corresponded in 1397 with Jagiello, grand duke of Lithuania (1377–1434) and king of Poland (1386–1434), saying that he would consider UNION OF THE CHURCHES if Jagiello joined Sigismund, king of Hungary (1387–1437), in a crusade against the Turks. Three of Antony's seals survive (Oikonomides, *Dated Seals*, nos. 155–57).

ED. Acts—MM 2:112–14, 156–292.

LIT. *RegPatr*, fasc. 6, nos. 2844–77, 2882–3051. Barker, *Manuel II* 105–10, 150–53. Meyendorff, *Russia* 75f, 236–40, 253–57, 307–10. I. Sorlin, "Un acte du patriarche Antoine IV en version slave," *REB* 43 (1985) 253–58. —A.M.T.

ANTONY THE GREAT, Egyptian hermit and saint; born Kome, Upper Egypt, ca.251, died Pispir 356; feastday 17 Jan. Antony is often cited as one of the founders of the eremitic form of MONASTICISM.

Born to a prosperous peasant family, Antony gave away all his property and withdrew from society in order to follow strict asceticism. After a period of complete isolation in an abandoned fort, he began to attract followers. Together they settled at Pispir in the Egyptian DESERT. Here the monks lived separately but received guidance from their leaders.

The *Life of Antony* (356–57), attributed to ATHANASIOS of Alexandria after a Coptic original,

made him the model for many Christians, even outside of Egypt, who were drawn to the solitary life. In the *Life*, Antony is depicted as the perfect man who follows moderate ascetic practices, supports the church hierarchy, and performs miracles with divine assistance. According to the *Life*, he visited Alexandria to support Athanasios against the Arians. But there is no independent confirmation of his anti-Arianism; in the sayings and letters, Antony addresses practical and ethical questions only.

Antony was Coptic-speaking, not Greek-speaking, and probably dictated his letters in Coptic, even though it is not impossible that a Greek papyrus contains a fragment of Antony's letter to Am[mon?], his pupil (G. Garitte, *Muséon* 52 [1939] 17, n.23). The letters of Antony are preserved in two collections: seven letters surviving in Latin translation are usually considered genuine since Jerome mentioned a collection of Antony's letters in seven parts—but Bardenhewer (*Literatur* 3:81) questioned their authenticity; a collection of 20 Arabic letters is attributed to Antony. In addition, some Georgian, Syriac, and Coptic letters and fragments are known. The Sahidic vita of PACHOMIOS contains fragments of two of Antony's letters. Some forged texts exist under his name, including monastic rules. Some of his sayings were incorporated into the APOPHTHEGMATA PATRUM.

ED. PG 40:977–1000. *Lettres de S. Antoine: version géorgienne et fragments coptes*, ed. G. Garitte (Louvain 1955), with Lat. tr. CPG 2 (1974) 2330–50.

SOURCES. Athanasios, *Life of Antony*, PG 26:835–978; Eng. tr. R.T. Meyer, *The Life of Saint Antony* (Westminster, Md., 1950) and R.C. Gregg, *Athanasius: The Life of Antony and the Letter to Marcellinus* (New York 1980) 29–99.

LIT. T.D. Barnes, "Angel of Light or Mystic Initiate? The Problem of the Life of Antony," *JThSt* 37 (1986) 353–68. H. Dörries, *Die Vita Antonii als Geschichtsquelle* [= *NachGött* 14] (Göttingen 1949). R.C. Gregg, D.E. Groh, *Early Arianism: A View of Salvation* (Philadelphia 1981) 131–59.

—J.A.T., A.K.

ANTONY THE YOUNGER, saint; baptismal name John; born Phossaton near Jerusalem 785, died 11 Nov. 865. Born to a noble family, Antony left for Attaleia, enlisted in the navy, and was eventually promoted by Michael II to *ek prosopou* (deputy governor) of the theme of Kibyrrhaiotai. He successfully fought against THOMAS THE SLAV in 822/3, but in 825 abandoned his post to become the disciple of a stylite monk. He took the monastic habit and lived in various monasteries on Bithynian OLYMPOS and in Constantinople. An-

tony was very close to PETRONAS, whose victory over the Arabs (863) he predicted

His picturesque vita, written by a contemporary and preserved in 10th-C. and later MSS, is rich in information about Byz. medical services, everyday life, law, and the administrative system; for example, the trial of Antony by the *epi ton deeseon* Stephen in 829/30 is described in detail.

SOURCE. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, ed., *PPSb* 19.3 (1907) 186–216, corr. P. van den Ven, *BZ* 19 (1910) 307–13. Add. F. Halkin, *AB* 62 (1944) 210–23.

LIT. *BHG* 142–143a. F. Halkin, "Saint Antoine le Jeune et Pétronas le vainqueur des Arabes en 863," *AB* 62 (1944) 187–225. —A.K.

ANZAS (Ἀνζᾶς, Ἀντζᾶς), a family of civil functionaries. Their origins, which are unclear, are variously described: Zlatarski (*Ist.* 2:554) considered Ivan Anzas (Ančo, his transliteration) a Bulgarian name; S. Rudberg (*Études sur la tradition manuscrite de saint Basile* [Lund 1953] 149f) thought it Italian. The first of them, John Anzas, assisted Theodoulos, archbishop of Bulgaria, in building the Church of Hagia Sophia in OHRID in 1056. The family was active in administration in the second half of the 11th C.: Michael, quaestor and *nomophylax* (1077); John, notary (1087); Niketas, judge of the *velum* (1098). Some are known only by their seals (Laurent, *Corpus* 2:679), which are dated predominantly to the same period: Constantine, judge of the *velum*; Nikephoros, SYMPONOS; Niketas and Nicholas, judges of the Hippodrome. The Anzades served throughout the 12th C. as civil (Nik. Chon. 57.57) and ecclesiastical officials: Leo, bishop of Argos and Nauplia (ca. 1143–57) and founder of the AREIA MONASTERY, calls himself nephew of Constantine Anzas; the monk and *orphanotrophos* Basil Anzas was the addressee of Manuel I's ordinance of 1171. The last known Anzas, John, was an official responsible for assigning land to the Genoese in 1202.

LIT. Svoronos, *Études*, pt. VII (1965), 327, n.12. —A.K.

ANZITENE (Ἀνζιτηνή), district of the eastern Byz. frontier, southeast of Armenia, commanding major routes through Armenia and across the Euphrates. Conquered from Persia by Diocletian in 297, Anzitene was important for frontier defense until Justinian I conquered territory farther east. Under the Arabs, who took it in the 640s, Anzitene was a base for attacks against Byz. and

for control of Armenia. During this period, much of its Christian population immigrated to the more protected hills to the north. The object of frequent Byz. attacks, Anzitene was reconquered by 950 and assigned to the theme of MESOPOTAMIA. Anzitene, whose centers were at ARSAMOSATA and CHARPETE, is best known from the narrative of the campaign of Sayf al-Dawla in 956 and from the surveys and excavations at Asvan and the Keban region that have revealed many details of local conditions in the Byz. period, which here ended after the battle of Mantzikert in 1071.

LIT. J. Howard-Johnston, "Byzantine Anzitene," in *Armies and Frontiers in Roman and Byzantine Anatolia*, ed. S. Mitchell (Oxford 1983) 239–90. —C.F.

APA ABRAHAM, bishop of Hermonthis in Upper Egypt and *hegoumenos* of the nearby monastery of Phoibammon; born ca. 554, died 624. His archive consists of more than one hundred Coptic ostraka, primarily letters, and his will, written in Greek but dictated in Coptic. The contents illustrate the power and prestige of the local bishop: supervising the requirements for candidates for ordination; celebrating the Eucharist and administering the provision of the bread and wine; choosing his successor as *hegoumenos* and disposing of his property; imposing ecclesiastical sanctions; being concerned with the morals and behavior of his flock; and protecting the interests of the poor. His encaustic portrait is preserved in Berlin (M. Krause in *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache* 97 [1971] 106–11), and a liturgical book binding (inscribed with his name) and other altar furnishings from his church near LUXOR are in the Coptic Museum in Cairo (M. Krause in *The Future of Coptic Studies*, ed. R. McL. Wilson [Leiden 1978] 10–12).

ED. W.C. Till, *Datierung und Prosopographie der koptischen Urkunden aus Theben* (Vienna 1962) 52 (list of sources). *P.Lond.* I 77. W.E. Crum, *Coptic Ostraca* (London 1902) nos. 49–76.

LIT. M. Krause, "Apa Abraham von Hermonthis" (Ph.D. diss., Berlin 1956), summarized by C.D.G. Müller in *ZKirkh* 75 (1964) 283–92. Idem, "Die Testamente der Äbte des Phoibammon-Klosters in Theben," *MDAI K* 25 (1969) 58–60. —L.S.B. MacC.

APAMEIA (Ἀπάμεια) on the Orontes River, now Arab village of Qal'at al-Mudîq in modern Syria; capital city and metropolitan bishopric of the province of SYRIA II that was formed between

413 and 417. The Neoplatonic school of IAMBlichos flourished there in the 4th C. A synagogue was paved probably in 391 by donors who recorded in inscriptions the size of the area that each had financed. Following earthquakes in 526–28, the tetraconch cathedral was rebuilt (?) in 533 by the archbishop Paul, and what may have been the governor's palace was redecorated in 539, with a hunting pavement. An important relic of the TRUE CROSS was preserved at Apameia until its removal by Justin II (566 or 574). In 540 Apameia was stripped by the Persians of over 10,000 pounds of silver (Prokopios, *Wars* 2.11.2–38), and of yet more silver in 573 when they burned the city (John of Ephesus, *HE* 6.6). Following this event the *cardo*, an "atrium church," numerous large private houses, and other buildings were rebuilt or repaired. Urban life continued at Apameia after the Arab conquest of 639 and came to an end only at some undetermined period thereafter.

In the illuminated *Kynegetika* of the pseudo-OPPIAN (Furlan, *Marciana* 5, fig. 37a), Apameia is represented as a walled city, dominated by a huge domed church and flanked by the Orontes between Mt. Diokleos and Mt. Emblonos.

LIT. J.C. Balty, *Guide d'Apamée* (Brussels 1981). *Apamée de Syrie: Bilan des recherches scientifiques 1973–1979*, ed. J. Balty (Brussels 1984). —M.M.M., A.C.

APATHEIA. See EMOTIONS.

APELATAI (sing. ἀπελάτης, lit. "one who drives away"), irregular light soldiers stationed along the frontiers who supplemented their military activities with BRIGANDAGE, first appear under Basil I (*TheophCont* 685.5). Their duties primarily involved raiding (and plundering) enemy territory and acting as border-scouts and guides for Byz. expeditionary forces (*De re militari*, ed. Dennis 292.16–34). *Apelatai* were recruited from Armenian and Bulgarian freebooters and from Byz. soldiers otherwise unable to fulfill obligations for military service (*De cer.* 696.4); their commanders were appointed by Byz. provincial officials (*De velitatione*, 41.19–20). *Apelatai* were included in the muster rolls of themes, although it is unclear whether their remuneration comprised simply cash and rations or also STRATIOTIKA KTEMATA. In western portions of the empire, *apelatai* were also termed *chonsarioi* (Bulg. for "thieves"—*Souda*

4:814.10), in the East *trapezetai* or *tasinarioi*. In DIGENES AKRITAS *apelatai* likewise fulfill this dual role as soldiers/brigands and in the latter capacity form the hero's principal adversary.

LIT. Dagron-Mihăescu, *Guérilla* 245–57. N. Oikonomides, "L'épopée de Digènes et la frontière orientale de Byzance aux Xe et XIe siècles," *TM* 7 (1979) 385–89. A. Syrkin, *Poema o Digenise Akrite* (Moscow 1964) 153–56.
—A.J.C.

APHRAHAT (Ἀφραάτης), Syrian theologian, often called "the Persian Sage"; died ca.345. Under his name have come down 23 spiritual treatises called *Demonstrations* (Syr. *tahwyāthā*). He lived in the Adiabene region of Persia, east of Nisibis, and was of clerical status, though apparently not a bishop or monk, but rather one of the celibate "Sons of the Covenant" (Syr. *Benai Qyāmā*) who lived in the world. His *Demonstrations* range in date from 336/7 to 344/5: the last one was written during the persecution of Shāpūr II (M. Higgins, *BZ* 44 [1951] 265–71). The first 22 are numbered by the letters of the Syriac alphabet.

The theology and writings of Aphrahat draw extensively on the Old Testament, reflecting the religious milieu of 4th-C. Mesopotamia in which Christianity was seeking to define its identity as separate from Judaism. He praises Christ as the divine conqueror of death and as the completion and fulfillment of all the types and prophecies of the Old Law. Aphrahat is concerned with how to live as a Christian in this world, with prayer, charity, endurance of persecution, and concern for the poor; *Demonstration* 1 preserves an early credal text. There is an Armenian translation (ascribed to Jacob of Nisibis) of 19 of the *Demonstrations*; separate ones are also known in Ethiopic and Georgian.

ED. I. Parisot in *Patrologia Syriaca*, vol. 1 (Paris 1894) 1–1050; vol. 2 (1907) 1–489. G. Lafontaine, *La version arménienne des oeuvres d'Aphraate le Syrien* [CSCO 382–83, 405–06, 423–24] (Louvain 1977–80).

LIT. A. Vööbus, *RAC* supp. lief. 4 (1986) 497–506. R. Murray, *Symbols of Church and Kingdom* (Cambridge 1975) 205–38. S. Brock, *The Syriac Fathers on Prayer and the Spiritual Life* (Kalamazoo 1987) 1–28.
—L.S.B.MacC.

APHRODISIAS (Ἀφροδισιάς, now Geyre), city of CARIA, notable for its extensive and well-preserved remains. Aphrodisias was metropolis of the province and had active schools of sculpture and philosophy. It was a seat of pagan teaching

through the late 5th C. and had an important Monophysite church—sometimes with its own bishop—in the 5th and 6th C. Aphrodisias assumed the name Stauropolis in the 7th C., but by the 12th was usually known by the name of the province, Caria. It was sacked by Theodore Man-kaphas in 1188 and by the Seljuks in 1197; it became Turkish in the late 13th C.

Excavations have revealed much of Byz. Aphrodisias within its mid-4th-C. walls. The city centered on its cathedral church, formerly the temple of Aphrodite (converted in the mid-5th C.). Palaces with audience halls, probably of the bishop and governor, flanked the church. The agora to the south was apparently abandoned after a devastating earthquake in the 4th C. permanently altered the water table; many public buildings were rebuilt at that time. The south part of the city included baths, a basilica where the PRICE EDICT of Diocletian was displayed, and the theater, before which lay a large paved square. This became the main marketplace after the agora was abandoned, and commerce extended into the adjacent bath, whose basilica was converted into shops. The city was destroyed in the early 7th C. and never recovered. Thereafter, the theater became the main fortress and center of habitation. In the 10th/11th C. the cathedral was restored and a triconch church was built over the intersection of two abandoned streets.

LIT. K. Erim, *Aphrodisias* (New York 1986). R. Cormack, "The Classical Tradition in the Byzantine Provincial City: The Evidence of Thessalonike and Aphrodisias," in *Classical Tradition* 103–18. J.W. Nesbitt, "Byzantine Lead Seals from Aphrodisias," *DOP* 37 (1983) 159–64. C. Roueché, *Aphrodisias in Late Antiquity* (London 1989).
—C.F.

APHRODITE, identified with Roman Venus, goddess of love, beauty, and fertility, was worshiped until the beginning of the 4th C. when, according to Sozomenos, her temples were destroyed in Jerusalem, Aphaka (near Mt. Lebanon), and Heliopolis; in Heliopolis, he says (Sozom., *HE* 5.10.7), Constantine I built a church on the site of the temple and prohibited the "habitual fornication" evidently connected with the cult of Aphrodite. The neighboring Arabs venerated Aphrodite or a goddess identified by Prokopios (*Wars* 2:28.13) with Aphrodite and offered her human sacrifices.

After the victory of Christianity Aphrodite

underwent the regular procedure of allegorization, even if, in the decorative arts (*Age of Spirit.*, nos. 288, 318), her image appears to have been used without ulterior significance well into the 6th C. Malalas mentions Aphrodite in connection with the story of PARIS who proclaimed her the greatest of goddesses; in discussing the Judgment of Paris (Malal. 92f), he says that Aphrodite means desire from which everything is born—children, wisdom, temperance, skills, and all other material and intellectual things. In later literature Aphrodite appears primarily as a metonymy for sexual desire: TZETZES (*Hist.* 9:16) calls Antony the prisoner of Aphrodite, while Niketas Choniates (Nik.Chon. 139.31–32) describes Andronikos I Komnenos as giving himself completely "to the orgies of Aphrodite." Choniates also reports that during the sack of Constantinople in 1204 the Crusaders destroyed a statue of Paris handing the apple of discord to Aphrodite (648.42–43).

The birth of Aphrodite is depicted in a MS in Paris (B.N. Coisl. gr. 239). In a MS from Athos (Pantel. 6) the goddess is shown bare-breasted and standing on a column.

LIT. Lawson, *Folklore* 117–20. Weitzmann, *Gr.Myth.* 52–54, 90, 146f, figs. 63–66.
—A.K., A.C.

APHRODITE PAPYRI, Greek, Coptic, and Arabic literary and documentary papyri found in 1901 and 1905 at the site of the city of Aphrodite (later spelled Aphrodito, Coptic Jkow; mod. Kom Ishgaw) in northern Upper Egypt, which have provided rich documentation for the life of this community from the 5th to the mid-8th C. The 1905 find comprised mostly 6th-C. material, while that of 1901 yielded documents of the Arab period ca.680–750. Sixth-century Aphrodite is best known for its archive of DIOSKOROS, a hellenized Coptic lawyer who owned literary codices and wrote both encomiastic poetry and many documents. The later material embraces requisitions, orders (*entagia*), correspondence between the Arab governor and the *pagarches*, and long, detailed tax record books. Palaeographically these documents display a preparatory stage of the minuscule. The Aphrodite papyri are dispersed today among many museums and libraries. Many of the Coptic pieces have been difficult to trace and remain less known than the Greek (and Arabic), although the city was bi- and trilingual. Location and edition of the

Coptic Aphrodite papyri remains a major desideratum. Thanks to all these documents we can know the institutions and culture of this city in unparalleled detail.

ED. J. Maspero, *Papyrus grecs d'époque byzantine*, 3 vols. (Cairo 1911–16; rp. Milan 1973). H.I. Bell, *Greek Papyri in the British Museum*, vols. 4–5 (London 1910–17; rp. Milan 1973). P.J. Sijpesteijn, *The Aphrodite Papyri in the University of Michigan Papyrus Collection* (Zutphen, Holland, 1977). R. Pintaudi, *I papiri vaticani greci di Aphrodito*, 2 vols. (Vatican 1980).

LIT. J.G. Keenan, "The Aphrodite Papyri and Village Life in Byzantine Egypt," *BSAC* 26 (1984) 51–63. J. Gasco, L. MacCoull, "Le cadastre d'Aphrodito," *TM* 10 (1987) 103–58.
—L.S.B.MacC.

APHTHARTODOCETISM (from ἄφθαρτος, "incorruptible," and δοκέω, "to seem"), a form of MONOPHYSITISM; the doctrine was formulated by JULIAN OF HALIKARNASSOS after his flight to Alexandria. In contrast to SEVEROS of Antioch, Julian denied any distinction between *ousia* and *physis* in Christ and thus saw in him only divine substance. Accordingly, he asserted that Christ's flesh was incorruptible not only after the resurrection but from the moment of conception—like Adam's flesh before the Fall. Christ's suffering was contrary to the nature of his flesh but was the result of a miracle and due to his will. Julian based his soteriology not on the principle of man's similarity to Christ but on the dissimilarity—Christ was incorruptible in order to free others from corruptibility. Thus, he distanced Christ from mankind even further than other Monophysites.

Aphthartodocetism was criticized by the Orthodox (esp. LEONTIOS OF BYZANTIUM) and by Monophysites (Severos of Antioch). The teaching spread in the East, esp. in Egypt where Julian's friend Gaianos propagated it; he managed temporarily to seize the see of Alexandria in 535; thus his supporters were called Gaianitai. Some went so far as to assert that Christ's body was not created, giving them the sobriquet *aktistetai* (Patr. Timotheos, PG 86:44C). Late in his life Justinian I saw Aphthartodocetism as a means to promote unity among his subjects, and in 565 he issued a now-lost edict supporting its teachings. The patriarch Eutychios refused to sign it and was exiled, but further difficulty was prevented by the emperor's death.

LIT. F. Diekamp, "Zum Aphthartodoketenstreit," *Theologische Revue* 26 (1927) 89–93. M. Jugie, *DTC* 6 (1924) 999–1023. M. Simonetti, *DPAC* 2:1603f.
—T.E.G.

APHTHONIOS (Ἀφθόνιος), rhetorician from Antioch and pupil of LIBANIOS; fl. late 4th to beginning of 5th C. Of his abundant works only a textbook of exercises (PROGYMNASMATA) and 40 FABLES (*mythoi*) survive. He used the textbook of HERMOGENES and described the same types of exercises, but following the example of Theon (1st C.) reintroduced the *psogos* (INVECTIVE) as a genre side by side with the ENKOMION. Aphthonios was popular with the Byz., who praised his clarity, contrasting it with Hermogenes' complexity; TZETZES (*Hist.* 11.112–48) evaluates Aphthonios at length, emphasizing his use of EXAMPLES. The *progymnasmata* are, however, treated in isolation and not integrated with other aspects of rhetorical theory. Used for the teaching of RHETORIC, Aphthonios's exercises were extensively commented upon by JOHN OF SARDIS, JOHN GEOMETRES, and JOHN DOXOPATRES. EUSTATHIOS OF THESSALONIKE and THOMAS MAGISTROS considered him as a paradigm of ATTICISM.

ED. *Progymnasmata*, ed. H. Rabe (Leipzig 1926). Eng. tr. R. Nadeau, "The Progymnasmata of Aphthonios," *Speech Monographs* 19 (1952) 264–85.

LIT. Kustas, *Studies* 22–26. Kennedy, *Rhetoric* 59f. P. Schaefer, *De Aphthonio sophista* (Breslau 1854).

—E.M.J., A.K.

APICULTURE (μελισσοκομία), beekeeping, provided the major source of sugar in the Middle Ages; Byz. was not influenced by the diffusion of sugar cane in the territories of the caliphate (A.M. Watson, *Agricultural Innovation in the Early Islamic World* [Cambridge 1983] 24–30). Apiculture also supplied Byz. with wax for CANDLES and with the ingredients of medical remedies and alcoholic beverages: the Slavic (?) word for honey as a drink, in the form *medos* (cf. mead), was known to PRISKOS of Panion. Ancient traditions of apiculture were preserved in the GEOPONIKA, which devoted book 15 to the location and construction of beehives, the behavior of bees, and the harvesting of honey. Byz. apiculture stood on a high level. A 12th-C. Jewish writer from northern France, Samuel ben Meyr, wrote that beekeeping in "the Greek realm" was more developed than in his motherland (S. Krauss, *Studien zur byzantinisch-jüdischen Geschichte* [Vienna 1914] 113).

Beekeeping is mentioned in various sources. The vita of St. PHILARETOS THE MERCIFUL reports that he possessed 250 beehives (*boutia*), and *prak-*

tika of the Palaiologan era show that peasants might possess as many as 30 beehives (*melissia*; cf. *Lavra* 2, no.91.III.4). A special tax on beehives, *melissennomion*, was levied, and a special name for beekeeper, *melissourgos*, was in use. The gathering of honey from wild bees is mentioned in the vita of St. LAZAROS OF MT. GALESIOS and illustrated in the Venice *Kynegetika* of pseudo-OPPIAN (Kádár, *Zoological Illuminations*, pl.183, 1), where a man is shown being attacked by a swarm of wild bees as he raids their nest. Ceramic beehives of the 6th–7th C. have been found at several sites in Greece.

The image of the industrious bee was frequent in Byz. literature; thus Neilos of Ankyra (PG 79:180B) calls the prophets bees and Holy Scripture their beehive.

LIT. Ph. Koukoules, "He melissokomia para Byzantinois," *BZ* 44 (1951) 347–57. Rudakov, *Kul'tura* 182.

—A.K., A.C., J.W.N.

APION (Ἀπίων), an Egyptian family of large landowners of uncertain origin. Before 328 Aurelius Apion was eparch or prefect of Egypt (*PLRE* 1:82), but there is no evidence that either he or Flavius Strategius, *comes* and *praeses* of the Thebaid in 349 (*PLRE* 1:858–59), was related to the family that came to prominence in the late 5th C. Apion I, *apo hyparchon* in 497 (whose identity with Apio Theodosius, *praeses* of Arkadia in 488, cannot be proved), served under the command of AREOBINDUS in 503. He fell from favor in 510 but returned to court under Justin I and in 518 became praetorian prefect. His son, Flavius Strategius, was *comes sacrarum largitionum* from 535 to 538 and an envoy to the Persians in 531; Flavius's son Apion II was consul in 539, but by 548 or 550 he had returned to Egypt where he was subsequently *doux* of Thebaid, administrator (*pargarches*) of Arsinoë, and chief of the curia in Oxyrhynchus. His descendants (attested until 623) bore high titles (*patrikios*, honorary consul) and maintained a palace near the Hippodrome of Constantinople; in 603 Pope GREGORY I THE GREAT advised Apion III not to become involved in political activity (evidently against Phokas). The basis of the family wealth was their estate (*oikos*) in OXYRHYNCHUS. The Apions were Monophysites until 532 when Apion I solemnly abjured that form of Christianity. Gascou rejects Hardy's hypothesis that in the second half of the 6th C. the

Apions reverted to Monophysitism and retired from the capital.

LIT. J. Gascou, "Les grands domaines, la cité et l'état en Egypte byzantine," *TM* 9 (1985) 61–75. E.R. Hardy, *The Large Estates of Byzantine Egypt* (New York 1931) 25–37. *PLRE* 2:1325. A.C. Johnson, L.C. West, *Byzantine Egypt: Economic Studies* (Princeton 1949) 50–55.

—A.K.

APLEKTON (ἀπληκτον, from Lat. *applicatum*), lit. fortified CAMP; in documents of the 10th–14th C. the term designates the billeting of troops. The privilege granted to Ioannina by Andronikos II in 1319 prohibited the billeting (*aplekeusai*) of a soldier (*stratiotes*) in the house of a citizen "against his desire and will" (MM 5:81.27–28). In some documents the term *aplektion* is paired with MITATON (e.g., *Lavra* 1, no.6.23; *Koutloun*. no.10.62), and it is not always possible to understand the distinction between the two. Since a chrysobull of 1086 speaks of "the provisioning and *aplektion* of an army heading for or returning from war" (*Lavra* 1, no.48.44–45), one can hypothesize that *aplektion* was short-term billeting.

LIT. M. Bartusis, "State Demands for the Billeting of Soldiers in Late Byzantium," *ZRVI* 26 (1987) 121f.

—A.K.

APOCALYPSE (Ἀποκάλυψις), revelation, a genre of Hebrew and Christian literature that describes prophetic VISIONS of the future. Several Hebrew books (ENOCH, BARUCH, etc.) belong to this genre, and among the NAG HAMMADI texts are Apocalypses ascribed to Peter, Paul, and James. The Apocalypse included in the New Testament, often called the Book of Revelation, has traditionally been attributed to JOHN the Apostle; Eusebios of Caesarea, however, doubted its authenticity, and Amphilochios of Ikonion confessed that most people considered it spurious.

From the beginning, exegesis of John's Apocalypse was tinged with eschatological expectations of the end of the wicked world. In the West, this radical interpretation was rejected by AUGUSTINE: according to him, the Apocalypse gave only the general outlines of future history, without going into detail; in the East, the eschatological interpretation of the Apocalypse was abandoned already by ORIGEN, and later exegetes (OIKOUMENIOS, ANDREW of Caesarea, ARETHAS OF CAESAREA) avoided the concept of the millennial reign of God on earth before the Second Coming (PA-

ROUSIA). After Arethas, creative interpretation of the Apocalypse came to a standstill.

Among later APOCRYPHAL apocalypses are those ascribed to Elijah, Mary, and the apostles Thomas, John, and Bartholomew. Some apocalyptic prophecies name as their authors nonbiblical personages: they deal primarily with the political future of Byz. and its struggle against the Saracens (pseudo-METHODIOS OF PATARA, LEO OF CONSTANTINOPLE) as well as the vision of sinners punished in Hell (ANASTASIA).

Apocalypse Illustration. Despite the considerable quantity of Byz. apocalyptic literature treating the end of the empire, only one text—the Oracle of LEO VI—was surely illustrated. However, biblical apocalyptic illustration abounded, ranging from private mortality images through the MAJESTAS DOMINI and prophetic VISIONS to the LAST JUDGMENT. Based on Old Testament visions, on Matthew 19 and 24–25, and on EPHREM THE SYRIAN, it almost never reflects the Apocalypse of St. John. Though read, and in three surviving MSS prefaced with an author portrait, John's Revelation was not accepted as canonical until the 14th C. and left no imprint on the Byz. liturgy. Its influence was peripheral, both geographically (Egypt, where Revelation was accepted as canonical, and Cappadocia, home of the two Byz. commentators on Revelation) and in content, as art reflects commentaries and magical texts more often than Revelation itself. In Cappadocia, 9th-C. versions of the Prophetic Vision and Last Judgment include the 24 Elders, the sea of glass, the river of fire, the sea vomiting up its dead, and the angel rolling up the scroll of Heaven. Of these motifs, only the sea of glass is unique to John, and it vanishes by the 10th C. The other elements continue to be used, but all reflect modifications based on non-Johannine sources, such as the Elders who carry the letters of the alphabet associated with them in magical texts; if other elements survive in Last Judgment representations, they are also from texts other than John's.

LIT. *Apokalypsik*, ed. K. Koch, J.M. Schmidt (Darmstadt 1982). J. Schmid, "Die griechischen Apokalypse-Kommentare," *Biblische Zeitschrift* 19 (1931) 228–54. G. Podskalsky, *Byzantinische Reicheschatologie* (Munich 1972) 77–94. P. Alexander, *The Byzantine Apocalyptic Tradition* (Berkeley 1985). H. Suermann, *Die geschichtstheologische Reaktion auf die einfallenden Muslime in der edessenischen Apokalypsik des 7. Jahrhunderts* (Frankfurt am Main–New York 1985). G. Kretschmar, *Die Offenbarung des Johannes. Die*

Geschichte ihrer Auslegung im 1. Jahrtausend (Stuttgart 1985). Brenk, *Tradition und Neuerung*. G. Millet, *La Dalmatique du Vatican. Les élus, images et croyances* (Paris 1945). N. Thierry, "L'Apocalypse de Jean et l'iconographie byzantine," in *L'Apocalypse de Jean: Traditions exégétiques et iconographiques, III^e-XIII^e siècles* (Geneva 1979) 319-39.

-J.I., A.W.C., A.K.

APOCRYPHA (ἀπόκρυφα, lit. "concealed or rejected [books]"), works that in their title, form, and contents resemble books of the Old Testament and New Testaments, but are not accepted in the biblical canon. The discussion of what is canonical and what is apocryphal lasted through the 4th C.; in the early 6th C., a cleric in southern Gaul presented, in the so-called *Decretum Gelasianum*, the first (incomplete) list of apocrypha. The Old Testament apocrypha are mostly translated from Hebrew; among those that underwent substantial Christian revision are the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, the *Martyrdom and Ascension of Isaiah*, the *Testament of Solomon*, and the *SIBYL-LINE ORACLES*. New Testament apocrypha were more varied. They can be categorized as apocryphal gospels, acts, letters, and apocalypses, following the main New Testament genres. Some of them are as old as the 2nd C. and probably originated in (or were eventually connected by their orthodox opponents with) a Gnostic or Manichaean milieu. Some of them are known from papyri fragments, some from MSS from NAG HAMMADI. Several apocrypha have survived only in Oriental, Latin, and/or Slavic versions.

Among apocryphal gospels one may distinguish, besides earlier (primarily Judaeo-Christian) texts, those dealing with the childhood of Jesus (*PROTOEVANGELION OF JAMES*, the *Gospel of THOMAS*, the story of Joseph the Carpenter—written in Greek ca.400 but known only in Coptic and Arabic versions) and with his trial and execution (the *Gospel of NICODEMUS*, various texts on Pontius Pilate, the Coptic gospel of Gamaliel). The 2nd-C. *Gospel of Peter* (known to Eusebios of Caesarea) tends to whitewash Pilate and to impose the guilt for Jesus's execution fully on the Jews and Herod. The apocryphal gospels had to satisfy pious curiosity in the areas where canonical texts were reticent; they stimulated imagery in art (e.g., *ANASTASIS*, *DORMITION*), but had a lesser impact on literature.

The case of apocryphal acts was different. Most are associated with the apostles PETER (esp. the

so-called pseudo-Clementinae, which describe his travels and preaching), PAUL, ANDREW, JOHN, and THOMAS; the story of the apostle Thaddeus emerges in the legend of the MANDYLION—both in the letter of Abgar and in the DOCTRINE OF ADDAI (written in Edessa ca.400). The apocryphal acts were influenced by Greek erotic ROMANCES, with their journeys to exotic regions, themes of separation and recognition, and mirabilia; hagiographic elements are also very strong—suffering, imprisonment, and martyrdom, together with the resultant mass and individual conversions, constitute their essence. Church leaders judged the apocryphal acts severely: Amphilochios of Ikonion called them "diabolical works" (R.A. Lipsius, *Die apokryphen Apostelgeschichten und Apostellegenden*, vol. 1 [Braunschweig 1883] 57), while Photios (*Bibl.*, cod. 114) says that the acts of Peter, John, Thomas, Andrew, and Paul, published by a certain Leukios (Lucius?) Charinos, originated in a heretical milieu.

The original apocryphal acts are mostly lost: from the Acts of Peter only fragments survive, including the description of his martyrdom under Nero; Andrew's Acts can be tentatively restored on the basis of later (partially Western) tradition; a substantial part of John's Acts, ending with his death in Ephesus, is known. Significant sections of the Acts of Paul have been discovered in papyri as well as in Latin and Oriental translations; the story of his life served also as material for the vita of THEKLA. The Acts of Thomas were written in Syriac, probably in the first half of the 3rd C. in a Gnostic milieu. They are the only apocryphal acts to survive in full; Greek, Latin, Ethiopic, and Armenian revisions of them are also preserved.

Apocryphal epistles include the so-called Epistle to the Inhabitants of Laodikeia, a 4th-C. compilation from Paul's epistles that is sometimes inserted in Latin Bible MSS; the forged correspondence between Paul and a converted Seneca that was already known to JEROME; a third Epistle to the Corinthians, Paul's refutation of the Gnostic tenets, that was eventually inserted in the Acts of Paul; the Epistle of Titus (Paul's disciple) on the virtue of virginity—probably a Spanish work of the 5th C.; the Epistle of BARNABAS; the Epistle of James on Christ's teaching after his resurrection—a text of Gnostic character (probably of the 2nd C.); the Epistle of apostles reporting their conversations with Jesus after his resurrection—

the text, which probably originated in Asia Minor ca.170, survives in full only in an Ethiopic translation. The Epistle to the Alexandrians has disappeared without a trace. The genre was not developed in Byz., even though a number of hagiographic and homiletic works on Barnabas, Titus, and other apostles appeared.

The apocryphal APOCALYPSES were also unpopular in Byz. The genuine Byz. "apocalypses" dealt with the political situation of the empire more than with prophetic vision of the eschatological future of humankind.

The genre of apocrypha was more widely diffused in Slavic, Caucasian, and Oriental literature than in Byz. It was esp. important for the elaboration of Bogomil ideology (see APOCRYPHA, BOGOMIL).

ED. and TR. *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, ed. J. Charlesworth, 2 vols. (Garden City, N.Y., 1983-85). *New Testament Apocrypha*², ed. R. McL. Wilson, 2 vols. (London 1973-74). *Gli Apocri del Nuovo Testamento*, ed. M. Erbetta, 3 vols. in 4 pts. (Turin 1966-81). *Acta apostolorum apocrypha*, ed. R.A. Lipsius, M. Bonnet, 2 vols. in 3 pts. (Leipzig 1891-1903).

LIT. G. Jossa, "Gli Apocri del Nuovo Testamento," *Augustinianum* 23 (1983) 19-40. K.L. Schmidt, *Kanonische und apocryphe Evangelien und Apostelgeschichten* (Basel 1944). J.B. Bauer, *Die neutestamentlichen Apokryphen* (Düsseldorf 1968). H. Koester, "Apocryphal and Canonical Gospels," *HThR* 73 (1980) 105-30. A.F.J. Klijn, "The Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles," *VigChr* 37 (1983) 193-99. F. Bovon, M. van Esbroeck et al., *Les Actes Apocryphes des apôtres* (Geneva 1981). E. Turdeanu, *Apocryphes slaves et roumains de l'Ancien Testament* (Leiden 1981).

-J.I.

APOCRYPHA, BOGOMIL. The BOGOMILS, in an effort to justify and propagate their teachings, made use of the Slavonic versions of several early Greek APOCRYPHA, among them *The Book of Baruch*, *The Book of the Secrets of Enoch*, and *The Vision of Isaiah*. Only one apocryphal work is known to be an authentic Bogomil creation: the *Interrogatio Iohannis* (or *Liber Secretus*, i.e., "Secret Book"), brought to Italy ca.1190 by Nazarius, the bishop of a CATHAR community in Lombardy, who had obtained it from a high-ranking Bogomil in Bulgaria. It is a dialogue between John the Evangelist and Christ, who replies to his disciple's questions about the origin of the world, Satan's power over man (whose body Satan created), and the end of all things. Satan's final defeat, after the destruction of this world by fire, shows that the cosmological DUALISM of this text is of the "moderate" variety. The importance of this document lies in

its uniqueness: no other known work stems directly from the Bogomils. It survives in two slightly different Latin versions, one of them going back to a document, now lost, from the archives of the Inquisition in Carcassonne. Whether the original was Greek or Slavonic is uncertain.

ED. J. Ivanov, *Bogomilski knigi i legendi* (Sofia 1925; rp. 1970). Fr. tr., idem, *Livres et légendes bogomiles* (Paris 1976). *Le livre secret des Cathares. Interrogatio Iohannis*, ed. E. Bozoky (Paris 1980), with Fr. tr.

LIT. E. Turdeanu, "Apocryphes bogomiles et apocryphes pseudo-bogomiles," *RHR* 138 (1950) 176-218.

-D.O.

APODEIPNON (ἀπόδειπνον, lit. "after supper"), compline, the liturgical HOUR that completes the monastic day with prayer for a tranquil night free from sin and evil dreams. First seen in the *Longer Rules* of St. BASIL THE GREAT (PG 31:1016A) and possibly originating with him, *apodeipnon* is a monastic duplication of VESPERS, which had formerly constituted the final hour of the day. Psalm 90, cited by Basil, is always central to the *apodeipnon* ritual. Byz. *apodeipnon* also includes other psalms, the DOXOLOGY, the creed, a *kanon*, the TRISAGION, Our Father, TROPARIA, the *Kyrie eleison* repeated 40 times, prayers, a rite of mutual pardon, and a final LITANY. In the Byz. HOROLOGION, there are two forms of *apodeipnon*: the *mega apodeipnon*, reserved for Lent and certain VIGILS, is a series of three offices, each with its own introductory and concluding prayers, while the *mikron apodeipnon* is an abbreviated version comprising select elements of the *mega apodeipnon*, esp. its final part. *Apodeipnon* was unknown to the cathedral rite of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople (see ASMATIKE AKOLOUTHIA), which had instead an evening service called *pannychis* (see VIGIL); cf. Mateos, *Typicon* 2:285, 311.

LIT. A. Raes, "Les Complies dans les Rites orientaux," *OrChrP* 17 (1951) 133-45.

-R.F.I.

APO EPARCHON (ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων), or *apo hyparchon*, designation of a former prefect as well as an honorific title. To the first category belonged people like the *apo eparchon poleos* Theodore, a participant in the council of Chalcedon (451), and probably another Theodore, a 7th-C. "*apo eparchon* and eparch of Italy" (Zacos, *Seals* 1, no.2923). Unlike these high-ranking officials, ordinary *apo eparchon*, whose numerous seals are predomi-

nantly of the 7th C., were modest dignitaries often involved in the supervision of state workshops or toll collection; others were notaries, *chartoularioi*, *droungarioi*, etc. The title was granted to various intellectuals such as Zacharias, physician of Tiberios II; the historians EVAGRIOS SCHOLASTIKOS and MENANDER PROTECTOR; and ELIAS, the 6th-C. commentator on Aristotle. The origin of the title is obscure—Justinian I refers to it as an “ancient” one. The last mention is in the late 9th-C. *Kletorologion* of Philotheos, in which *apo eparchon* constituted the lowest grade of dignitaries.

LIT. R. Guiland, “L’apoéparque,” *BS* 43 (1982) 30–44. Bury, *Adm. System* 23f. Jones, *LRE* 1:534f. —A.K.

APOGRAPHEUS (ἀπογραφεύς), fiscal official who seems to have replaced the ANAGRAPHUS in the 12th C. Zonaras (Zon. 3:737f) relates that Alexios I sent to “the fields and villages” *apographeis* who introduced some fiscal innovations. Dölger argues that Zonaras used the term in a nontechnical sense, but in 1175 a certain Andronikos Kantakouzenos functioned as the *doux* and *apographeus* of the theme of Mylasa and Melanoudion. The term remained in use through the 15th C. Sometimes *apographeis* combined their duties with those of the governor (*doux* or *KEPHALE*). Their signatures are found on various PRAKTIKA; they apportioned the POSOTES of *paroikoi* and land to the monasteries (*Lavra* 2, no.97.1–5) or conducted MERISMOS (*Lavra* 3, no.165.31–32). LAND SURVEY for tax purposes was called *apographe* or more elaborately *apographike exisotes kai apokatastasis* (e.g., *Pantel.*, no.17.9)—it involved the measurement of land and the assessment of taxes. *Apographeis* were usually local functionaries (of Thessalonike, Lemnos, and so on); an act of 1344 employs the term *katholikos apographeus* (*Docheiar.*, no.23.22), even though the individual, John Vatatzes, is known as *apographeus* of Thessalonike (*PLP*, no.2518).

LIT. Dölger, *Beiträge* 88–90. D. Angelov, “K voprosu o praviteljach fem v Epirskom despotate i Nikejskoj imperii,” *BS* 12 (1951) 70f. Maksimović, *Administration* 186–91.

—A.K.

APOKAUKOS (Ἀπόκαυκος, fem. Ἀποκαυκισσα), family known from the end of the 10th C. Basil Apokaukos was *strategos* of the Peloponnesos ca.990. Two other *strategoi* named Apokau-

kos are known from seals (Davidson, *Minor Objects*, no.2764; Schlumberger, *Sig.* 363). From the end of the 12th C. Apokaukoi served as metropolitans in the region of Dyrrachion and Naupaktos (see, e.g., APOKAUKOS, JOHN). The position of the family at the end of the 13th C. is far from clear: Gregoras emphatically asserts (Greg. 2:577.20–21, 585.5) that Alexios Apokaukos belonged to an obscure and low-born family (see APOKAUKOS, ALEXIOS), but in 1277 a certain John Apokaukos bore the high title of *sebastopanhypertatos* and served, together with George Akropolites and Theodore Mouzalon, as witness to Michael VIII’s treaty with Venice (MM 3:96.24). Alexios Apokaukos’s high position served to promote the careers of many of his relatives, who functioned as governors of Thessalonike and Adrianople, *megas droungarios*, etc. The family lost its position after 1345, even though George Apokaukos was an *archon* in Constantinople in 1403. Another Alexios Apokaukos, a painter and friend of Joseph BRYENNIOI, settled in Crete after 1402. Demetrios Kyritzes Apokaukos was in the service of Mehmed II after the fall of Constantinople.

LIT. Polemis, *Doukai* 101. *PLP*, nos. 1178–95. —A.K.

APOKAUKOS, ALEXIOS, *megas doux*; born Bithynia late 13th C., died Constantinople 11/12 July 1345 (for date, see *Kleinchroniken* 2:263). Born to an obscure provincial family, Apokaukos amassed great wealth as a tax collector and (after 1320) as superintendent of salt works. During his early career he was a protégé of JOHN (VI) KANTAKOUZENOS. When ANDRONIKOS III rebelled against his grandfather Andronikos II in 1321, Apokaukos, who was also *domestikos* of the West, supported the young emperor and was rewarded with the post of *parakoimomenos*. After Andronikos III won the civil war in 1328, Apokaukos served the new government as MESAZON. When Andronikos died (1341), Apokaukos turned against his former patron Kantakouzenos and supported the regency of ANNA OF SAVOY and Patr. JOHN XIV KALEKAS. He became *megas doux*, in command of the fleet; as eparch of Constantinople he repaired and strengthened the Theodosian walls. The regime of Apokaukos was backed by merchants and sailors. Thessalonike, as a relatively independent trade center, was an important base of support



APOKAUKOS, ALEXIOS. Portrait of Apokaukos as donor in a manuscript of the works of Hippocrates (Paris gr. 2144, fol.11r). Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

for him (M. Sjuzumov, *VizVrem* 28 [1968] 23f), and he backed the ZEALOT revolt there. According to Kantakouzenos, Apokaukos instituted a “reign of terror” in the capital, arresting wealthy citizens and confiscating their property; the family and followers of Kantakouzenos, in particular, were targets of the mob violence and destruction. Apokaukos was murdered by aristocratic political prisoners (*archontes*) as he was inspecting construction of a new prison.

Apokaukos built a fortress on the Bosphoros at Epibatai and may have founded or restored a church at Selymbria (S. Eyice, *Byzantion* 34 [1964] 77–104; O. Feld, *Byzantion* 37 [1967] 56–65). He had a lively interest in medicine. He commissioned the deluxe MS of Hippocrates (Paris, B.N. gr. 2144) that includes his fine portrait (Spatharakis, *Portrait* 148–51, figs. 96–97). The *De methodo medendi* of JOHN AKTOUARIOS is dedicated to Apokaukos.

LIT. R. Guiland, “Études de civilisation et de littérature byzantines, I: Alexios Apocaukos,” *Revue du Lyonnais* (1921) 523–41. Matschke, *Fortschritt* 133–68. *PLP*, no.1180.

—A.M.T.

APOKAUKOS, JOHN, a leading clergyman in the independent principality of Epiros; born ca.1155, died Kozyle near Arta 1233. Apokaukos was a fellow student in Constantinople with Manuel Sarantenos, the future patriarch at Nicaea. As a deacon, he assisted his uncle, Constantine Manasses, metropolitan of Naupaktos. In 1186 Apokaukos is attested as a notary at the patriarchate in Constantinople under Patr. Niketas II Mountanes (1186–89), and again in 1193 (*RegPatr*, fasc. 3, no.1125). Metropolitan of Naupaktos from 1199/1200 to 1232 (L. Stiernon, *REB* 28 [1970] 305f), he was, like Demetrios CHOMATENOS and George BARDANES, outspoken in support of Theodore Komnenos Doukas and the Epirot church in the schism with Nicaea. Apokaukos’s letters and decisions, like those of Chomatenos, are of central importance for the legal and social history of the period (A. Laiou, *FM* 6 [1984] 275–323). His writings, which show him to be less knowledgeable in the law and less exacting in its application than his colleague (M.Th. Fögen in *Cupido Legum* 47–71), are remarkable for their clear and humorous portrayals of daily life and popular culture (P. Magdalino, *BS* 48 [1987] 28–38). He died a monk.

ED. N.A. Bees, “Unedierte Schriftstücke aus der Kanzlei des Johannes Apokaukos des Metropoliten von Naupaktos (in Aetolien),” *BNJbb* 21 (1971–74) 55–160. M.Th. Fögen, “Ein heisses Eisen,” *RJ* 2 (1983) 85–96.

LIT. M. Wellnhofer, *Johannes Apokaukos, Metropolit von Naupaktos in Aetolien (c.1155–1233)* (Freising 1913). Macrides, “Killing, Asylum & Law.” —R.J.M.

APOKOMBION (ἀποκόμβιον, also κόμβιον), a purse in which the emperor carried coins to distribute on feastdays. The term is derived from the word *kombos*, meaning joint or knot (e.g., Gregory of Nyssa, PG 46:669B), since *apokombia* were small bags tied with a ribbon. Sometimes the purse contained only one nomisma as a symbolic gift to a poor person (Oikonomides, *Listes* 181.9), while *apokombia* given to the patriarch might hold more than 100 *litrai* of gold (*De cer.* 182.8–11). A 10th-C. ceremonial book (*De cer.* 76.22–23) describes

how the emperor took the *apokombion* from the *praipositos* and placed it on the holy altar. Representations of the *apokombion* are found in the mosaic panels in Hagia Sophia, Constantinople, depicting Emp. Constantine IX Monomachos (N. Oikonomides, *REB* 36 [1978] 220) and John II Komnenos.

LIT. Treitinger, *Kaiseridee* 154.

—A.K.

APOKRISIARIOS (ἀποκρισιάριος, Lat. *responsalis*), in its ecclesiastical sense, the messenger or representative of a bishop or *hegoumenos* in dealings with higher authorities. The institution existed in the 5th C., but was first systematically established by Justinian I to prevent the heads of churches from neglecting the care and wasting the resources of their flocks in prolonged or frequent absences (*Cod. Just.* I.3; nov.6.2–3; nov.123.25). *Apokrisiarioi* were received by patriarchs and metropolitans from their respective subordinates, but the chief function of *apokrisiarioi* was to represent provincial churches at the imperial court. The most important patriarchal, archiepiscopal, and metropolitan sees maintained resident *apokrisiarioi* in Constantinople. Among famous churchmen who served as *apokrisiarioi* were Pope GREGORY I THE GREAT, who represented the Roman church at the imperial court (ca.578–86), and Demetrios CHOMATENOS, who represented the see of Ohrid at the patriarchate at the end of the 12th C. (For *apokrisiarios* as a term for diplomat, see AMBASSADORS.)

LIT. Beck, *Kirche* 103. J. Pargoire, *DACL* 1.2:2537–55. A. Emereau, "Apocrisiaires et apocrisariat," and "Les apocrisiaires en Orient," *EO* 17 (1914) 289–97, 542–48.

—P.M.

APOLLINARIS, or Apollinarios, bishop of Laodikeia (from ca.360), theologian; born Laodikeia ca.310, died ca.390. A friend of ATHANASIOS of Alexandria, Apollinaris polemicized against ARIUS and DIODOROS OF TARSOS and elaborated a Christology stressing the divine element in Christ; he taught that in Christ the human soul was replaced by the Logos. Later Apollinaris revised his views and proposed that Christ had a human body and soul, but "heavenly nous" (reason). At first accepted as orthodox, Apollinaris played the role of Athanasios's successor, but then became embroiled with BASIL THE GREAT. At the Council

of Constantinople in 381 his teachings were condemned; he was eventually proclaimed a precursor of MONOPHYSITISM and a heretic, and his works were destroyed or preserved under wrong names (E. Cattaneo, *Trois homélies pseudo-chrysostomiennes sur la Pâque comme oeuvre d'Apollinaire de Laodicée* [Paris 1981]). JEROME, who attended the lectures of Apollinaris in Antioch (P. Jay, *REAug* 20 [1974] 36–41), knew his exegetic works on the Bible, but found them inadequate. According to Sozomenos (Sozom., *HE* 5.18.3–4) Apollinaris tried to replace Homer with a work in epic verse on the antiquities of the Hebrews in 24 parts, in which he presented biblical history from Creation to the reign of Saul; he imitated Pindar, Euripides, and Menander in writing on themes of the Holy Scriptures. Apollinaris also wrote hymns for church services as well as songs in praise of God to be recited at work and play (Sozom., *HE* 6.25.4–5). According to Sokrates (Sokr., *HE* 3.16) he recast the New Testament in the form of Platonic dialogues, none of which has survived. Attribution to Apollinaris of a hexameter paraphrase of the Psalms (ed. A. Ludwig [Leipzig 1912]) is questionable.

ED. H. Lietzmann, *Apollinaris von Laodicea und seine Schule* (Tübingen 1904). *CPG*, nos. 3645–3700.

LIT. E. Mühlberg, *Apollinaris von Laodicea* (Göttingen 1969). C.E. Raven, *Apollinarianism* (Cambridge 1923). A. Tuilier, "Le sens de l'Apollinarisme dans les controverses théologiques du IV^e siècle," *StP* 13 (1975) 295–305. E. Cattaneo, "Il Cristo 'uomo celeste' secondo Apollinare di Laodicea," *Rivista di storia e letteratura religiosa* 19 (1983) 415–19.

—B.B., A.K.

APOLLO, Greek god of the sun, music, truth, and healing. His embodiment of the divinity of the sun (HELIOS, SOL INVICTUS) caused his veneration to continue into late antiquity, as seen in Constantine I's solar piety (*Panegyrici Latini* 7.177.10, a.321) and the 4th-C. statues identified as Apollo (G. Mansuelli, *FelRav* 127–30 [1984/5] 291–95; the anecdote of the statue of Apollo brought by Constantine from Troy in Malal. 320.10–13). As late as 529, Benedict of Nursia tried to stamp out the worship of Apollo in the vicinity of Montecassino (*Grégoire le Grand: Dialogues*, ed. A. de Vogüé [Paris 1979] 2:166–69). Since Apollo's oracle at DELPHI was the most famous in antiquity until its suppression by Theodosios I in 392, Byz. legend sought to attribute to it prophecies of the coming of Christ. A 12th-C.

historian (Cedr. 1:532.4–10) relates the oracle's sad response to Julian's emissary Oribasios just before his Persian expedition, while the vitae of ARTEMIOS and other texts preserve Apollo's prophecy of Christ's divinity and sufferings (A. von Premerstein in *Eis mnemen Spyridonos Lamprou* [Athens 1935] 185–89; J. Bidez, *BZ* 11 [1902] 392). Three statues of Apollo still standing in the Baths of ZEUXIPPOS in Constantinople were described in epigrams by CHRISTODOROS OF KOPTOS in the late 5th C. The Delphic tripod is depicted in MS illustrations of the scholia of pseudo-NONNOS OF PANOPOLIS on the homilies of GREGORY OF NAZIANZOS, while Apollo and Daphne appear in an Antioch mosaic and in numerous ivory carvings. The latter myth furnished a subject to Byz. writers from DIOSKOROS OF APHRODITO to KINNAMOS. George Gemistos PLETHON included a hymn to Apollo in his *Laws*, hailing him as the lord of justice and *homonoia*, inspirer of love of divine beauty (Alexandre, *Pléthon* 208).

LIT. D. Detschew, *RAC* 1:528f. Weitzmann, *Gr. Myth.* 64f. C.M. Woodhouse, *George Gemistos Plethon: The Last of the Hellenes* (Oxford 1986) 348–51.

—L.S.B. MacC.

APOLLONIA (Ἀπολλωνία). Called Sozousa in late antiquity, Apollonia was one of the five Greek colonies of the Cyrenaican PENTAPOLIS. A bishop from the city is first recorded at the Synod of Seleukeia in Isauria in 359. During the 4th and early 5th C. repairs were made to the city's fortifications in response to raids by the Austuriani (see MAURI). In the late 5th and early 6th C. Apollonia appears to have become the capital of Libya Pentapolis. To the same period belongs the construction of the east church and triconch basilica and the refurbishing of the baths originally built in the 4th C. to replace those perhaps damaged in the earthquake of 365. The first half of the 6th C. saw the construction of the central and west churches and the so-called Palace of the Dux, recently argued by Ellis (*infra*) to be the house of a local *illustris*. The east church was also remodeled and further repairs were made to the fortifications. Apart from later additions to the Palace of the Dux and urban defenses, nothing is known of the city's later history down to the Arab invasion of 642, soon after which urban life at Apollonia ceased.

LIT. R.G. Goodchild, J.G. Pedley, D. White, *Apollonia, the Port of Cyrene, Excavations by the University of Michigan*,

1965–1967, ed. J.H. Humphrey (Tripoli 1976). S. Ellis, "The Palace of the Dux at Apollonia and Related Houses," in *Cyrenaica in Antiquity*, ed. G. Barker, J. Lloyd, and J. Reynolds (Oxford 1983) 15–25. A. Laronde, "Apollonia de Cyrénaïque et son histoire," *CRAI* (1985) 93–115.

—R.B.H.

APOLLONIAS (Ἀπολλωνιάς, anc. Apollonia ad Rhyndacum, mod. Apolyont), city in Bithynia situated on a lake of the same name. Apollonias appears in history in the 8th–9th C. as a strong fortress; it was a refuge for the deposed emperor Tiberios II and a place of exile for Theodore of Stoudios. Apollonias was briefly taken by the Turks in 1093, recaptured by Alexios I, then attacked again in 1113. Apollonias then remained Byz. until the early 14th C., except for a Latin occupation in 1204–05. Apollonias was a suffragan bishopric of NIKOMEDEIA; it derived strength from its protected location and its walls, whose style indicates construction in the 7th/8th C. with rebuilding in the 12th. An adjacent island contains a church, apparently of the 9th C., built on a novel variation of the inscribed cross plan. It was probably the monastery from which ARSENIOS AUTOREIANOS was called to the patriarchate in 1254.

LIT. Hasluck, *Cyzicus* 68–73. C. Mango, "The Monastery of St. Constantine on Lake Apolyont," *DOP* 33 (1979) 329–33. Foss-Winfield, *Fortifications* 139.

—C.F.

APOLLONIOS OF TYANA (in Cappadocia), pagan wonder-worker and Neopythagorean philosopher of the 1st C., whose reputation survived well into the Byz. era. His legendary biography, written by Philostratos after 217, reflects the cosmopolitan worldview of the Roman Empire, making Apollonios travel to Babylon, India, Egypt, Ethiopia, and the Pillars of Herakles. The cult of Apollonios, who was considered a magician and miraculous healer, was promoted esp. in the 3rd C., and he came to be regarded by pagans as a rival to Moses and Christ. Sosianos Hierokles of Nikomedeia (ca.307) argued that Apollonios was a greater worker of miracles than Jesus; Apollonios was also praised by Flavianus Nicomachus and in the *HISTORIA AUGUSTA*. His image appears on CONTORNIATES. Eusebios of Caesarea (PG 22:795–868) wrote a response ca.312 to the claims of Hierokles, denouncing Apollonios as a charlatan who was perhaps in league with evil spirits. None-

theless, the Christian world was slow to reject the cult of Apollonios. Until the 12th C. Byz. authors (Malalas, Kedrenos, Tzetzes) mention him in favorable light, remembering his power to tame snakes and scorpions and describing the talismans erected by Apollonios in various cities to ward off fierce animals, noxious insects such as mosquitoes, and natural disasters. Whereas some Christian writers (e.g., the hagiographers of St. THEKLA and ANASTASIOS OF SINAI) denied the ability of Apollonios to work genuine miracles, for others he was a semi-Christian prophet. It is possible that a saint Balinas, known from a Greek prayer, may represent a transformation of Apollonios (Speyer, *infra* 63).

SOURCE. *Philostratus: The Life of Apollonius of Tyana*, ed. F.C. Conybeare, 2 vols. (London-New York 1912; vol. 1 rp. 1917, 1927, vol. 2 rp. 1921) with Eng. tr.

LIT. W. Speyer, "Zum Bild des Apollonios von Tyana bei Heiden und Christen," *JbAChr* 17 (1974) 47-63. W. Dulière, "Protection permanente contre des animaux nuisibles assurée par Apollonius de Tyane dans Byzance et Antioche," *BZ* 63 (1970) 247-77. C.P. Jones, "An Epigram on Apollonius of Tyana," *JHS* 100 (1980) 190-94.

-A.K., A.M.T.

APOLLONIOS OF TYRE, hero of a novel disseminated throughout Europe in the Middle Ages. The extant Latin version dates from the 6th C. Whether the original was written in Latin or Greek has been inconclusively debated. Certainly the plot presents many of the characteristics of a Greek ROMANCE of the 2nd or 3rd C.: separations, false deaths, violent storms, a happy ending, etc. Two versions in medieval vernacular Greek exist: one, in 852 unrhymed political verses, based on a Tuscan reworking of the Latin and dated to the 14th C.; and another, in 1,894 rhymed political verses, a free adaptation of the *Istoria d'Apollonio de Tiro* of the Florentine Antonio Pucci (ca. 1310-80) and dated to the late 15th C. Despite a veneer of Byz. piety and the Italian intermediaries, the world in both cases remains that of late antiquity.

ED. Lat.—*Historia Apollonii Regis Tyrii*, ed. G.A.A. Kortekaas (Groningen 1984). Greek—(1) *Narratio neograeca Apollonii Tyrii*, ed. A.A.P. Janssen (Nijmegen 1954); (2) Venice 1534; rp. 1805.

LIT. Beck, *Volksliteratur* 135-38.

-E.M.J., M.J.J.

APOLLONOS ANO PAPHRI, documents discovered by French excavations in a jar at Edfu in 1921-22, comprising the bilingual archives of the

Apollinopolite *pagarches* Papas from ca. 648 to ca. 708. R. Rémondon published 104 Greek documents in 1953, but the Coptic pieces are still being edited. The Greek documents include official letters and orders from the Arab governor, memoranda from the *topoteretes*, requisitions of men and supplies for the *cursus* (expeditions against Constantinople), lawsuits, tax records, contracts, accounts, lists of goods, and private letters. The competence of the Arab emir's Greek-speaking chancery is apparent, as is the problem of fugitives and their tax responsibility in their *origo*. The language of the documents displays the richness of official terminology that lived on in both Greek and Coptic long after attempted arabicization of the chancery. These documents, along with the 8th-C. APHRODITE PAPYRI, furnish a richly detailed picture of local administration in Egypt as it was carried on by Christian officials still in responsible positions after 642.

ED. R. Rémondon, *Papyrus grecs d'Apollônios Anô* (Cairo 1953). L.S.B. MacCoull, "The Coptic Papyri from Apollonos Anô," *Proceedings of the XVIII International Congress of Papyrology*, vol. 2 (Athens 1988) 141-60.

LIT. J. Gascou, "Papyrus grecs inédits d'Apollônios Anô," in *Hommages à la mémoire de Serge Sauneron*, vol. 2 (Cairo 1979) 25-34. J. Gascou, K.A. Worp, "Problèmes de documentation apollinopolite," *ZPapEpig* 49 (1982) 83-95.

-L.S.B. MacC.

APOLOGY (ἀπολογία), speech of defense or self-defense such as Plato's *Apology* of Socrates. The term was esp. applied to the speeches of MARTYRS in defense of the Christian faith: thus, Eusebios of Caesarea (Eusebios, *HE* 5.21.4) relates that the martyr Apollonios gave "the most rational apology" before the senate. The apology of Justin Martyr (2nd C.) is the first example preserved of this genre. The earliest apologies were directed against the misconceptions of Christianity held by pagans and Jews. As Christianity gathered momentum, the apology acquired the character of POLEMIC rather than defense: ATHANASIOS OF ALEXANDRIA used this title for the defense of his escape, for his apology addressed to Emp. Constantius II, and for his *Apologetikos* against the Arians. The conventional term "apologists" has been introduced by scholars to designate Christian writers of the 2nd-5th C. who both defended Christianity and refuted pagan or Jewish views. After the final victory of Christianity the term was rarely used: ANASTASIOS OF SINAI wrote a *Tomos*

apologetikos. As late as the 15th C., however, Andrew Chrysoberges addressed an apology to Besarion dedicated to the Palamite question (Beck, *Kirche* 743).

In a secular sense apology referred to a literary genre of self-defense (e.g., ARETHAS OF CAESAREA wrote an apology to explain his political position), a judicial defense (*ECLOGA* 17.3, ed. Burgmann p. 226.777), or—in the field of diplomacy—a rebuttal of importunate claims (*De adm. imp.* 13.21).

-A.K., E.M.J.

APOLYSIS. See DISMISSAL.

APOPHTHEGMATA PATRUM ("Sayings of the Fathers"), the anecdotes and maxims of the Egyptian DESERT FATHERS, preserved in various collections and languages. The core anthology is the alphabetic one (organized by speaker's name) compiled in the 5th or 6th C., perhaps by admirers of a certain Poimen who is disproportionately well represented. This collection is supplemented by a group of 400 anonymous sayings. They are written in simple language and offer practical advice on problems faced by cenobitic monks and hermits. Some sayings inculcate extreme asceticism and reflect an antipathy toward book-learning and women, while others are imbued with a common-sense attitude toward the rigorous life of the anchorite. They may be viewed, in part, as conscious Christian rivals to the many anthologies of maxims of pagan thinkers, while unconsciously providing one of the most fascinating sources of social and intellectual life in the late Roman period. Latin translations survive of four different collections, along with Arabic, Coptic, Syriac, Armenian, and Church Slavonic versions.

On the basis of two miniatures in the SACRA PARALLELA, K. Weitzmann suggested that some MSS of the *Apophthegmata* were richly illustrated (Weitzmann, *Sacra Parallela* 250, 262).

ED. Alphabetic collection—PG 65:71-440. Eng. tr. B. Ward, *The Desert Christian. Sayings of the Desert Fathers: The Alphabetical Collection* (New York 1980). Anonymous—ed. F. Nau, "Histoires des solitaires Égyptiens," *ROC* 12 (1907) 43-69, 171-89, 393-413; 13 (1908) 47-66, 266-97; 14 (1909) 357-79; 17 (1912) 204-11, 294-301; 18 (1913) 137-46. Partial Eng. tr. B. Ward, *The Wisdom of the Desert Fathers: Apophthegmata Patrum from the Anonymous Series* (Oxford 1975).

LIT. J.C. Guy, *Recherches sur la tradition grecque des Apophthegmata Patrum* (Brussels 1962). L. Regnault, *Les pères du désert à travers leurs apophthegmes* (Sablé-sur-Sarthe 1987).

-B.B., A.C.

APOROS (ἄπορος, "without means"), term with several related meanings, all derived from the general meaning "lacking sufficient resources"; the Farmer's Law (par. 14) mentions *aporoï* farmers, incapable of working all their land, who contract with another party to cultivate a portion of it. As an economic term, *aporoï* normally designates the destitute, such as a widow left impoverished by her husband's death (*Ecloga* 2:7), and can serve to distinguish them from the working poor (*Zepos, Jus* 1:216.17). The term also denotes individuals unable to fulfill some legal or social obligation; here it does not refer specifically to poverty, although it still normally encompasses economically marginal elements of the population. An *aporos* thief is one who cannot provide the legally mandated twofold restitution of stolen property (*Ecloga* 17:11), an *aporos* captive is one unable to provide reimbursement for his ransom (*Ecloga* 8:2). The *De ceremoniis* (*De cer.* 696.1) contrasts poor soldiers who can still meet their obligations for military service with *exaporoï*, who cannot. In documentary sources, *aporos* is applied to: (1) ruined, uninhabited, or uncultivated land (Trinchera, *Syllabus*, nos. 7, 5.10, 14) or (2) individuals who lack land to cultivate (*Lavra* 2, no. 91. I. 55; 3, no. 136.166). In this context, *aporos* may also designate those who for some reason are unable to work.

LIT. Litavrin, *VizObščestvo* 117f, 215. R. Morris, "The Powerful and the Poor in Tenth-Century Byzantium," *Past and Present* 73 (1976) 3-27.

-A.J.C.

APOSTLES (ἀπόστολοι, lit. "envoys"), term applied primarily to the 12 disciples of Jesus. The synoptic Gospels and Acts of the New Testament list the apostles with slight variations that caused difficulties for theologians: John Chrysostom (PG 57:380f) noticed contradictions between the lists in Mark's and Luke's Gospels. Simon-PETER is always at the head of the Twelve; he is followed by ANDREW, JAMES, or JOHN; then in all lists are PHILIP, BARTHOLOMEW, THOMAS, MATTHEW the tax-collector, and James, son of Alphaeus; Thaddeus, Simon the Canaanite, Simon the Zealot, and Jude, brother of James, do not occur in all lists;

at the end of the list is JUDAS ISCARIOT who, after his treachery, was replaced by Matthias. PAUL is also called an apostle, although usually distinguished from the Twelve. The title was extended to other personages (esp. the Seventy Teachers, the successors of the Twelve), to THEKLA, and to CONSTANTINE I THE GREAT; the term was further applied to priests, bishops, and esp. to the pope, the holder of the "apostolic see."

Tradition stressed the humble origin and lowly professions of the Twelve: Chrysostom calculates that four were fishermen and two, tax collectors, and emphasizes that their leader was illiterate (PG 57:381.7-12). Nevertheless, they were "trumpets of the Spirit" (Tarasios, PG 98:1437B), prophets, and performers of miracles. They were held to be administrators of the church, legislators who created the APOSTOLIC CONSTITUTIONS, the authors of scriptural writings, and itinerant teachers of Christian truth. The Byz. compiled various brief indices to all apostles (attributed to Epiphanius, Dorotheos, and Hippolytos), but Byz. APOCRYPHAL, hagiographical, and homiletic texts are devoted to individual apostles, rather than the group. Nevertheless, SYMEON METAPHRASTES composed a didactic poem in dodecasyllables on the apostles; NICHOLAS OF METHONE produced a treatise on the indwelling of the Holy Spirit in the apostles; and PHILOTHEOS KOKKINOS wrote an *enkouion* on the Twelve, as did Makarios CHOUMNOS and GENNADIOS II SCHOLARIOS. A number of important churches were dedicated to the Holy Apostles, such as those in Constantinople and Thessalonike.

Representation in Art. Toga-clad, sandaled, and shown at first as beardless youths, the apostles were slowly individualized: Peter and Paul by the 4th C.; Andrew, Philip, John, and Thomas by the mid-6th C.; the others later and less consistently. The apostles initially acclaim Christ or his Cross (Sarigüzel sarcophagus [Volbach, *Early Christian Art*, pl. 75]; dome mosaics in RAVENNA) or are the witnesses obligatory in Late Antique images of theophany—observing Christ's miracles or witnessing while participating (TRANSFIGURATION, ASCENSION). As the original community of the faithful, the 12 apostles symbolize the church. Thus APPEARANCES OF CHRIST AFTER THE PASSION are represented with 12, rather than the canonical 11, disciples to indicate each scene's importance in the history of the church; the symbolic composition of the Communion of the Apostles (see

LORD'S SUPPER) shows the church's foundation in the EUCHARIST; and episodes involving Christ and the apostles as a group—DORMITION, PENTECOST, LAST JUDGMENT—adopt formalized compositions emphasizing their church-historical significance. Scenes from the individual lives of the apostles are rare and, except for the three surviving ACTS cycles, largely apocryphal in origin. There are cycles of their martyrdoms (Hagia Sophia, OHRID) that sometimes include vignettes of their ministry (see HOLY APOSTLES, CHURCH OF THE; SOĞANLI; S. Marco in VENICE); images of their preaching accompany Psalms 19 and 105 in the marginal PSALTERS.

LIT. BHG 150-160p. A. Medebielle, *DictBibl*, supp. 1:533-88. Beck, *Kirche* 571, 625, 725. Babić, *Chapelles annexes* 110-17. Demus, *Mosaics of S. Marco* 1:219-30. G. de Jerphanion, *La Voix des monuments* (Paris 1930) 189-200.

—J.I., A.K., A.W.C.

APOSTOLES, MICHAEL, teacher, writer, and copyist of MSS; born Constantinople? ca. 1420, died Crete? after 1474 or 1486. After studying in Constantinople with John ARGYROPOULOS, Apostoles ('Αποστόλης, 'Αποστόλιος) taught briefly at the Mouseion of the XENON OF THE KRAL, located at the Petra monastery. When Constantinople fell to the Turks, he was taken prisoner; after his release, he went to Crete, where he spent most of his remaining years teaching private pupils. He failed to achieve financial backing to set up his own school in Italy, and complained frequently of his straitened circumstances. He was a Uniate and made frequent visits to humanist circles in Italy. BESSARION commissioned Apostoles to seek out old Greek MSS for his library or, where necessary, to make copies; he is known to have copied (at least in part) about 115 MSS for Bessarion and others (partial list: C.G. Patrineles, *EpMesArch* 8-9 [1958-59] 69f). Apostoles made an important collection of proverbs (ed. Leutsch-Schneidewin, *Corpus* 2:233-744) and maintained an extensive correspondence. His literary oeuvre also includes treatises in defense of PLATO (J.E. Powell, *BZ* 38 [1938] 71-86), an essay on the proper method of teaching Greek to Italians, and rhetorical pieces. His *Oration on Greece and Europe*, written after 1453, asserts the cultural superiority of the Greeks over Westerners; at the same time he recognizes that the Byz. era is at an end, while Italy is at the beginning of a new age (D.J. Geanakoplos, *GRBS* 1 [1958] 157-62).

ED. Letters—E. Legrand, *Bibliographie hellénique* 2 (Paris 1885; rp. 1862) 233-59. *Lettres inédites de Michel Apostolis*, ed. H. Noiret (Paris 1889). For list of works, see *Tusculum-Lexikon* 69.

LIT. D. Geanakoplos, *Greek Scholars in Venice* (Cambridge 1962) 73-110. Beck, *Kirche* 770f. PLP, no. 1201. A.F. van Gemert, "O Michael Apostoles os daskalos ton ellenikon," *Hellenika* 37 (1986) 141-45. A. Frangedaki, "On fifteenth-century Cryptochristianity: a letter to George Amoiroutzes from Michael Apostolis," *BMGS* 9 (1984/85) 221-24.

—A.M.T.

APOSTOLIC CANONS (Κανόνες τῶν Ἀποστόλων), a collection of 85 ecclesiastical law CANONS, allegedly written by the Apostles; they form an appendix (8.47) to the APOSTOLIC CONSTITUTIONS. The regulations, which are generally very short and in no particular sequence, concern mainly the qualifications and duties of clerics and occasionally the conduct of laymen; they contain mostly threats of punishment. In the 85th canon, the canonical books of the Old and New Testaments are enumerated with certain peculiarities, such as the omission of the Apocalypse of John and mention of the *Apostolic Constitutions*. The sources of the collection are the *Apostolic Constitutions* and the canons issued in the 4th C., esp. those of the councils of GANGRA, ANTIOCH (341), and Laodikeia of Phrygia. The author, given in the 85th canon as Clement (I of Rome), is not necessarily identical with the compiler of the *Apostolic Constitutions* but must have been likewise active in the last quarter of the 4th C. in Antioch. The work was translated early on into Syriac, Arabic, and Ethiopic; ca. 500 it was partially rendered in Latin (only the first 50 canons) by DIONYSIUS EXIGUUS. Its authenticity (disputed by the *Decretum Gelasianum*) was expressly recognized in 691 by the Council in TRULLO (canon 2); from then on, the *Apostolic Canons* stood at the head of all canon collections. In the 12th C. they were the subject of commentaries by Alexios ARISTENOS, John ZONARAS, and Theodore BALSAMON.

ED. P.-P. Joannou, *Discipline générale antique (IVe-IXe s.)* 1.2 (Grottaferrata 1962) 1-53.

LIT. E. Schwartz, *Gesammelte Schriften*, vol. 5 (Berlin 1963) 214-26. C.H. Turner, "Notes on the Apostolic Constitutions, II: The Apostolic Canons," *JThSt* 16 (1914-15) 523-38.

—A.S.

APOSTOLIC CONSTITUTIONS (Διατάγαι τῶν ἁγίων Ἀποστόλων διὰ Κλήμεντος), a collection of ecclesiastical law and liturgical matters, divided into eight books. Books 1-6 represent an ex-

panded version of the *Didaskalia*, an ecclesiastical rite that originated in Syria in the 3rd C. and was esp. concerned with penitential discipline. The first part of book 7 (chs. 1-32) contains an expanded version of the *Didache*, a work of catechetical and liturgical content composed in the 2nd C. in Syria; the second part (chs. 33-49) is composed of prayer formulas (among them the Great DOXOLOGY) and baptismal instructions. The main source for book 8 (chs. 3-45) is the *Apostolic Tradition of Hippolytus*, a 3rd-C. ecclesiastical rite valuable for its exact description of the early liturgy (the so-called "Clement Liturgy"). The APOSTOLIC CANONS are attached to the work as an appendix. The compiler, ostensibly authorized by the Apostles, was possibly an Arian (according to Hagedorn, *infra*, an otherwise unknown Julian) active in Antioch during the last quarter of the 4th C. The Council in TRULLO of 691 (canon 2) condemned the work (with the exception of its appendix) as a heretical forgery. Nevertheless, it was often copied, although rarely in full. Only short excerpts entered the collections of CANON LAW.

ED. M. Metzger, *Les Constitutions Apostoliques*, 3 vols. (Paris 1985-87). Eng. tr. *The Apostolic Constitutions*, ed. J. Donaldson [Ante-Nicene Christian Library, 17.2] (Edinburgh 1870).

LIT. F.X. Funk, *Die apostolischen Konstitutionen* (Rottenburg 1891; rp. Frankfurt am Main 1970). D. Hagedorn, *Der Hiobkommentar des Arianers Julian* (Berlin-New York 1973) xxxvii-lvii.

—A.S.

APOSTOLOS. See PRAXAPOSTOLOS.

APOTHEOSIS (ἀποθέωσις). Deification of a mortal (a hero or ruler) was an idea broadly spread in the Hellenistic world (ALEXANDER THE GREAT was granted apotheosis) and came to be accepted, under the Latin term *consecratio*, by Roman emperors—first as a posthumous ceremony, later during their lifetime. It was accompanied by endowing the emperor with the title *divus* (divine) and developing a system of signs symbolizing his ascent to heaven—EAGLE, pyre, chariot. The concept of deification reached its acme under Diocletian, whose epithet, Jovius, indicated his direct connections with Jupiter; it was retained by Constantine I the Great and his successors, down to Theodosios I, who received the *consecratio* from the pagan senate. Some changes were introduced under Christian influence—the cremation rite was abolished, and the symbol of the regenerating

PHOENIX disappeared; Constantine's coins minted for his *consecratio* represented only the chariot and the hand stretched from the cloud in expectation of the *divus*. This tradition was alien to Christianity, however, and by ca.400 it fell into disuse, leaving only some remnants in court terminology (Treitinger, *Kaiseridee* 155–57).

The term *apotheosis* appears in Nestorian polemics: Nestorios accused his opponents of the concept of the apotheosis of Christ's human nature (F. Loos, *Nestoriana* [Halle 1905] 167.1–2, 274.12–14), whereas he preferred to use the term "conjunction" (*synapheia*). Metaphorically, apotheosis could designate the mystical ascent to God. The image of the risen Christ, borne aloft by angels at his ASCENSION, depends upon Late Antique images of apotheosis.

LIT. L. Koep (A. Hermann), *RAC* 3:276–94. A. Kaniuth, *Die Beisetzung Konstantins des Grossen* (Breslau 1941). —A.K., A.C.

APPANAGE, a conventional term borrowed from the vocabulary of western European FEUDALISM and appearing in Byz. historiography with two meanings.

1. In the narrow sense, appanage designates a nearly independent territory granted by the emperor to a member of the imperial family, usually a younger son, to secure the grantee a source of livelihood or to insure a political and administrative connection between the provincial territory and the capital. The grantee characteristically maintained his own court, army, fiscal and judicial systems, and often conducted an independent foreign policy. His income was derived from the exercise of administrative rights over the territory and from land he held within the territory, though the grant of the appanage itself did not implicitly include the right of hereditary transmission. While the practice of granting substantial estates to imperial relatives was effected as early as the reign of Alexios I, the idea of an actual administrative partitioning of the empire between princes of the ruling dynasty was first entertained during the reign of Michael VIII. The civil wars of the 14th C. spurred the creation of appanages. From the mid-14th C., at one time or another, almost every younger son of an emperor held an appanage and most of the areas remaining in the empire were held as appanages: Thrace, Thessalonike

with Macedonia, Thessaly and, most importantly, the Morea.

2. In the broad sense, appanage is conceived as any imperial grant, revocable at the will of the emperor, of an important region or DEMESNE in hereditary title to an individual or institution. Ahrweiler (*Structures*, pt.I [1964], 112–14) contrasts appanages as held by members of the imperial family, by ecclesiastical institutions, and by wealthy laymen with the military PRONOIA.

LIT. Lj. Maksimović, "Geneza i karakter apanaža u Vizantiji," *ZRVI* 14–15 (1973) 103–54. J.W. Barker, "The Problem of Appanages in Byzantium during the Palaiologan Period," *Byzantina* 3 (1971) 103–22. —M.B.

APPEAL (ἐκκλητος). The institution of appeal to a higher court existed in Roman civil and criminal procedure and acquired a coherent character through the reforms of Diocletian and Constantine I the Great. If the defendant was not satisfied with the judgment, he could appeal to the emperor or to judges vested with imperial authority; in the late Roman Empire these were governors and PRAETORIAN PREFECTS, the latter's judgment being final. Later, the EPARCH and the DROUNGARIOS TES VIGLAS served as appellate judges. The notion that their decisions were unappealable was rejected in Byz. (Simon, *Rechtsfindung* 20). The patriarch also had the right to consider appeals against lower courts. Besides a formal appeal, a petition for the emperor's clemency was permitted; it had to be addressed to the office of the EPI TON DEESEON.

LIT. Buckland, *Roman Law* 670. Zachariä, *Geschichte* 356–58. D. Simon, "Byzantinische Provinzialjustiz," *BZ* 79 (1986) 340–42. —A.K.

APPEARANCES OF CHRIST AFTER THE PASSION are variously reported in the Gospels, there being 11 different episodes in all. In pre-Iconoclastic art, only the Doubting of THOMAS (Jn 20:24–29) and the *Chairete* (Christ's meeting with two MYRROPHOROI) were represented. In the former scene, Christ stands centrally, framed by the door and flanked by 12 (not 11) disciples, including Thomas, who touches Christ's side (RAVENNA, Sant'Apollinare Nuovo). The *Chairete* scene corresponds best with Matthew 28:9, though sometimes one of the women is labeled Christ's mother, in accord with hymns of ROMANOS THE MELODE

that hail the Virgin Mary as the first to see the risen Christ. The art of the 9th–12th C. continued to emphasize these events, the Doubting of Thomas often being added to cycles of the GREAT FEASTS. In addition, a formal composition of Christ's MISSION TO THE APOSTLES was introduced (Tokali Kilise, GÖREME), the 12 Apostles displacing the canonical 11 disciples (Mk 16:15–18) to indicate the scene's symbolic significance as Christ's mission to his Church. Only extensive cycles (FRIEZE GOSPELS, MONREALE) represent MARY MAGDALENE in the garden (Jn 20:14–17) and the episodes at Emmaus (Lk 24:13–32), Tiberias (Jn 21:1–14), or in the closed room (Jn 20:19–23). Fourteenth-century fresco programs in Serbia regularly include post-Passion cycles, though they vary in the selection of scenes (STARO NAGORIČINO, GRAČANICA).

LIT. Colwell-Willoughby, *Karahissar* 2:415–33. K. Wesel, *RBK* 2:371–88. —A.W.C.

APPRENTICE (μαθητής). Apprentices are mentioned in the 10th-C. *Book of the Eparch* only once—the candlemakers were ordered not to send their slaves or *mathetai* to sell their wares in unauthorized places. M. Sjuzumov (*VizVrem* 4 [1951] 23) surmised that there was no difference between an apprentice and a MISTHIOS. The 10th-C. vita of Elias of Heliopolis (ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *PPSb* 19.3 [1907] 45–48) gives more detail about apprenticeship: Elias was 12 years old when he was apprenticed to a carpenter; he worked in the *ergasterion* but also waited upon his master and was paid a salary (*ekmisthoma*).

Several contracts of apprenticeship, called *didaskalikai*, are preserved in Egyptian papyri. The number of late Roman *didaskalikai* is very limited and their content is vague. I. Fikhman (*Egipet* 80) explains the infrequency of late contracts by the increasing role of the hereditary artisan who was trained at home. Vat. gr. 952 preserves several contracts of apprenticeship for 14th-C. Constantinople. A furrier, a shoemaker, and a smith appear as masters in these contracts; the term of apprenticeship is 5–10 years, and the master usually is obliged to feed and clothe the apprentice and to give him (at the end of the training period?) a sum of 5–10 nomismata (G. Ferrari dalle Spade, *SBN* 4 [1935] 264–66). From these contracts one should distinguish contracts of service,

some of which, written in Latin, were concluded between Italian masters and Greek journeymen (e.g., M. Balard, *Gênes et l'Ostre-Mer*, vol. 1 [Paris–The Hague 1973] no.741; G. Balbi, S. Raiteri, *Notai genovesi in oltremare* [Genoa 1973] no.68) for the term of 1–10 years.

LIT. J. Herrmann, "Vertragsinhalt und Rechtsnatur der *didaskalikai*," *Journal of Juristic Papyrology* 11–12 (1957–58) 119–39. Oikonomides, *Hommes d'affaires* 73f. —A.K.

APRATOS (ἄπρακτος, lit. "idle"), term that in the TAKTIKA designated a certain kind of dignitary. In the late Roman Empire there were functionaries who received the *cingulum*, girdle, as the symbol of their duty, but fulfilled no function; they were called *vacantes* (R. Guiland, *EEBS* 37 [1969–70] 136–38). The *vacantes* should be distinguished from the *honorati*, retired dignitaries. The system seems to have been preserved in the 9th C., but it was confused. The first use of the term *apratos* is in a 9th-C. chronicler (Theoph. 375.6) who says that Justinian II ordered the *emprakttoi* and *apratoi* to be slaughtered; the meaning of the words here is unclear. The mid-9th-C. *Taktikon* of Uspenskij speaks not only of *apratoi spatharioi*, but also of *tourmarchai* and *topoteretai* (Oikonomides, *Listes* 59.12–14), that is, of officers who had functions but probably no title. In the *Kletorologion* of PHILOTHEOS *apratoi* are listed among the titularies of lower rank, such as STRATORS OF MANDATORS.

LIT. Guiland, *Institutions* 1:155–61. —A.K.

APRENOS (Ἀπρηνός), a family probably originating from Apros. The Aprenoi are described by Pachymeres as one of the greatest families of the mid-13th C., although nothing is known of their existence in the previous century. They intermarried with the TARCHANEIOTES and DOUKAS families and sometimes bore the name of Aprenos Doukas. Andronikos Aprenos Doukas was *protostrator* ca.1266; the *protovestiarites* Aprenos fell in battle against IVAJLO in 1280. Manuel Aprenos Doukas, *oikeios* of the emperor, is mentioned in a charter of 1293; he was apparently a wealthy landowner in the Smyrna region. The family still existed in the early 15th C. when John Aprenos, a high functionary in Thessalonike, signed a charter confirming the privileges of the ESPHIGMENOU MONASTERY (1409?).

LIT. Polemis, *Doukai* 102f. *PLP*, nos. 1206–11. —A.K.

APSE (*ἄψις*, lit. "arch, vault"), a semicylindrical space vaulted with a CONCH, or quarter-sphere (Prokopios, *Buildings* 1.1.32); it may terminate the axis of a longitudinal space, normally at its east end. Its entrance is marked by a large arch, commonly referred to as a "triumphal arch." Apses of episcopal churches housed a SYNTHRONON and a CATHEDRA for the seating of clergy and bishop. The exterior may be semicircular, polygonal, or immured in the east wall of the structure, while the interior face is usually semicircular. Such disparities are no less true of subsidiary apses, when present, in the PASTOPHORIA.

LIT. C. Delvoye, "Études d'architecture paléochrétienne et byzantine. II. L'abside," *Byzantion* 32 (1962) 291-310. Idem, *RBK* 1:246-68. -M.J.

APSEUDES, THEODORE, painter who worked at the Enkleistra of NEOPHYTOS ENKLEISTOS on Cyprus. An inscription in the saint's cell provides the artist's name (*Ἀψευδής*) and the date of the decoration, 1182/3. The saint's *typikon* confirms this date for the fresco of the Deesis in Neophytos's cell that includes the saint's likeness. Mango and Hawkins suggested that the saint's protector, Basil Kinnamos, bishop of Paphos, brought Apseudes to Cyprus, where he painted the Anastasis and other frescoes in Neophytos's tomb-chamber as well as those in the bema of the Enkleistra. Apseudes' attenuated, serpentine figures exhibit the agitated drapery and intense expressions found also at LAGOUDERA. D. Winfield (*Panagia tou Arakous Lagoudera* [Nicosia, n.d.] 16f) suggested that the Theodore named in an inscription there was the same Apseudes.

LIT. C. Mango, E.J.W. Hawkins, "The Hermitage of St. Neophytos and its Wall Paintings," *DOP* 20 (1966) 183, 193-97, 205f. -A.C.

APULIA (*Ἀπουλία*), southeastern part of Italy from the region of Monte Gargano down to Terra d'Otranto, separated from LUCANIA by the Bradano River. Apulia encompassed such cities as BARI, BRINDISI, OTRANTO, TARANTO, Lecce, Trani, and Gallipoli. The area was plundered during the Gothic wars of Justinian I; subsequently the Lombards conquered almost all of Apulia and annexed it to the Lombard duchy of BENEVENTO. In the 8th C. Apulia was contested among the Lombards, Byz., and Arabs; in the 830s and 840s the

Arabs occupied Brindisi, Bari, and Taranto and established several other settlements in the region. In the second half of the 9th C. the Carolingian king LOUIS II was unsuccessful in his war against the Arabs, but the Byz. emperor Basil I managed to reconquer Apulia; Byz. maintained a hold—though never total hegemony—on the region until the beginning of the 11th C.

The relative prosperity of urban communes, the large number of smallholders, and the development of wheat and oil production for the market provided the material resources for the Apulians' struggle for independence (11th-C. revolts of Melo and later of his son ARGYROS). The NORMAN invasion, however, complicated the situation. In 1047 the German emperor Henry III recognized the Normans and granted their leader the title of *dux*, prompting an anti-Norman alliance of the papacy and Constantinople. The allies' defeat at Civitate in 1053 and the conflict between the churches of Rome and Constantinople were followed by a restructuring of forces around Apulia. The reconciliation of Pope Nicholas II (1059-61) with Robert Guiscard expedited the Norman conquest of Apulia, accomplished by 1071.

Byz. had little impact on Apulian society. Town administration was in the hands of the Lombard aristocracy, and Lombard personal names outnumber Greek ones even in coastal cities (Wickham, *Italy* 157). Apulia was an important center of ceramic production in the 13th C.; so-called PROTO-MAIOLICA WARE was produced there and exported widely to Greece and the Levant.

Monuments of Apulia. Significant remains in Apulia include the large (5th-C.?) tetraconch church of S. Leucio outside Canosa, related in design to contemporary Byz. churches and to S. Lorenzo in MILAN, and 5th-C. vault mosaics in S. Maria della Croce at Casaranello, originally a cruciform chapel like the so-called Mausoleum of Galla Placidia in RAVENNA. In Barletta is a colossal bronze statue of a 4th- or 5th-C. emperor, said to have been cast up from a shipwreck, presumably while being transported (in a Venetian ship?) from Constantinople (U. Peschlow in *Studien Deichmann* 1:21-33).

Like these early remains, the most important Byz. buildings are in the coastal cities where the ruling class resided. They include S. Pietro at OTRANTO and the architecturally similar S. Maria di Siponto (11th C.). The 11th-C. cathedral at

Canosa (S. Sabino) is a T-shaped building with five domes, possibly inspired by S. Marco in VENICE and ultimately by the HOLY APOSTLES Church in Constantinople. In Bari, medieval sources speak of a *palacium* or *curte* of the KATEPANO; the arguments of Schettini (*infra*) that large parts of this building survive in the Norman church of S. Nicola have been generally rejected.

The most distinctive Byz. monuments of Apulia and Basilicata are the rock-cut churches and settlements usually inhabited by Basilian monks. The caves were mostly used in the 10th-13th C. and, as in Cappadocia, the churches were extensively painted. The oldest dated paintings are in the crypt of SS. Cristina e Marina at CARPIGNANO SALENTINO, while the most completely preserved decoration is in the grotto of S. Biagio at San Vito dei Normanni, west of Brindisi; these paintings contain a Greek inscription of 1196.

LIT. *Storia della Puglia*, ed. G. Musca, vol. 1 (Bari 1979). *La Puglia fra Bisanzio e l'Occidente* (Milan 1980). P. De Leo, *LMA* 1:820-22. M. Cagianò de Azvedo, "Puglia e Adriatico in età tardoantica," *VetChr* 13 (1976) 129-36. F.M. de Robertis, "Prosperità e banditismo nella Puglia e nell'Italia Meridionale durante il Basso Impero," in *Studi di storia pugliese in onore de G. Chiarelli*, vol. 1 (Galatina 1972) 197-231. R. Farioli Campanati in *I Bizantini in Italia*, ed. G. Cavallo et al. (Milan 1982) 213-94. H. Belting, "Byzantine Art among Greeks and Latins in Southern Italy," *DOP* 28 (1974) 1-29. -A.K., R.B.H., D.K.

AQUEDUCT (*ὄχερός, ὕδραγωγός*), essential element of a large city, bringing water for baths, nymphaea, and public use. Aqueducts often reached far into the countryside and consisted largely of underground pipes or open cuttings, designed so that the water dropped gradually at an angle of less than 1 percent from the source. When valleys or swamps had to be crossed, aqueducts were supported on masonry arches, which are the most visible remains but rarely comprised 10 percent of the total length. Rome was supplied by 19 aqueducts; 32 km out of 428 rested on arches. Fourteen still functioned when cut by the Goths in 537. Constantinople originally drew its main water supply from Halkali, about 15 km northwest of the city, through an aqueduct built by Hadrian but universally known by the name of its restorer Valens. The arches, which carried it a distance of 970 m between the third and fourth hills, still stand and show much Byz. work. In the late 4th C., a network of aqueducts was

constructed over 100 km west of Constantinople to satisfy the needs of the growing population. Their exposed location, however, obliged the city to depend also on vast cisterns (see under CONSTANTINOPLE, MONUMENTS OF). Aqueducts were esp. vulnerable to attack: that of Valens, cut by the Avars in 626, was only rebuilt in 758; it was restored on several occasions through the 12th C. Large provincial towns were also supplied by aqueducts (H. Hellenkemper, F. Hild, *Neue Forschungen in Kilikien* [Vienna 1986] 123-29). Most were destroyed during the troubles of the 7th C., after which cisterns became the main source of water for their reduced populations.

LIT. K. Dalman, *Der Valens-Aquädukt in Konstantinopel* (Bamberg 1933) 1-49. C. Mango, *Le développement urbain de Constantinople* (Paris 1985) 20, 40-42. A. Abramea, "'Hydragogos kai architekton ton hydaton.' Apo anekdote Athenaike epigraphē," *Byzantina* 13.2 (1985) 1093-99. S. Froriep, "Ein Wasserweg in Bithynien," *Antike Welt* 17, 2. Sondernummer (1986) 39-50. -C.F.

AQUILEIA (*Ἀκυλῖα*), naval and commercial city; capital of the province of Venetia et Istria in the 4th-5th C. and a center of communications between East and West. It served as a residence of Diocletian, Maximian, and Constantine I; Constantine's sumptuous palace there is described in a panegyric (*Panegyrici latini* 6.6). Aquileia played a major role in the rivalries of 4th-C. emperors (e.g., Theodosios I defeated the usurpers MAXIMUS and EUGENIUS near there). The city had a cosmopolitan population, saw extensive secular and ecclesiastical construction, and was described by Ausonius as the fourth city of Italy (MGH *AuctAnt* 5.2:100.65). A council condemning ARIANISM, presided over by St. Ambrose, was held there in 381; its bishops became increasingly powerful, exercising metropolitan jurisdiction over most of Venetia by 442. The bishops of Aquileia cultivated the tradition that St. Mark had evangelized the area as the basis of their claims to metropolitan jurisdiction in North Italy and to the title of patriarch (ranking with Rome, Alexandria, and other apostolic foundations), which they assumed sometime between the 5th and 7th C. The bishops opposed Justinian's policy in the THREE CHAPTERS affair from ca.553.

As a strategic center close to the frontier of Italy Aquileia was subject to invasion: it was occupied by ALARIC in 401 and 408 and was sacked

by ATTILA in 452. Its subsequent decline may, however, owe more to other factors, such as hydrographic changes and the breakdown of trade links with the areas north of the Alps than to barbarian attacks. After Aquileia was occupied by the Lombard king ALBOIN in 568, its patriarch, Paulinus I, transferred his see to GRADO.

Monuments of Aquileia. In the 3rd–6th C. Aquileia was an influential center of the craft of FLOOR MOSAIC. Most important are the pavements of the double cathedral, dated by inscriptions of Bp. Theodore (308–19). These include donor portraits, incidental motifs (wildlife, busts of seasons) with possible allegorical significance, and a large marine scene with the story of JONAH. In the 9th? and 11th C. the south hall of the cathedral was rebuilt. Its crypt was painted around 1200 by a master or masters with access to the same cartoons used by mosaic workshops in VENICE and TRIESTE.

LIT. S. Tavano, *Aquileia Cristiana* (Udine 1973). Idem, *Aquileia e Grado* (Trieste 1986). *Aquileia e l'Oriente mediterraneo* (Udine 1977). *Aquileia nel IV secolo* (Udine 1982). Krautheimer, *ECBArch* 43–45, 179. G.C. Menis, *I mosaici cristiani di Aquileia* (Udine 1965). D. Gioseffi et al., *Aquileia: Gli affreschi nella cripta della Basilica* (Udine 1976). J. Kugler, "Byzantinisches und Westliches in den Kryptafresken von Aquileia," *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 26 (1973) 7–31. —T.S.B., D.K.

AQUINAS, THOMAS, master of theology in the Dominican Order; born Roccasecca, Italy, 1224, died Fossanova, Italy, 1274. Aquinas's form of SCHOLASTICISM, later known as Thomism, used the philosophical methods and principles of Aristotelian metaphysics, which he studied in Latin translation. His major theological works, the *Summa contra gentiles* and *Summa theologiae*, became known in Byz. through the many DOMINICANS residing in the East and esp. through the efforts of the Kydones brothers. Demetrios KYDONES translated the *Summa contra gentiles* in 1354, and both he and his brother Prochoros translated parts of the *Summa theologiae* before 1363. Demetrios also wrote a *Defense of Thomas Aquinas* (unpub.; Podskalsky, *infra* 195–204), which supports his authority as a saint and theologian whose syllogisms and methods could be used with validity in Byz. theological discussions. Prochoros used Thomist arguments in his anti-Palamite treatises, for example, *On Essence and Energy* (PG 151:1192–1241).

The theologian Neilos KABASILAS resisted the

influence of Aquinas's works and used the translations of the Kydones brothers in composing his anti-Thomist *On the Procession of the Holy Spirit*. Matthew Angelos Panaretos and Kallistos Angelikoudes also wrote polemical treatises against Aquinas's theology in the late 14th C. In the 15th C. Thomism found a new supporter in Patr. GENADIOS II SCHOLARIOS, who translated and commented upon parts of the *Summa theologiae*.

LIT. H.G. Beck, "Der Kampf um den thomistischen Theologiebegriff in Byzanz," *Divus Thomas* 13 (Freiburg 1935) 3–22. F. Kianka, "Demetrius Cydones and Thomas Aquinas," *Byzantion* 52 (1982) 264–86. St. G. Papadopoulos, *Hellenikai metaphraseis thomistikou ergon* (Athens 1967). Podskalsky, *Theologie*, esp. 207, 216, 221f, 225. —F.K.

ARAB GEOGRAPHERS. Early Arab geographers were mainly astronomers, administrative officials, or philologists; others were systematic geographer-cartographers, travelers, anthologists, or encyclopedists; many were polymaths. They provide valuable information on Byz.-Arab relations; on the Thughūr (see 'AWĀSIM AND THUGHŪR); and occasionally on internal Byz. military, administrative, economic, and cultural affairs. Their most original information concerning the THEMES and other administrative and strategic matters derives from official documents and accounts of returned prisoners and travelers. IBN KHURDĀDBEH, QUDĀMA, and al-MAS'ŪDĪ preserve parts of the valuable reports of al-JARMĪ, in addition to other primary documents and oral information. Ibn Rusta preserves the account of HĀRŪN IBN YAḤYĀ, which is to be supplemented by al-MARWAZĪ. The anthologist ibn al-Fakih (late 9th C.) gives isolated details, besides his list of Byz. themes as preserved by YĀQŪT. Al-MAQDISĪ provides descriptions of Byz. naval warfare, routes through Asia Minor, and Byz. treatment of Muslim prisoners of war.

IBN ḤAWQAL, a native of the frontier and a systematic geographer, updates al-IṢṬAKHRĪ and adds much original information. Both these and the great cartographer al-IDRĪSĪ highlight the position of Constantinople and Anatolian towns on their maps. In the 13th and 14th C. the encyclopedist YĀQŪT, the systematic geographer ibn Sa'īd of Granada (13th C.), and the travelers al-HARAWĪ, IBN JUBAYR, and IBN BAṬṬŪṬA are valuable sources for contemporary economic conditions and trade relations of Byz., its northern and

western neighbors, and, in the case of ibn Baṭṭūṭa, the turkification of Asia Minor. Constantinople, also known in Arabic as Būzanṭiyyā, "Queen of Cities," Iṣṭānbŭlin, and the "City of Caesar" (see Shboul, *Al-Mas'ūdī* 243f), continued to fascinate Arab geographers and visitors. Al-Harawī and ibn Baṭṭūṭa wrote esp. vivid descriptions of the Byz. capital. Other Arab geographers and cosmographers, for example, ABŪ AL-FIDĀ' and al-Dīmashqī (13th–14th C.), also included Constantinople and Byz. in their surveys. Kračkovskij singled out several groups of Arab geographers: travelers of the 9th C.; authors of the general surveys of the 9th C. (ibn Khurdādbēh); the classical systematic school of the 10th C. (al-Iṣṭakhrī, ibn Ḥawqal, al-Maqdisī) whose descriptions were based on detailed maps of the Islamic world; and the encyclopedists of the 13th–14th C. (Yāqūt ibn 'Abdallāh, ibn Baṭṭūṭa, et al.).

ED. Vasiliev, *Byz. Arabes* 2.2:377–437.

LIT. I.Ju. Kračkovskij, *Izbrannye sočinenija* 4 (Moscow-Leningrad 1957). A. Miquel, *La géographie humaine du monde musulman jusqu'au milieu du 11e siècle*, vol. 2 (Paris 1975) 381–481. S. Maqbul Ahmad, *EI* 2 2:575–87. —A.Sh.

ARABIA, the Arabian peninsula, homeland of the ARABS and the Ḥimyarites (see ḤIMYAR). Southern Arabia was famous for its riches, in spices, minerals, and fruits, although the rest of the peninsula was desolate and sparsely populated. Cities were founded largely on the caravan trade, developing along the western edge of the desert where Christians and Jews settled. Trade through Arabia involved not only items from the south but also from AXUM, INDIA, and CHINA, allowing a rich interplay of ideas and cultures. Early visitors to Arabia from Byz. included the writer NONNOSOS, his father Abraham, and grandfather Euphrasios, who went on diplomatic missions to KINDA in the 6th C. Byz. imperial and ecclesiastical influence penetrated western Arabia but failed to convert Mecca, where MUḤAMMAD appeared ca.610. His mission quickly and fundamentally changed the face of Arabia and its relationship with Byz., and Arabia became the base of operations against Byz. In the titanic struggle after Muḥammad died (632), the Arabs wrested Oriens, Egypt, and the rest of North Africa from Byz. After the original conquests, however, Muslim operations against Byz. were conducted not from Arabia but from Umayyad Damascus in

Syria, and thus Arabia practically lost its relevance to Byz.

LIT. N. Pigulevskaia, *Byzanz auf den Wegen nach Indien* (Berlin 1969). I.A. Shahid, "Pre-Islamic Arabia," *CHIsI* 1:3–29. J. Beaucamp, C. Robin, "Le christianisme dans le péninsule arabique d'après l'épigraphie et l'archéologie," *TM* 8 (1981) 45–61. —I.A.Sh.

ARABIA, PROVINCE OF. From 105 onward Arabia was the name of a Roman province created in the northwestern region of the former Nabataean kingdom (east of the Jordan) with its capital at BOSTRA. In the 4th C. its southern part (NEGEV) was separated from Arabia and named Palaestina Salutaris (Palaestina III); at the same time some northern regions were attached to the province of Arabia to create a barrier against independent Arab tribes. Arabia accepted the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Antioch, although from the 5th C. onward Jerusalem tried to absorb the region into its sphere of authority, but failed; by 518 only its southern part (the bishopric of Areopolis) had changed its allegiance, but MADABA remained under Bostra. During the ecclesiastical disputes of the 4th–6th C., the province of Arabia served as a place of exile for defeated churchmen, including the partisans of John Chrysostom. After 636 the territory fell to the Arabs, who were newly converted to Islam, but much of the population remained Christian and church construction continued through at least the 7th C. The Armenian Basil of Ialimbana preserved the description by GEORGE OF CYPRUS of the ecclesiastical hierarchy of the province.

LIT. R.E. Brünnow, A. von Domaszewski, *Die Provincia Arabia*, 3 vols. (Strasbourg 1905–09). M. Sartre, *Trois études sur l'Arabie romaine et byzantine* (Brussels 1982). R. Aigrain, *DHGE* 3 (1924) 1169–89. S. Vailhé, "La province ecclésiastique d'Arabie," *EO* 2 (1898–99) 166–79. —A.K.

ARABIC LITERATURE. In its diverse genres, Arabic literature provides information on Arab perceptions of Byz. and occasionally on Byz. internal affairs. Pre-Islamic poetry (6th C.), the QUR'ĀN, and traditions attributed to MUḤAMMAD allude to Byz. as a powerful neighbor.

Chronicles (8th–15th C.) need to be supplemented by other writings, such as anecdotal anthologies, regional histories, and biographical compilations (e.g., IBN AL-'ADĪM, incorporating early material from the frontier region). Both

Arab historians (such as al-BALĀDHURĪ and al-TABARĪ) and ARAB GEOGRAPHERS are important. Works of jurisprudence (8th C. onward) and sermons from the frontier, such as those by ibn Nubāta (died 984), provide insights into Byz.-Arab relations and reflect realistic attitudes (see Shboul [1981] *infra*).

Works of *adab* (belles-lettres, literary anthologies, and encyclopedias)—for example, by Jāhiz (died ca.869), Tanūkhī (died 994), and Qalqashandī (died 1418)—contain valuable details on Byz.-Arab relations, including documents otherwise unknown. Poets, particularly those from the frontier such as ABŪ FIRĀS and al-MUTANABBĪ, illuminate aspects of the conflict and provide rare historical details.

Popular literature (e.g., proverbs and tales from the *Thousand and One Nights*) echo facets of the historical reality. In certain respects, the Arabic frontier cycles in prose (e.g., *Dhat al-Himma*) provide parallels with the Byz. AKRITIC SONGS and DIGENES AKRITAS.

Muslim polemics against Byz.—more political and cultural than strictly religious—include official epistles sent to Constantinople in the name of Arab rulers (e.g., HĀRŪN AL-RASHĪD) and criticism of local Christians with allusions to Byz. (e.g., by the polymath Jāhiz).

At least two semiofficial manuals (now lost) were written on Byz. administration and culture by Arab ex-prisoners of war: al-JARMĪ (9th C.), and Ahwāzī (10th C.), quoted by al-BĪRŪNĪ (died 1048).

Unlike works of philosophy and science, few literary Greek works were translated into Arabic (see *Fihrist* [*infra*] 2:718), while few Arabic books (one on dreams) were rendered into Greek. Hellenistic influences on Arabic literature, directly or through Syriac, may be discerned, for example, in historiography, geography, literary criticism, and romance.

Arabic literature mirrors Arab attitudes toward Byz. as influenced by the vicissitudes of strategic, political, and cultural relations between the two worlds, and according to the different preoccupations of Arabic writers. In addition to the standard narrative histories and geographies, valuable perceptions are contained in biographical literature, works of jurisprudence, and other literary genres, including poetry and popular literature.

A distinction should be made between the official level expressed in documents, the learned

level expressed by Arab scholars and men of letters, and the popular attitudes reflected in proverbs and tales, although the three levels cannot be mutually exclusive. The image of Byz. in Arabic literature, like the Arab-Byz. encounter and Arab history itself, must not be seen as static. Briefly, pre-Islamic poetry reflects Byz. as a powerful, wealthy, and civilized Christian neighboring empire, feared and admired by the Arabs. The Qur'ān and prophetic traditions are preoccupied with Byz. as a perpetual adversary. Official Arabic documents, however, such as letters addressed to Byz. emperors (e.g., Hārūn to Constantine V or Ikhshīd to Romanos I), accounts of receptions of Byz. envoys, as well as works of Muslim jurists, generally show a pragmatic understanding of the dictates of politics and trade. The Fātimids, who at first reflect an unusually intransigent attitude, later resorted to political expediency.

The early image of Byz. as a civilized Christian neighbor, the existence in Islamic society of many individuals, slaves, and freedmen and women of Byz. background, as well as trade and travel between the two sides, modified hostile Muslim attitudes somewhat and provided real knowledge of Byz. culture. But concern about Byz. as the dangerous enemy remained paramount at all levels. In this context, Arabic literature, particularly at the popular level, partakes of the universal tendency to stereotype the adversary. Thus while Byz. slave girls appear lovely and industrious, the Byz. in general were most unattractive in Arab eyes.

LIT. *The Fihrist of al-Nadīm*, tr. B. Dodge, 2 vols. (New York 1970). A.F.L. Beeston et al., *Arabic Literature to the End of the Umayyad Period* (Cambridge 1983). Vasiliev, *Byz. Arabes* 2.2. A. Shboul, "Byzantium and the Arabs: The Image of the Byzantines as Mirrored in Arabic Literature," in E. and M. Jeffreys, A. Moffatt, *Byzantine Papers* (Camberley 1981) 43–68. Idem, "Arab Attitudes Toward Byzantium: Official, Learned, Popular," in *Kathegetria: Essays Presented to Joan Hussey* (Camberley, England, 1988) 111–28. S. El-Attar, "Contemplaciones iniciales sobre el tema bizantino en la cultura árabe," *Bizantion/Nea Hellas* 8 (1985) 209–26. Shboul, *Al-Masūdi* 227–83. —A.Sh.

ARABIC PAPYRI, found in the topmost levels of sites and rubbish dumps in Egypt from after 641. Arabic papyri, both documents and literary texts, have been found since 1824; they are scattered among collections and dealers the world over, and no comprehensive list of them exists.

Their texts include the Qur'ān and *ḥadīth*, history and theology, official correspondence, tax records, protocols, poetry, proverbs, grammar, and medical and scientific works. Documents of the Arab administration are very numerous and comprise examples of every type, such as land-leases and sales, tax receipts, requisitions of men and supplies (esp. for the Arab fleet's annual expedition against Constantinople), orders, safe-conduct passes (*sigillia*), and financial records. One can trace the beginnings of the use of Arabic by the Christian population in private letters and even marriage contracts. Christian Arabic literary texts on papyrus include a disputation text (in Heidelberg) and a polemical work (in Vienna). Papyri are of great importance for the history of the Arabic language and palaeography, for chronology, law, and economic history, and for every aspect of the institutions and culture of Egypt after removal from Byz. rule. Arabic papyri have also been found at sites outside Egypt (Damascus, Samarra, Israel).

ED. A. Grohmann, *Arabic Papyri in the Egyptian Library*, 6 vols. (Cairo 1934–56). C.H. Becker, *Papyri Schott-Reinhardt* (Heidelberg 1906). N. Abbott, *The Kurrah Papyri from Aphrodito in the Oriental Institute* (Chicago 1938). N. Abbott, *Studies in Arabic Literary Papyri*, 3 vols. (Chicago 1957–72).

LIT. A. Grohmann, *Arabische Papyrskunde* (Leiden-Cologne 1966). G. Frantz-Murphy, "A Comparison of the Arabic and Earlier Egyptian Contract Formularies," *JNES* 40 (1981) 203–25; 44 (1985) 99–114. —L.S.B.MacC.

ARABISSOS (Ἀραβισσός), modern Afşin, ancient city in Cappadocia, later one of the cities of the Hexapolis in Armenia II, located on the road between Cappadocian Caesarea and Melitene. In late antiquity, Arabissos was a legionary station attested from 381 on as a bishopric (suffragan of Melitene). As it was his birthplace, Arabissos was embellished by Maurice. It suffered from the earthquake of 584/5 and esp. during the wars with the Arabs, when it was the center of a KLEISOURA. In the 11th C. Arabissos was known as an EPISKEPSIS, and in 1108 as a KASTRON. Near Arabissos is a cave where an unnamed martyr was revered; for the Arabs this became a site of the legendary SEVEN SLEEPERS.

In July 629 Herakleios met SHAHRBARĀZ in Arabissos to arrange terms with Persia. Herakleios offered Shahrbarāz and his son the Persian throne. They agreed on the Euphrates as the frontier between the empires and probably negotiated the

withdrawal of Persian troops from Syria, Mesopotamia, Palestine, and Egypt. Shahrbarāz promised to support Christianity and participated in the construction of the church named Irene ("Peace"). Patr. Nikephoros claims that Shahrbarāz agreed to become Herakleios's subject. Although Shahrbarāz soon fell to an assassin, the terms of the treaty (*Reg* 1, nos. 200–01) at Arabissos continued to provide the basis for Byz.-Persian relations until the Muslim overthrow of the Sasanian Empire.

LIT. *TIB* 2:144f. Mango, "La Perse Sassanide" 110–12. —W.E.K., C.F.

ARABS, called in the Byz. sources *Arabes* and *Sarakenoi* as well as *Ismaelitai* and *Hagarenoi*, meaning the progeny of the biblical Ishmael and Hagar.

Constantine I inherited from Diocletian a stable frontier with Arabia. To ward off invasions from the Peninsula, Byz. developed the system of *FOEDERATI*, who together with the soldiers of the *limes Diocletianus*, which extended from the Euphrates to the Red Sea, defended Roman Oriens. In the course of the late Roman period, the empire dealt with a succession of these Arab *foederati*: the TANŪKHIDS of the 4th C., the ŠĀLIHIDS of the 5th, and the GHASSĀNIDS of the 6th. The last were the most powerful and represented the maturest expression of the federate system. Their kings were integrated into the Roman military and administrative hierarchies: the official title of the federate chief was *PHYLARCH* with the rank of *clarissimus*, but the supreme one was both *patrikios* and *gloriosissimus*. The system of phylarchs and *foederati* was so successful that the STRATEGIKON OF MAURICE is silent on the Arabs. The reign of Maurice witnessed a crisis in imperial-federate relations when the emperor had the Ghassānid ALAMUNDARUS exiled to Sicily. When the Muslim Arabs appeared in the 7th C. it was against a considerably weakened federate shield that they fought and won.

Before his death in 632, Muḥammad had united Arabia. His successors, the three "orthodox" caliphs, conquered the Byz. lands of Oriens and Egypt. The decisive battle was the Arabs' victory at YARMUK in 636. The Umayyads continued this career of conquest from DAMASCUS, the new Arab capital: against the Byz. heartland, Anatolia, and

the capital, Constantinople; against the rest of provincial North Africa and Spain; and in the Mediterranean in order to establish a strong naval presence. The thrust against Anatolia and Constantinople consisted of annual campaigns against the former and three sieges of the latter: in 669, the Seven Years War of 674–80 (against Constantine IV), and the final siege of 717/18 (against Leo III). These military endeavors against Constantinople failed. The war in the Mediterranean was more successful. Mu'AWIYA built a fleet that soon became the dominant power in the Mediterranean. The Arabs took Constantia in Cyprus in 649 and began to attack the islands of the Aegean. In 654 they sacked Rhodes and demolished the colossal statue of HELIOS; Kos was occupied and Crete plundered. The Arabs won a decisive naval victory, the battle of the Masts, in 655 off the Lycian coast. Then followed the conquest of Chios and the region of Kyzikos (670) so that the base for an assault on Constantinople was prepared. Even though an attack on Constantinople from 674 to 678 failed, in 688 a condominium of the two powers was established on Cyprus and its territory was proclaimed neutral and demilitarized; the Arabs were entrenched in Crete by ca. 824–827/8. The conquest of the Byz. Occident was also successful; Mūsā ibn-Nuṣayr carried Muslim arms to the shores of the Atlantic, while in 711 Ṭāriq crossed the straits that have carried his name ever since, Gibraltar (Jabal Ṭāriq), and destroyed the kingdom of the VISIGOTHS.

The *translatio imperii* from Umayyad Damascus to 'Abbāsīd BAGHDAD in 750 opened a new phase in Arab-Byz. relations. Two energetic 'ABBĀSĪD caliphs carried the war into the Byz. heartland. HĀRŪN AL-RASHĪD reached the Bosphoros in 782 and took HERAKLEIA in 806, while al-MU'ṬAṢĪM captured AMORION in 838. These operations, however, enhanced the prestige of the caliph as a *ghazi* (holy warrior) of the "infidels" more than they benefited the Islamic state. The line of frontier fortifications (see 'AWĀṢĪM AND THUGHŪR) separating Anatolia from the realm of Islam became even more important than in Umayyad times, since unlike the Umayyads, the 'Abbāsids after the early 9th C. had no serious intention of capturing Constantinople or expanding into Anatolia.

With the decline in the power of the 'Abbāsīd caliphs and the central authority, the struggle

against the Byz. was continued by petty states in the east and in the west—the AGHLABIDS, the ḤAMDĀNIDS, and the FĀṬĪMIDS, their military operations conducted from Ḳayrawān, Aleppo, and Cairo, respectively. During the entire 9th C., the Aghlabids of Ifrīkiya (Tunisia) dominated the middle Mediterranean and succeeded in conquering Sicily. In the east, the struggle was taken up in the 9th C. by the Ḥamdānids of Aleppo. The initial successes of SAYF AL-DAWLA were brought to naught, however, by Nikephoros II Phokas. The Fāṭimids of Egypt battled the Byz. in the 10th C., but John I Tzimiskes and Basil II contained their thrusts around Antioch and enlarged Byz. gains in northern Syria. The achievements of these three Macedonian emperors marked the turn of the tide against the Arabs. The destruction of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre by the Fāṭimid al-Hakim (996–1021) was one of the contributory causes of the Crusades, which were fought mainly between Latin Westerners and the Turks, while Byz. and the Arabs were spectators. The Turks, a new virile Muslim people, took up the struggle against Byz. where the Arabs left off in the 11th C.

Economic and Cultural Exchanges between Arabs and Byzantines. Within the 'Abbāsīd caliphate there were Christian monasteries and lay communities, in which Greek literature flourished throughout the 8th C. and probably later. In this milieu, or among Palestinian émigrés in Constantinople, the unrealistic dream that the caliph would convert to Christianity was cherished. Scholarly contacts developed and the caliphs tried to invite Byz. scholars, such as LEO THE MATHEMATICIAN, to Baghdad, Greek MSS were collected and translated, and PHOTIOS was probably able to work in Baghdad during his embassy to the city. Similarly, Arab influence penetrated Byz. art and architecture, and Theophilos is said to have built his palace on Arab models (see ISLAMIC INFLUENCE ON BYZANTINE ART). 'Abbāsīd attempts to support Byz. insurgents—from THOMAS THE SLAV to Andronikos DOUKAS—presuppose close contacts with certain circles in Byz.

Arabs visited Constantinople as merchants, and one could meet there a Hagarene merchant in a black cloak and brick-colored sandals (PG 111:681B–C). Some Syrian merchants stayed in Constantinople for ten years. They appeared not only in TREBIZOND or ARTZE, but probably even

in faraway Athens, where archaeological evidence attests an Arab colony of the 10th–11th C. (G.C. Miles, *Hesperia* 25 [1956] 329–44). People of double origin (Arab and Greek) were so typical in the eastern provinces that one of them became the hero of the epic of DIGENES AKRITAS. Arab families, such as the Sarakenopouloi, Syropouloi, Bempetziotai, and Aplespharai, penetrated the ranks of the Byz. aristocracy.

Representation in Byzantine Art and Literature. As major rivals of the Byz. until the 11th C., Arabs occupied an important place in Byz. literary texts and images. Two clichés predominated: either differences of race were ignored (esp. in the presentation of Arab saints such as GOURIAS, SAMONAS, AND ABIBAS) or Arab stereotypes were exaggerated, for example, when they were shown as terrifying raiders. Ethnic features were rarely displayed: sometimes the turban distinguishes Arabs, including John of Damascus, sometimes Arab invaders wear the three-piece garment (long tunic, undershirt, and patterned stockings) that appears in some images of the Magi in their ADORATION of Christ. When Arabs do appear in works during and after the 12th C. (Ohrid, Peribleptos; Venice, S. Marco), they are usually portrayed among the nations of the PENTECOST or as people taught by the apostles. The Madrid Skylitzes (Grabar-Manoussacas, *Skylitzès*, figs. 98, 138, 189, 190, 192) presents a dispassionate record of Arab rulers, costume, and architecture. Another miniature in this MS (fig. 58) depicts an Arab horseman displaying his skill in the Hippodrome.

LIT. Nöldeke, *Die Ghassânischen Fürsten*. I. Shahid, *Byzantium and the Semitic Orient before the Rise of Islam* (London 1988). Vasiliev, *Byz. Arabes*. M. Canard, *L'expansion arabo-islamique et ses répercussions* (London 1974). V. Christides, "Pre-Islamic Arabs in Byzantine Illuminations," *Muséon* 83 (1970) 167–81. E. Jeffreys, "The Image of the Arabs in Byzantine Literature," 17 *CEB Major Papers* (New Rochelle 1986) 305–23. S. Gero, "Early Contacts between Byzantium and the Arab Empire," in *Proceedings of the Second Symposium on the History of Bilād al-Shām* (Amman 1987).

—I.A.Sh., A.K., A.C.

ARBANTENOS ('Αρβαντηνός), or Arabantenos, a family known from the second half of the 11th C. The name is probably derived from al-Rāwandān in northern Syria (Honigmann, *Ostgrenze* 140, n.7). Arabantanoi are first mentioned in non-Greek sources: Matthew of Edessa relates that Aruantan, the *doux* of Edessa, was captured

by Turks in 1066/7 (Oikonomides, *Dated Seals*, no. 94); Ordericus Vitalis mentions Ravendinos, Alexios I's *protospatharios*, to whom the inhabitants of Laodikeia surrendered ca. 1099, as well as (another?) Ravendinos, "a powerful Greek," a Byz. envoy to Antioch in 1118/19 and later to Jerusalem. The *sebastos* John Arbantenos was extolled by Nicholas KALLIKLES; he married Anna of the Komnenoi, and the *typikon* of the PANTOKRATOR MONASTERY in Constantinople calls him the husband of John II's niece. Thirty years later, in 1165, another *sebastos* John Arbantenos, Manuel I's *gambros* (son-in-law?), was active. Several Arabantanoi are known only by their seals: one of them, Nicholas, was *protonotarios* of Chaldia, probably in the 11th C. (Schlumberger, *Sig.* 290); other seals, dated to the 11th and 12th C., have no information about the Arabantanoi's offices, but some bear effigies of military saints that presumably indicate their military functions. In the 14th C. a few Arabantanoi are attested (*PLP*, nos. 1215–17) but they are known only as land and house owners.

LIT. P. Gautier, "L'obituaire du typicon du Pantocrator," *REB* 27 (1969) 260–62. A. Kazhdan, "Some Notes on the Byzantine Prosopography of the Ninth through the Twelfth Centuries," *ByzF* 12 (1987) 73–75. —A.K.

ARBOGAST ('Αρβογάστης), Western *magister militum* and power behind the revolt of EUGENIUS; died 394. Arbogast was a Frank and subordinate of the *magister militum* Bauto under Gratian and Theodosios I. Upon Bauto's death ca. 388, Arbogast used his popularity with the troops to seize the office of *magister militum*. In 388, after Arbogast accomplished the final defeat of the usurper MAXIMUS, Theodosios left him to manage the affairs of the young VALENTINIAN II, who became a virtual prisoner. When Valentinian attempted to dismiss Arbogast, the general tore up the order, implying that he took commands directly from Theodosios. In 392 Valentinian was found dead and some historical sources implicate Arbogast. Arbogast sought to rule the West in his own name, but ultimately elevated Eugenius, although continuing to seek reconciliation with Constantinople. Arbogast was a moderate pagan who supported the revival of paganism under Eugenius. He tried to ambush the forces of Theodosios at the battle of the Frigidus in 394, but was defeated and took his own life.

LIT. Stein, *Histoire* 1:207–17. *PLRE* 1:95–97. O'Flynn, *Generalissimos* 7–13. B. Croke, "Arbogast and the Death of Valentinian II," *Historia* 25 (1976) 235–44. —T.E.G.

ARCH (ἀψίς, καμάρα), a structural element composed of wedge-shaped blocks of stone or bricks (VOUSOIRS) spanning an opening, usually semi-circular in form. Arches enlarge interior space by transferring the heavy loads of superstructures to isolated points of support (PIERS, COLUMNS), which can be more widely separated than those of trabeated construction. Arches can penetrate walls without diminishing their strength, carry BRIDGES over rivers, AQUEDUCTS over valleys, terraces over cisterns, domes over naoi, or clerestory walls over open colonnades. The widest spans achieved by Byz. builders are those of the great arches in Hagia Sophia—about 31 m (about 108 Byz. feet). Immured, they may articulate walls with blind arcades or spare large wall areas for groups of windows. Blind arcades, used to enliven exterior façades, sometimes employ pointed and ogee arches in addition to round-headed ones, as at the CHORA MONASTERY in Constantinople. Trilobe arches are also found in architecture of the 13th and 14th C., usually as window openings.

—W.L., N.E.L.

ARCH, MONUMENTAL, a structure consisting of a large single arch resting on piers or a large arch flanked by smaller arches, erected for commemorative purposes. Provided with a columnar façade (freestanding or half-columns supporting an architrave), the arch itself carried an attic on which were displayed honorific inscriptions and sometimes statuary. The only known freestanding Byz. monumental arch is that of Theodosios I erected in the Forum Tauri, Constantinople, ca.390?; though not fully excavated, it has been reconstructed as a triple arch approximately 43 m broad and 23 m wide (Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon*, figs. 294–98). A variant, the tetrapylon, consists of four arches arranged around a square and supporting a groin vault or dome, as at the ARCH OF GALERIUS in Thessalonike. Such arches were often placed at the intersections of major streets. Monumental arches were also adapted for other purposes, such as city GATES. The Milion (see MESE) in Constantinople, built in the form of a domed tetrapylon, was the marker from which distances on the roads leading to the capital were

measured. The tetrapylon was also adapted for use in Christian cult buildings, for example, the Tetrapylon of the Forty Martyrs in Constantinople, which stood until ca.1400 (Majeska, *Russian Travelers* 231). A tetrapylon could also be structurally integrated into a church, as at Aphrodisias (R. Cormack in *Classical Tradition* 114).

LIT. H. Kähler, *RE* 2.R. 7A (1939) 373–493. —M.J., W.L.

ARCHAEOLOGY. Byz. archaeology is a relatively young field of scholarship. Aspects of the discipline have been separately studied as Christian and underwater archaeology. In addition, the method known as archaeological survey is a notable tradition in Byz. studies. Following an overview of the field, each of these separate disciplines will be discussed in turn.

AN OVERVIEW. Byz. archaeology does not really exist as a discipline of its own, and—although there are significant exceptions (such as the excavations of the GREAT PALACE and several important churches in Constantinople [e.g., St. POLYEUKTOS, KALENDERHANE CAMII] and such late antique centers as NEA ANCHIALOS)—most Byz. sites are explored in connection with the investigation of classical monuments. Because most of these are on the Mediterranean littoral many important Byz. sites in the interior are hardly known; in addition, the Byz. components of many were either summarily treated or completely ignored, with the exception of some standing buildings (primarily churches and city walls). Churches and their decoration (mosaics, frescoes, icons, church furniture, liturgical vessels, etc.) formed the subject of "Christian archaeology" (see below) that in fact coincided with the study of Christian art. Only recently have ordinary Byz. objects (HOUSES, CERAMICS and other UTENSILS, TOOLS, and WEAPONS) found during excavation of ancient sites begun to be described, collected, and studied. Primary attention has been paid to cities (chiefly late Roman cities) such as Carthage, Apameia, Caesarea Maritima, Korykos, Aphrodisias, Pergamon, Sardis, Ephesus, Corinth, Athens, Cherson, and cities on the lower Danube; in some of them "post-Roman" strata of the 7th C. and later have been excavated. The countryside has so far received only limited investigation (mostly in northern Syria, Bulgaria, and the Crimea). Necropolises have been excavated in many places, with esp. fruitful results

in the region of barbarian invasions (Pannonia, Bulgaria).

Archaeology is essential for the study of material objects about which there is little information in written sources or visual representations (household utensils, tools, simple ornaments of bone or metal); it can also provide data on regions that were normally ignored by medieval writers (e.g., the provinces and esp. the frontier zone). The history of urban life and of the Germanic and Avaro-Slavic penetration into the empire has been rewritten in the last decades on the basis of archaeological discoveries. Archaeology, however, faces various problems: while some materials (e.g., ceramics, glass) are preserved in excellent condition, others (wood, leather, cloth) disappear entirely or are severely damaged (iron), thus distorting the picture of material culture—in only a few regions (desert or swampy areas) have organic materials been preserved. The excavated artifacts must be identified, dated, and located in a historical milieu (ethnic, religious, social, etc.).

Unlike documents and literary texts, archaeological finds are studied not so much as individual objects, but as part of a series (e.g., ceramic bowls or glass flasks) and of an archaeological complex; their location (position in the excavated room and in an archaeological layer or stratum) is no less significant than their identification as belonging to a certain series (type or subtype). The chronology of an artifact (save for rare specifically dated objects) has to be established either on the basis of typology (position in a dated series) or stratigraphy (position in a dated stratum). For establishing a chronology of archaeological finds, coins have primary importance; since they can be dated, at least within a certain reign but sometimes even to a narrower period, they often supply the scholar with a *terminus post quem* for the whole stratum. After a number of dated finds, some objects (esp. ceramics) can themselves be dated with relative precision and become the yardstick for further ("typological") dating.

Establishing the ethnic, religious, and social background of the objects (or, rather, of their long-dead owners) is very difficult unless we have direct indications; ornamented objects (earrings, necklaces, bronze BELT FITTINGS, FIBULAE) can be helpful, although sometimes problematic—conclusions of this sort are mostly hypothetical. Changes in quality and fashion reflected in objects allow one to study economic, social, and cultural

development; archaeology provides us with great numbers of objects and therefore permits tentative analysis of quantitative changes (increase of production, transition from one type of object to another, etc.). Discoveries of Byz. artifacts in remote regions (the Urals, China, Scandinavia) provide evidence for the study of trade routes and cultural influences. Archaeology reveals many aspects of the past on which written sources remain reticent; on the other hand, by dealing with "real" material objects archaeology easily creates an illusion of veracity that it, as a matter of fact, does not have: archaeological observations and conclusions are often extremely hypothetical and should be compared with the independent data of written texts.

LIT. J. Russell, "Transformations in Early Byzantine Urban Life: The Contribution and Limitations of Archaeological Evidence," 17 *CEB*, *Major Papers* (Washington, D.C., 1986) 137–54. C. Foss, "Archaeology and the 'Twenty Cities' of Byzantine Asia," *AJA* 81 (1977) 469–86. Hendy, *Economy*. G. Astill, "Archaeology, Economics and Early Medieval Europe," *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 4 (1985) 215–31. J.H. Rosser, "A Research Strategy for Byzantine Archaeology," *BS/EB* 6 (1979) 152–66. C. Delvoye, "Les progrès de l'archéologie et de l'histoire de l'art de l'Empire byzantin depuis le Congrès d'Oxford," 14 *CEB*, vol. 3 (Bucharest 1976) 251–62. —T.E.G., A.K.

CHRISTIAN ARCHAEOLOGY. Archaeology as a discipline emerged first to study the remains of classical and biblical antiquity, and it was only later extended to the remains of the postclassical period, including that of Byz. Originally research into this era was restricted almost exclusively to churches and objects of liturgical use, hence it was defined as Christian archaeology; its purpose commonly was to discover objects that shed light on the practices and beliefs of the early church, and a devotional goal frequently prompted (and distorted) investigation. Byz. archaeology originated as a branch of Christian archaeology and this heritage influenced its development—for example, the relatively late emergence of interest in the nonreligious aspects of Byz. society. Christian archaeology as defined today does not restrict itself to religious topics, and meetings such as the International Congress of Christian Archaeology and periodicals like *Cahiers archéologiques* allow for presentation of research from all areas of the Mediterranean in the early Middle Ages.

LIT. F.W. Deichmann, *Einführung in die christliche Archäologie* (Darmstadt 1983). G. Bovini, *Gli studi di archeologia cristiana dalle origini alla metà del secolo XIX* (Bologna 1968). —T.E.G.

UNDERWATER ARCHAEOLOGY. Over the past 30 years technological innovation and the development of effective means of underwater excavation have made possible the archaeological exploration of the sea bed. This investigation has focused on two kinds of sites: near-shore sites that were once upon land but have sunk beneath the sea, usually because of earthquake, and shipwrecks. An important example of the former is KENCHREAI, the eastern port of Corinth, whose harbor facilities sank in an earthquake in the late 4th C. Excavated Byz. shipwrecks include the 4th- and 7th-C. Yassi Ada wrecks (G.F. Bass, F.H. van Doorninck, Jr., *AJA* 75 [1971] 27-37. Eidem, *Yassi Ada* 1 [College Station, Texas, 1982]), the 11th-C. Serçe Liman wreck (carrying a large load of glass: G.F. Bass, F.H. van Doorninck, Jr., *International Journal of Nautical Archaeology* 7 [1978] 119-32), and the 12th-C. Pelagonesos wreck (with a cargo of at least 1,490 ceramic vessels: Ch. Kritzas, P. Throckmorton, *Athens Annals of Archaeology* 4 [1971] 176-85). A wreck found in 1960 off Marzamemi in southeastern Sicily contained unused church furnishings—ambo, plaques, parapet slabs, monolithic columns, 28 column bases, etc. G. Kapitän (*Archaeology* 22 [1969] 122-33) identified these as Prokonnesian marbles and suggested a date in the reign of Justinian I. Shipwrecks are particularly rich sources of archaeological material since they have not been disturbed by later human activity and their destruction took place at a single time that can often be fixed quite precisely; some materials also are better preserved in water than they are in the soil. Wrecks thus offer fixed points for the dating of archaeological objects and provide important information about trade and the economy.

—T.E.G., A.C.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY. A means of gathering information about an area through the utilization of a broad-based archaeological research program, normally without excavation, archaeological survey relies on an investigation of what appears above the surface. Survey allows the study of an area much larger than can be covered by excavation, normally at a fraction of the cost, but it relies on previous stratigraphic excavation for the identification and dating of surface finds. Survey normally involves systematic investigation by teams of people walking across the landscape; aerial reconnaissance, geophysical methods, and architectural study also play important roles.

Byz. studies have a long tradition of observation and recording of archaeological sites and monuments; W. Ramsay, J. Strzygowski, D. Talbot Rice, and others were the pioneers of this archaeological method, and contemporary scholars have continued this tradition. In the past 30 years the theory and method of archaeological survey have developed rapidly and have been used with considerable success in the eastern Mediterranean. Survey can provide information about settlement patterns, economy, land use, and other aspects of life not available from written or traditional archaeological sources. Nevertheless, despite its particular applicability to Byz., where frequently rich documentary materials can provide a check on the archaeological evidence, and despite some notable exceptions (R.M. Harrison, *AnatSt* 31 [1981] 198-200, A.W. Dunn, *JÖB* 32.4 [1982] 605-14), the results of archaeological survey have rarely been used by Byzantinists. Instead, Byz. material from large survey projects is frequently analyzed by non-Byzantinists who do not always understand the special problems or questions of the period.

Nevertheless, survey projects, mostly in the Aegean area, have led to a certain degree of consensus about the development of the Byz. settlement pattern: remarkable prosperity and widespread settlement in late antiquity (when the number of sites is commonly only slightly less than the peak in the classical period) followed by complete collapse in the late 6th to 10th C., when survey generally fails to recognize any settlement whatever, followed by a slow recovery and another peak in the 12th-13th C., followed again by decline. This broad outline may well be correct, but it is affected by our lack of knowledge about the chronology of many Byz. ceramics and other items.

LIT. T.H. van Andel, C. Runnels, *Beyond the Acropolis* (Stanford 1987).

—T.E.G.

ARCHAISM, or classicism, was a current in high-style Byz. literature inherited from the SECOND SOPHISTIC, where it originated. It encompassed both language and style (RHETORICAL FIGURES, etc.) and the contents (conscious presentation of contemporary events in the guise of ancient TERMINOLOGY, characters, situations, etc.). Obsolete METERS such as hexameter or anacreontic tetrameter were used. The late antique and early Byz. professors established a canonical list of ancient au-

thors who provided models: Homer was still the Poet, Aristotle the Philosopher, Demosthenes the Orator, Galen the supreme authority on medicine. Archaism was not limited to the literary sphere: the Byz. considered themselves as Romans (RHOMAIOTI), their capital as "New Rome" or "New Jerusalem," their Bulgarian or generally Slavic neighbors as Scythians, Roman law as still effective, etc. All values were created in the past: "There is nothing of mine," John of Damascus said of his work. The Byz. had only to follow their predecessors; accordingly, the idea of novelty or INNOVATION bordered on heresy and revolt (P. Wirth, *OrChr* 45 [1961] 127f). Some writers, however, became weary of archaism and lamented, like Theodore Metochites, that their ancestors had accomplished everything, leaving no opportunity for their own creativity (H.G. Beck, *Theodoros Metochites* [Munich 1952] 50-75).

Archaism was neither a cultural game, nor a simple IMITATION (*mimesis*). Unlike Italian humanists of the 15th C., the Byz. rarely felt a distance between past and present. Archaism created an illusion of stability and continuity in the shaky and unstable world of the Byz. elite.

LIT. Dölger, *Paraspora* 38-45. Gy. Moravcsik, "Klassizismus in der byzantinischen Geschichtsschreibung," in *Polychronion* 366-77. H. Hunger, "The Classical Tradition in Byzantine Literature: The Importance of Rhetoric," in *Classical Tradition* 35-47. A. Kazhdan, A. Cutler, "Continuity and Discontinuity in Byzantine History," *Byzantion* 52 (1982) 464-78. A. Dain, "A propos de l'étude des poètes anciens à Byzance," in *Studi in onore di Ugo Enrico Paoli* (Florence 1956) 195-201.

—A.K.

ARCHANGEL (ἀρχάγγελος, "chief angel"). Although MICHAEL and GABRIEL appear in both the Old and New Testaments, the word archangel is not used in the Septuagint and occurs only twice in the New Testament. Nonetheless archangels came to hold an important place in Jewish legend and apocrypha and were revered in Christian tradition. Pseudo-Dionysios the Areopagite ranked the archangels in the third and lowest triad of his celestial hierarchy, between the "principalities" and ANGELS. Only three archangels were recognized by the Christian church—MICHAEL, GABRIEL, and Raphael, whereas other Jewish archangels (Uriel, Azazel, etc.) were rejected by the pope Zacharias in 745. Of these three, Michael was held in the highest regard, whereas Gabriel and Raphael (who appears in the books of Tobit and Enoch) did not receive widespread veneration in Byz. A church

was dedicated to Raphael in Alexandria, but the *Synaxarion of Constantinople* does not list a feastday for him. Other archangels appear in some apocrypha (e.g., *Testament of Solomon*) and in art.

Archangels were distinguished from regular angels as early as ca.500 (C. Mango, *DChAE* 12 [1984] 40f) by their court or imperial costume (*chlamys* or *loros*, red shoes) and attributes (such as the orb or SPHAIRA). Michael and Gabriel stand dressed this way as an honor guard alongside Christ and the Virgin; they also head the heavenly host in images of the Synaxis ton Asomaton (see ASOMATOS). Their various appearances in the Old and New Testaments were collected into cycles of illustrations; in these narrative contexts the archangels are clad in the traditional angelic garb of tunic, *himation*, and sandals. Sometimes a large number of archangels, including Raphael and Uriel, is shown surrounding the figure of Christ Pantokrator in the dome, for example, at Palermo (Demus, *Norman Sicily*, pls. 13, 46), but images of archangels other than Michael and Gabriel are rare.

Michael was the *archangelos* par excellence; a church of "the *archangelos*" was assumed to be dedicated to Michael, one of "the *archangeloi*" to Michael and Gabriel. The image of Michael is common on seals, while that of Gabriel is unknown.

LIT. E. Lucchesi-Palli, *LCI* 1:674-81. D. Pallas, *RBK* 3:43f. D.K. Wright, "Justinian and an Archangel," in *Studien Deichmann* 3:75-79.

—A.K., N.P.S.

ARCHBISHOP (ἀρχιεπίσκοπος, lit. "chief bishop"), a title initially used to designate certain METROPOLITANS. It was applied to the bishops of the most important sees in the empire: Rome, Alexandria, and Antioch. Hence its application by EPIPHANIOS of Salamis (*Panarion*, ed. Holl, 3:141.11) to designate Peter of Alexandria (300-311). With the rise of Constantinople and Jerusalem to patriarchal status in the 5th C., the epithet was used for the five chief bishops of the empire. The conciliar documents of this period repeatedly employ the term in this sense. Since the title was associated with ecclesiastical independence or autonomy, it was understandably also applied to AUTOCEPHALOUS ecclesiastics, such as the primate of CYPRUS (beginning in 431) and to the most important bishops (Ephesus, Thessalonike, Caesarea in Cappadocia, Athens, etc.). This distinction was not always maintained, however.

Archbishops not directly dependent on any metropolitan but on a patriarch (the so-called "autocephalous archbishops" without suffragans) were very numerous; they ranked below the metropolitans and were elected by the ENDEMOUSA SYNODOS and the patriarch.

LIT. E. Konidares, *Hai metropoleis kai archiepiskopoi tou oikoumenikou patriarcheion kai he taxis auton* (Athens 1934). Ch. Papadopoulos, "Ho titlos archiepiskopou," *Theologia* 13 (1935) 289-95. E. Chrysos, "Zur Entstehung der Institution der autokephalen Erzbistümer," *BZ* 62 (1969) 263-86. —A.P.

ARCHERY (τοξεία). Encounters with the Avars and Hun horse-archers forced the Byz. to emulate or recruit their skills. A 6th-C. treatise on archery (ed. Dennis, *Military Treatises* 128-35) names accuracy, force, and rapidity of shot as the essential skills to be mastered either from a standstill or while in motion. Two draws were known: the Mediterranean release, with two or three fingers pulling back the bowstring and the arrow to the left of the bowstave; and the Mongolian release, using the thumb (sometimes thumb and forefinger) to pull the string with the arrow to the right of the bowstave (S. James, *BAR Int.Ser.* 336 [1987] 77-83). Mounted archers were trained to shoot in both directions to break up a fleeing enemy or to defend themselves when in retreat. Prokopios (*Wars* 1.14-16) attests the versatility and hitting power of contemporary archers, citing instances where Byz. archery proved superior against the Persians (1.18.31-35) and Ostrogoths (5.27.26-29; 8.32.6-10).

Scattered details on archery come from the 10th C. Leo VI criticized the decline of archery (TAKTIKA OF LEO VI 6.5) and called for constant practice with the bow (11.49) as a useful weapon against the Arabs (18.131, 134-35), a point later emphasized in the PRAECEPTA MILITARIA (4.27-34; 17.13-16). Expeditionary forces sought out good archers (*De cer.* 658.1-2) and took along thousands of arrows (*De cer.* 657.12-13, 17-19). The shafts were sometimes furrowed to shatter on impact, thus preventing reuse by the enemy. Although Byz. archery was effective against the Arabs in the 10th C., it was no match for the 11th-C. Turkish mounted archers, whose superior skills the Byz. acknowledged by actively recruiting them in the 11th-12th C. (See also WEAPONRY.)

LIT. O. Schissel von Fleschenberg, "Spätantike Anleitung zum Bogenschiessen," *WS* 59 (1941) 110-24; 60 (1942) 41-70. Bivar, "Cavalry" 281-87. W.E. Kaegi, "The Contribution of Archery to the Turkish Conquest of Anatolia," *Speculum* 39 (1964) 96-108. —E.M.

ARCHIMANDRITE (ἀρχιμανδρίτης, fem. ἀρχιμανδρίτισσα, lit. "chief of a sheepfold"), monastic term with two principal meanings.

1. First appearing in 4th-C. Syria, in the early period of monasticism (4th-6th C.) the term is a common equivalent of HEGOUMENOS, the superior of a monastery. G. Dagron (*TM* 4 [1970] 268f) argues that the term *archimandrite* was used primarily in Constantinople, esp. for the *hegoumenos* of the monastery of DALMATOU. Under Justinian I, the term *hegoumenos* began to supplant *archimandrite*, although *archimandrite* remained in use until the 10th C. as the designation for *hegoumenoi* of a few major monasteries.

2. From the 6th C. onward, according to Pargoire, *archimandrite* began to be used for the chief of a region or urban federation of monasteries, akin to EXARCH or PROTOS. In this sense *archimandrite* is applied to the *protos* of holy mountains like Athos, Latros, and Olympos, or to the head of a group of monasteries in one city, as in Athens.

LIT. P. de Meester, "L'archimandritat dans les églises de rite byzantin," in *Miscellanea liturgica in honorem L. Cuniberti Mohlberg*, vol. 2 (Rome 1949) 115-37. J. Pargoire, *DACL* 1.2:2739-61. —A.M.T.

ARCHIMEDES, ancient Greek mathematician and engineer; born Syracuse ca.287 B.C., died Syracuse 212 B.C. Archimedes profoundly influenced medieval Arabic and Latin science and late medieval and Renaissance MATHEMATICS but had little impact on Byz. after the 6th C. Archimedes is cited directly in the 4th C. by PAPPOS and THEON. In the early 6th C. three of his works were commented on by EUTOKIOS and were probably studied by ANTHEMIOS OF TRALLES and ISIDORE OF MILETUS. In the 9th C. Leo the Mathematician evidently possessed a MS of Archimedes' treatises, which perhaps represents the unique transliteration of the main corpus of Archimedes' works from uncial into minuscule (Lemerle, *Humanism* 196). Other MSS also survived, however, as is evident from the Arabic versions and from the 10th-C. Constantinopolitan copy of the *On Float-*

ing Bodies and the Method of Mechanical Theorems (J.L. Heiberg, *Hermes* 42 [1907] 235-303). Archimedes is mentioned by Psellos in the 11th C. (Psellos, *Scripta min.* 1:26.24, 369.1) and is cited frequently by TZETZES in the 12th C., for example, in his poem 35 "On Archimedes and some of his Devices" (*Historiae*, 47.106-49.159). Two MSS of the main corpus of Archimedes' works were available to WILLIAM OF MOERBEKE when he made his Latin translation at Viterbo in 1269.

LIT. M. Clagett, *Archimedes in the Middle Ages*, 5 vols. (Madison, Wisc.-Philadelphia 1964-84). Wilson, *Scholars* 45f, 83, 139, 161. —D.P.

ARCHITECT. In the late Roman Empire architects were usually men of high social status and education. Some were trained in geometry, arithmetic, astronomy, physics, building construction, hydraulics, carpentry, metalwork, and painting. They drew plans, elevations, and possibly perspective renderings. Downey (*infra*) distinguishes between the *mechanikos*, the fully trained architect, and the *architekton*, a "master builder." Both terms seem to have disappeared after the 6th C., though the epithet *architekton* continued to be applied to God as creator (e.g., Patr. Germanos I—PG 98:316D-317A); they were replaced by *oikodemos*, builder (a term also found in Roman inscriptions), and, later, *protomaistor*, chief of a team or guild (see MAISTOR).

Architects known by name include:

EUPHRATAS, a legendary figure

ANTHEMIOS OF TRALLES

ISIDORE OF MILETUS

ISIDORE THE YOUNGER

Eustathios, a priest from Constantinople, and Zenobios, who together designed the *martyrion*-basilica at the Holy SEPULCHRE, Jerusalem
Rufinus of Antioch, who built the cathedral at GAZA, using a plan sent from Constantinople
Asaph and Addai, architects of the rebuilt cathedral at Edessa (K. McVey, *DOP* 37 [1983] 98)

Stephen of Aila, responsible for the basilica at the monastery of St. CATHERINE on Mt. Sinai
Patrikes, a *patrikios* who built the palace at BRYAS
Petronas KAMATEROS, a *spatharokandidatos*, architect of the fortress at SARKEL

Demitras, Eustathios, and Nikon, mentioned as *oikodomoi* (*Lavra* 1, nos. 1.33, 6.17, App.1.13)

Trdat, an Armenian who restored the western portion of HAGIA SOPHIA, Constantinople, after 989

Ioannikios, *oikodemos* at TMUTORAKAN, died 1078 (E. Skržinskaja, *VizVrem* 18 [1961] 74-84)

Nikephoros, who erected the PANTOKRATOR MONASTERY in Constantinople

Rouchas, a monk sent by Michael VIII to Constantinople to restore Hagia Sophia

John Peralta, a Catalan from Sicily, and the *me-gas stratopedarches* Astras (*PLP*, no.1598), who repaired the dome of Hagia Sophia after 1346

George Marmaras, a *protomaistor* named in documents of 1326 and 1327 (A. Kazhdan, *VizVrem* 13 [1958] 307)

Demetrios Theophilos, another *protomaistor* (*Docheiar.*, no.50.22, a.1389).

LIT. G. Downey, "Byzantine Architects," *Byzantion* 18 (1948) 99-118. H.A. Meek, "The Architect and his Profession in Byzantium," *Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects* 59 (1951-52) 216-20. A. Petronotis, "Der Architekt in Byzanz," in *Bauplanung und Bautheorie der Antike* (Berlin 1984) 329-43. —M.J., W.L., A.K.

ARCHITECTURE. Byz. architecture constitutes a building tradition generally associated with the history of the late Roman and Byz. empires and, to an extent, with its wider sphere of influence over a period spanning from ca.300-ca.1450. Byz. architecture defies a comprehensive conventional definition on either cultural, geographical, chronological, or stylistic bases. Between the 4th C. and the 15th C. several more-or-less coherent architectural developments and interludes took place that can be roughly grouped into seven chronological periods.

First Period (4th to 5th C.). Architecture during this period represents the perpetuation of tradition within the cultural framework of the Greco-Roman world and the political framework of the Roman Empire. This perpetuation of established architectural practice accounts for the degree of continuity in the regional traditions of planning, structural solutions, building technique, and decoration. Two factors play a decisive role in the architectural development of the period: urban survival and active christianization. Urban centers witnessed a slow but steady shift from pagan to Christian patronage of public buildings. Christian churches—predominantly BASILICAS—derived generically from pagan prototypes, and

their construction was entrusted to established workshops that had previously been employed on imperial pagan projects. Large-scale building under imperial auspices was one of the major industries in the Roman world, and the movement of manpower and technical personnel (architects, surveyors, etc.) from one completed building project to another was standard practice. This, in fact, constituted the essence of what we refer to as "workshop practice."

Building types such as the MARTYRION, BAPTISTERY, and MAUSOLEUM were also constructed in large numbers. *Martyria* display a considerable variety of plan types, reflecting the particular requirements of preexisting customs and functions accommodated on their sites. Mausoleums, large and small, which initially were freestanding and independent, increasingly become attached to church buildings as christianization proceeded.

Second Period (6th C.). This was the period of greatest architectural productivity in Byz. history. Often identified with the policy of reconquest of Emp. Justinian I, the vast building program was, in fact, begun by his predecessors Anastasios I and Justin I and continued by his successor, Justin II. The success of this grand enterprise was facilitated by the survival of the imperial order within the framework of the fully christianized, urban society. In a comprehensive record of the building accomplishments of Justin I and Justinian I, PROKOPIOS OF CAESAREA provides us with a catalog of buildings and relates many details about the realization of the imperial program. This meticulous account, which includes descriptions of whole new towns, forts, churches, palaces, public buildings, markets, cisterns, aqueducts, and so on, is substantially confirmed by preserved buildings and archaeological finds.

Notwithstanding the survival of regional building practices, the period was characterized by the much more pronounced impact of the capital. Certain building types (basilican churches, mausoleums, cisterns) continued to be constructed according to the established norms of a given region. At the same time, architecture was now also "exported" from Constantinople, the center of imperial administration. Whether in the form of new CHURCH PLAN TYPES such as the domed basilica, new structural solutions involving the use of VAULTING, standardized building techniques, or the nature of architectural decoration, there is

a strong indication of direct connections of the center with regional affairs. The MARBLE TRADE and the shipping of building components (COLUMNS, CAPITALS, and church furniture), illustrate the degree and the character of the impact of Constantinople. This phenomenon is to be understood in the light of extensive construction in frontier regions, often in newly conquered territories, with the aim of consolidating recently established borders.

Third Period (7th to mid-9th C.). In striking contrast to the preceding building boom this period is characterized by a virtual absence of construction. Beleaguered by foreign wars and internal crises, the empire experienced profound changes. The decline of cities was manifested in the physical decay of their fabric. The very meaning of "construction" during this period was practically reduced to preservation, repair, and patchwork. New building other than fortifications was rare, and large-scale construction exceptional. The few surviving examples in the latter category reveal conservative traits and expedient dependence on SPOLIA.

Fourth Period (mid-9th through 11th C.). By the middle of the 9th C. relative political, religious, and cultural stability within the territorially shrunken Byz. Empire had been restored. Under the auspices of the Macedonian dynasty, building began anew, though under very different circumstances. Given new cultural parameters and an altered social structure, an architecture emerged that showed marked signs of departure from the old tradition. PALACES and palace halls of this period reveal a fresh source of influence—Islamic art and architecture (see ISLAMIC INFLUENCE ON BYZANTINE ART). Aspects of Islamic impact can also be seen in the decorative vocabulary of Byz. architecture, now significantly expanded beyond its traditional, classicizing framework.

Church architecture also reveals other sources of external influence, for example, Armenia. Church types proliferated while undergoing considerable reductions in scale. The latter phenomenon has been viewed as the function of shrunken economic means and the reduced demand for space of a smaller population. Still, some fairly large churches, notably piersed basilicas, continued to be built during this period. The frequent appearance of smaller, centralized, and domed churches, on the other hand, involved changes in

the shape of the LITURGY and altered symbolic perceptions of the church building. Seen as a miniature version of the COSMOS, the church functioned symbolically regardless of its size. Demands for space in churches during this period were generally solved not by increasing the volume of the NAOS but by adding lateral spaces and PAREKKLESIA. When built simultaneously with the church itself, these *parekklesia*, unlike the earlier mausoleums, were often carefully integrated aspects of a building's overall form. Thus, for example, the multiplication of domes on churches of this period was the direct by-product of multiple chapels planned integrally with the main church.

Fifth Period (12th C.). Notwithstanding the military setbacks and the resulting geopolitical changes that affected the empire during the last third of the 11th C., architectural activity in the Komnenian period displayed remarkable vitality, with Constantinople playing the role of central clearinghouse for ARCHITECTS, ARTISANS, ideas, and materials. Formal characteristics, decorative features, and even structural techniques are shared by a very large number of buildings, many of which were built in the provinces and even beyond the frontiers of the empire. This phenomenon, which parallels a similar trend in Byz. painting, reflects an increasing mobility in the Mediterranean basin. Both can be related to a general increase in East-West cultural interaction.

Sixth Period (13th C.). The period of the Latin occupation of Constantinople (1204–61) saw the disappearance of the capital's hitherto preeminent architectural influence. Instead, architecture flourished in several new centers of the splintered empire (NICAIA, TREBIZOND, ARTA), each displaying distinctive local architectural characteristics. The stylistic coherence of the Komnenian epoch gave way to a new diversity. Thus, the political decentralization of the empire left its lasting imprint on the development of Byz. architecture.

Seventh Period (14th to 15th C.). Following the Byz. recapture of Constantinople in 1261, the city once more became the premier center of architectural activity. In addition to the remodeling and expansion of existing buildings, a fair number of new churches, monastic buildings, and palaces were constructed, particularly during the last decade of the 13th C. and during the first two decades of the 14th C. Church architecture during this period perpetuated the tradition of small-

scale construction. The major stylistic change came in the treatment of walls, which lost their tectonic qualities in favor of flat surfaces covered by decorative patterns. The same disregard for spatial-structural articulation also permeated interiors. Here flat wall surfaces carried several tiers of continuous horizontal bands of MONUMENTAL PAINTING broken up into numerous small individual scenes.

The civil wars of the 1320s and 1340s brought architectural activity in the capital to a virtual end. Constantinopolitan architectural style was transplanted elsewhere (e.g., MESEMBRIA, SKOPJE and vicinity, Bursa), presumably by migrant workshops, which found themselves employed by Bulgarian, Serbian, and Ottoman patrons. A few centers, such as THESSALONIKE and MISTRA, kept the local architectural traditions alive beyond the early demise of Byz. architectural production in Constantinople. (See also CONSTANTINOPLE, MONUMENTS OF.)

LIT. R. Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*⁴ (Harmondsworth 1986). C. Mango, *Byzantine Architecture*² (London 1986). A.L. Jakobson, *Zakonornosti v razvitii srednevekovoj architektury XI–XV vv.* (Leningrad 1987). H. Buchwald, "Der Stilbegriff in der byzantinischen Architektur," *JÖB* 36 (1986) 303–16. —S.C.

ARCHITRAVE. See EPISTYLE.

ARCH OF CONSTANTINE, the last major monument of ancient Rome, located between the Roman Forum and the Colosseum. It was probably begun in 312, directly after the victory of Constantine I at the MILVIAN BRIDGE, and completed by 315. It was dedicated to Constantine I and presumably paid for by the senate. A triple arch (see ARCH, MONUMENTAL) faced in marble, it has engaged columns resting on bases that depict captives; in the spandrels are figures of Victory, while other personifications include the SEASONS and river gods. Friezes of Constantine's ADLOCUTIO and distribution of LARGESS appear on the north side, his siege of Verona and the battle at the Milvian Bridge on the south. SPOLIA above these friezes and elsewhere on the monument are reliefs of the deeds of Trajan, Hadrian, and Marcus Aurelius with their heads recut. Inscriptions on either side of the central passage proclaim the emperor to be the liberator of the city and the source of peace. While this program, like that of

other Roman arches, celebrates imperial authority and victory, it has been read by Pierce (*infra*) as Constantine's appropriation of the achievements of earlier emperors. No recognizable Christian signs appear on the arch. Rather, Constantine and his victories are associated with the SOL INVICTUS whose image occurs four times. The style and iconography of the Constantinian parts of the monument are almost universally interpreted as harbingers of Byz. art.

LIT. P. Pierce, "The Arch of Constantine: Propaganda and Ideology in Late Roman Art," *Art History* 12 (1989) 387–418. J. Ruysschaert, "Essai d'interprétation synthétique de l'Arc de Constantin," *RendPontAcc* 35 (1962–63) 79–100. B. Berenson, *The Arch of Constantine* (London 1954). —A.C.

ARCH OF GALERIUS. Located in Thessalonike, the Arch of Galerius is not a true monumental arch, but more properly part of a tetrapylon that was expanded into an octopylon through the addition of piers for secondary passageways. It was located between the Rotunda of St. George to the north and the palace of Galerius to the south; only the west side of the structure is partially preserved. The original monumental complex, which was probably domed, spanned an important street running east to west: the central passage of the arch crossed the roadway, while the two smaller side passages continued what were undoubtedly colonnaded walkways. It provided a monumental entrance and a point of transition between the city and the sacred area of the palace. The structure was begun in 299 and construction continued at least to 303. It was made of a core of irregular stone blocks, faced with marble revetment in its lower section and with brick above. Statues of the emperors presumably looked out from the top to east and west. It was of impressive size, with the keystone of the surviving central archway 12.28 m above the modern pavement; its width is 9.70 m.

The piers are covered with reliefs arranged in horizontal zones separated by bands decorated with ribbons or garlands. The sculptures depict and celebrate Galerius's victory over the Persians in 297. Various historical scenes can be identified, such as Galerius and Diocletian sacrificing, Galerius speaking to his troops, and the emperor victorious in battle; these scenes are not arranged

in any particular order, however, and are mixed with generic scenes of processions and personifications of victories. The "arch" is a prime example of Tetrarchic art, with figures often outlined rather than carved in relief, little concern for scale, and a desire to fill every part of the surface with decoration.

LIT. H.P. Laubscher, *Der Reliefschmuck des Galeriusbogens in Thessaloniki* (Berlin 1975). Spieser, *Thessalonique* 99–104. M. Rothman, "The Thematic Organization of the Panel Reliefs of the Arch of Galerius," *AJA* 81 (1977) 427–54. —T.E.G.

ARCHON (ἄρχων), a word used in antiquity primarily to denote a magistrate. In Byz. *archontes* were synonymous with *megistanes* and *dynatoi*; the term signified any officials who possessed power. In the words of Symeon the Theologian, *archontes* were those who had honor (*time*) and power (*arche*); he further defined the *strategoi* and *archontes* as the emperor's servants and friends who—unlike the common people—had personal contact with the monarch. Some subordinates of high-ranking officials (e.g., *strategoi*) were also called *archontes*.

In a technical sense, *archon* designated first of all a governor. The 9th-C. ΤΑΚΤΙΚΟΝ of Uspenskij lists *archontes* of Crete, Dalmatia, Cyprus (a 9th-C. seal of an *archon* of Cyprus—Zacos, *Seals* 2, no.852), and so on, whereas seals of the 10th–12th C. mention *archontes* of certain towns, such as Krataia and Klaudioupolis, Chrysopolis, Athens, Panion, etc.; accordingly the term *archontia* was employed to describe the district administered by an *archon*. The term could be applied also to independent princes, such as the *archon* of Rhosia (A.V. Soloviev, *Byzantion* 31 [1961] 237–44).

LIT. Ahrweiler, "Administration" 72. Ferluga, *Byzantium* 131–39. Ja. Ferluga, "Archon," in *Tradition als historische Kraft* (Berlin–New York 1982) 254–66. —A.K.

ARCHONTES TON ERGODOSION (ἄρχοντες τῶν ἐργοδοσίων), directors of state *ergasteria* (see FACTORIES, IMPERIAL) that produced primarily silk, jewelry, and weapons. Seals of many *archontes* of silk workshops (*tou blattiou*) are dated to the 7th and 8th C. *Archontes ton ergodosion* were sometimes called *ergasteriarchai* and combined their functions with those of the KOMMERKIARIOI. According to the *Kletorologion* of PHILOTHEOS, *archontes*, along

with the *meizoteroi* ("foremen") of workshops, belonged to the staff of the EIDIKON. On seals from the 9th C. onward they are often called KOURATORES. A certain Thomas, *eskeptor ton blattion*, recorded on a 7th-C. seal, was probably not director of a single workshop, but of a group of textile manufacturers. The office of the *archon* of the *chrysochoeion* (gold workshop) is also known; his relationship to the *archon* of the CHARAGE is unclear.

LIT. Laurent, *Corpus* 2:323–43, 708f. Kazhdan, *Derevnja i gorod* 338–42. —A.K.

ARCHONTOPOULOS (ἀρχοντόπουλος), according to Anna Komnene (An.Komn. 2:108.20), a term invented by Alexios I, meaning "a son of an *archon*." The *tagma* of *archontopouloi* was created in 1090/1 and consisted of about 2,000 young men, the sons of soldiers who had fallen in battle. The *tagma* is not attested in sources after the reign of Alexios (Hohlweg, *Beiträge* 52). The term *archontopoulos* (also, neut. pl. *archontopoula*; in an act of 1478, fem. *archontopoulai*—MM 3:260.2) was a generic designation of the nobility of second rank: thus Stefan Uroš IV Dušan, in a chrysobull of 1346, speaks of his *archontes* and *archontopouloi* who served as his administrators (Zogr., no.37.49). *Archontes* and *archontopouloi* are known also in Venetian Crete (Jacoby, *Recherches*, pt.I [1976], 23f). In 1261 a group of *archontopouloi* were to receive *exaleimmata* and other properties in the Maeander valley with an "appropriate monetary *posotes*" for the sake of their *oikonomia*; thus, evidently in the form of a *pronoia* (Patmou *Engrapha* 2, no.66.3–4). Before 1348, *archontopouloi* in Serres seized a monastic *metochion* with its *proskathemenoi* (Koutloum., no.21.3). *Archontopouloi* are also attested in the Morea, Trebizond, and Epiros.

LIT. Angold, *Byz. Government* 177. N. Oikonomides, "A propos des armées des premiers Paléologues et des compagnes de soldats," *TM* 8 (1981) 355. —M.B.

ARCOSOLIUM (term found only in Christian Lat. inscriptions, lit. an arch over a throne or urn), an arched niche, usually for a TOMB, carved out of or built in front of a wall. Such recesses are known as early as the 3rd C.; in 4th-C. CATACOMBS the tympanum beneath the arch often received painted decoration. Carved *arcosolia* were

esp. favored in Palaiologan Constantinople (South Church of LIPS MONASTERY); the most lavish examples are the hoods over the tombs in the CHORA MONASTERY.

LIT. J. Kollwitz, *RAC* 1:643–45.

—A.C.

ARCRUNI, or Artsruni, an Armenian princely lineage, some of whose members settled in Byz. territory in the early 11th C. A 12th-C. continuator of the Armenian chronicle by Thomas Arcruni (ca.900), the *History of the House of the Arcruni*, relates that the resettlement was smooth and peaceful: the Arcruni received lands, towns, and high titles (Thomas Artsruni: *History of the House of the Artsruni*, tr. R. Thomson [Detroit 1985] 370f). They retained the Gregorian creed. Senekerim (Σεναχηρείμ) Arcruni, last king of VASPURAKAN, became *strategos* of Cappadocia in 1021 or 1022 and lord (?) of Sebasteia and other towns and estates (Skyl. 354f). His son David helped suppress the rebellion of Nikephoros PHOKAS (1022) and was rewarded with Caesarea, Tzamandos, and other lands (H. Berberian, *Byzantion* 8 [1933] 553); he inherited Sebasteia after his father's death in 1025. David's successor, his brother Atom (Αἶσος), ruled Sebasteia from 1035; in 1079/80 Atom sided with Gagik of Kars in a feud against the local Greek lords of the Mandales family in a futile attempt to rescue Gagik of Ani.

Other Armenian nobles who moved to Byz. simultaneously with Senekerim Arcruni include his nephew (?) Derenik and another relative, Abelgharib Arcruni. The latter received Sis, Adana, and several other towns. Circa 1080 his residence was Tarsos, and he apparently adopted the Chalcidian creed. Probably some Arcrunis entered the Byz. ruling elite and took the family name of Senacherim: THEOPHYLAKTOS of Ohrid (ep. 77.22–23) complained of Senacherim "the Assyrian" who originated from Mesopotamia; Alexios I entrusted Theodore Senacherim with distributing lands among monasteries (*Xénoph.*, no.1.92–93). It is unclear whether Senacherim, an early 13th-C. general, and (another?) Senacherim, governor of Nikopolis (Epiros) in 1204, were related to this family.

LIT. Kazhdan, *Arm.* 33–36.

—A.K.

ARCULF. See ADOMNAN.

ARDABOURIOS (Ἀρδαβούριος), consul (447); *magister militum* of the East and *patrikios* under Marcian; died Constantinople 471. Oldest son of ASPAR the Alan, he commanded troops in both East and West and reportedly helped his father secure the elevation of Leo I. In 459 he sent a detachment of Gothic soldiers to guard the corpse of St. Symeon the Stylite the Elder. In 466/7, when Leo accused Ardabourios of entering into treasonable correspondence with the Persians, he was deprived of his rank (vita of DANIEL THE STYLITE, 55). After he instigated open revolt in Thrace in 469/70, he and his father were executed; his brothers Patrikios and Ermanaric survived. His grandson was AREOBINDUS, consul in 506.

LIT. Bury, *LRE* 1:316–20. Thompson, *Romans and Barbarians* 223–26. *PLRE* 2:135–37. A. Demandt, "Der Kelch von Ardabur und Anthusa," *DOP* 40 (1986) 113–17. —T.E.G.

AREIA, MONASTERY OF, called Hagia Mone or Nea Mone, was founded near NAUPLIA shortly before 1143 by Leo, bishop of Argos and Nauplia (ca.1143–ca.1157), who was a nephew of Constantine Antzas (see ANZAS). Leo originally established the monastery, dedicated to the Virgin, at Areia (Ἀρεία) as a convent for 36 nuns. Circa 1143, however, he was forced by the threat of pirate raids to move the nuns farther inland to a new convent that he built at Bouze. He then installed 36 monks at Areia. In Oct. 1143, Leo composed a memorandum (*hypomnema*) in which he guaranteed the monastery's independent status. He also prepared a *typikon*, based on that of STODIOS, but more lenient in some of its provisions; for example, he urged the monks to bathe weekly and permitted two meals daily during the fast days preceding the feast of the Holy Apostles, "because the days are longer." In 1212 the region of Nauplia was occupied by the Franks, and in 1389 it came under Venetian control, but the monastery remained in the hands of Orthodox monks. It retained its independence until 1679, when it became a *metochion* of the Holy Sepulchre.

The cross-in-square monastic church, dedicated to the Zoödochos Pege (Life-giving Source), was completed by 1149, the date of a dedicatory plaque that names Leo as *ktetor*. Built of brick on a high foundation, it is decorated on the exterior with marble crosses and maeander friezes, like Merbaka and other churches in ARGOLIS. Of its inte-

rior ornament little remains save for the elaborate composite capitals of the four columns beneath the dome.

LIT. G.A. Choras, *He "Hagia Mone" Areias* (Athens 1975). A. Struck, "Vier byzantinischen Kirchen der Argolis," *MDAI AA* 34 (1909) 210–34. —A.M.T., A.C.

ARENGA. See ACTS, DOCUMENTARY.

AREOBINDUS (Ἀρεόβινδος), more fully Flavius Areobindus Dagalaiphus Areobindus; died after 512. He was the grandson of ARDABOURIOS and the son of Dagalaiphus and Godisthea, and thus an Alan; in 478/9 he married ANICIA JULIANA, daughter of the Western emperor Olybrius. Despite the fall of his family in 471, Areobindus had a distinguished military career, serving as *magister militum* of the East in 503–04, along with HYPATIOS and KLER. At this time he withstood a Persian invasion and devastated Persian Armenia. He served as consul in 506. In 512 the opposition to Anastasios I sought to make Areobindus emperor, but he had already gone into hiding. Five examples of his consular diptychs are preserved.

LIT. *PLRE* 2:143f.

—T.E.G.

ARETHAS, Arab martyred ca.520 in NAJRĀN; saint; feastday 24 Oct. When the judaizing Himyarite king, Yūsuf, came to power ca.520, he wanted—according to the sources—to stamp out Christianity in South Arabia, esp. at Najrān. Arethas, the chief of Najrān, resisted the overtures of Yūsuf to surrender the city, but was finally overruled by his counselors. Yūsuf violated the terms of the capitulation and asked the Christians to apostasize. Those who refused were martyred, among them Arethas, who was decapitated. A hagiographical version of his speech before death is preserved. The martyrdom of Arethas and his companions had far-reaching consequences. It convulsed the Christian Orient and occasioned a successful Byz.-Ethiopian expedition (see AXUM) against South Arabia to avenge the martyrs. The Ethiopian king made Arethas's son chief of Najrān and built three churches there, one of which was dedicated to the "Holy Martyrs and the Glorious Arethas." Arethas and his companions were moderate Monophysites close to the views of SEVEROS of Antioch. A possible echo of

the martyrdoms of Najrān may be detected in chapter 85 of the Qur'ān.

Representation in Art. Illustrations of ten episodes of this story accompany an 11th-C. MS with the *passio* of Arethas by SYMEON METAPHRASTES (Athos, Esphig. 14, fols. 136r–136v; *Treasures* 2, pl.212f): the city of Najrān besieged, the Christians outside its walls taken into slavery, and the city opening its gates to Yūsuf, etc. There are occasional representations of just the beheading of the elderly bearded nobleman and his companions (e.g., MENOLOGION OF BASIL II, p.135), but Arethas is otherwise rarely represented.

LIT. I. Shahid, "Byzantium in South Arabia," *DOP* 33 (1979) 23–94. Idem, *The Martyrs of Najran. New Documents* (Brussels 1971). G.L. Huxley, "On the Greek Martyrium of the Negrantes," *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 8 (1980) 41–55. K.G. Kaster, *LCL* 5:242f. —I.A.Sh., N.P.S.

ARETHAS (al-Hārith), king of the GHASSĀNIDS (529–69), son of JABALA; not to be confused with Arethas, the king of KINDA. Around 529 Justinian I put him in command of almost all the Arab FOEDERATI in Oriens and thus centralized federate power. As supreme PHYLARCH Arethas fought for Byz. in all its eastern wars. He participated regularly in the two Persian Wars of Justinian's reign, distinguishing himself at the battle of KALLINIKOS and in the campaign of 541 in "Assyria." He fought his LAKHMID adversaries on various occasions and finally defeated ALAMUNDARUS of Hira at a battle near Chalkis in 554. He also conducted punitive expeditions in the Arabian peninsula. A staunch Monophysite, Arethas contributed substantially to the revival of the Monophysite church in Oriens. He was instrumental in the consecration of JACOB BARADAEUS and Theodore as bishop ca.540. He also defended Monophysitism against teachings such as the alleged TRITHEISM of Eugenios and Konon. In recognition of his services to the empire, Arethas was made *gloriosissimus*; he was also *patrikios*.

LIT. I. Kavar, "The Patriariate of Arethas," *BZ* 52 (1959) 321–43. —I.A.Sh.

ARETHAS OF CAESAREA, scholar and politician, archbishop of Caesarea (from 902); born in Patras mid-9th C., died after 932 (according to Beck [*Kirche* 591], not before 944). During the struggle over the TETRAGAMY OF LEO VI, Arethas

first supported NICHOLAS I MYSTIKOS, then sided with the emperor. As theologian Arethas produced a commentary on the Apocalypse (based primarily on that of ANDREW of Caesarea) and other exegetical works. Deeply interested in antiquity, Arethas acquired a large library, commissioning some MSS, adding SCHOLIA to others. Some scholia form a polemical dialogue with the author, some allude to contemporary affairs: criticism of the luxury at Basil I's court, ridicule of Stylianos ZAOUTZES, references to the war with Bulgaria, or the dispute over the tetragamy. Some of Arethas's letters expressed his views on Leo's marriage (Jenkins, *Studies*, pt.VII [1956], 293–372). In others he discussed the books he had read (Č. Milovanović, *ZbFilozFak* 14.1 [Belgrade 1979] 59–67). He also wrote homilies and pamphlets. One, esp. vitriolic, accused LEO CHOIROSPHAKTES of pagan beliefs. The attribution of some of his writings still remains disputable; Jenkins (*Studies*, pt.XI [1963], 168) rejected and P. Karlin-Hayter (*Byzantion* 35 [1965] 455–81) defended Arethas's authorship of the letter to a Saracen emir; J. Koder (*JÖB* 25 [1976] 75–80) saw in Arethas the author of the CHRONICLE OF MONEMVASIA.

Arethas has been severely judged by modern scholars as "a narrow-minded, bad-hearted man" (R. Jenkins, *Byzantium: The Imperial Centuries* [London 1966] 219) and his style criticized as turgid; in fact Arethas rejected the ideal of plain speech, and consciously ornamented his vocabulary "with proverbs, quotations, allusions, and poetic lines, like multi-colored mosaic cubes" (Westerink, *infra* 1:189.26–31), thus paving the way for the revival of Byz. rhetoric.

ED. *Scripta minora*, ed. L. Westerink, 2 vols. (Leipzig 1968–72). PG 106:500–785. See list in *Tusculum-Lexikon* 75.

LIT. Lemerle, *Humanism* 237–80. S.B. Kougeas, *Ho Kaisareias Arethas kai to ergon autou* (Athens 1913). Karlin-Hayter, *Studies*, pts.VII–IX (1964–65). A. Meschini, *Il Codice vallicelliano di Areta* (Padua 1972). —A.K.

ARGOLID (Ἀργολίς), area of the northeastern PELOPONNESOS divided into two distinct regions: a rich central plain and a mountainous perimeter. The main city was Argos, but in late antiquity Epidauros, Methana, Troizen, and Hermione also had civic status. Remains of that date, both ecclesiastical and secular, are attested from these sites (on Epidauros, see Krautheimer, *ECBArch* 118,

fig.72); the Argolid may have had its own school of mosaicists. After devastation by invasions in the late 6th and 7th C. the Argolid was partially settled by Slavs (Yannopoulos, *infra*), but the Byz. regained control of the area by the 9th C.

The first attested bishop of Argos participated in the "Robber" Council of Ephesus in 449; by the 10th C. Argos was combined with NAUPLIA as a bishopric. In 1188/9 Isaac II promoted the see of Nauplia-Argos to the status of metropolis. Another important ecclesiastical center was Troizen, mentioned still in 787; by the time of Leo VI the see was renamed Damalas and its bishop considered the *protothronos* of the metropolitan of Corinth (i.e., above Nauplia-Argos); Damalas is found in the episcopal lists to the end of the empire.

In the 12th C. the Argolid was particularly wealthy, if the number of surviving churches is any measure. They are found not only in the plain, at Argos, Chonika, Merbaka, AREIA, and elsewhere, but also in the mountainous east at Ligourio (Ch. Bouras, *DChAE* 4 7 [1973-74] 1-30) and Damalas. Most of these churches display a similarity of style that suggests a local school of architecture. In the late 12th C. powerful landowners came to the fore, the most important of whom was Leo SGOUROS. After 1205 the Argolid fell under the control of the duke of Athens, and Frankish forts were built (or rebuilt) at the Larissa of Argos, Nauplia, and in the pass at Agionori. The Venetians came to dominate the east coast and, after a brief restoration of Byz. power, the Argolid fell finally to the Ottomans in 1458.

LIT. H. Megaw, "The Chronology of Some Middle Byzantine Churches," *BSA* 32 (1931-32) 90-130. B. Konte, "Symbole sten historike geographia tou nomou Argolidos," *Symmeikta* 5 (1983) 169-202. P.A. Yannopoulos, "La pénétration slave en Argolide," in *Études argiennes* (Paris 1980) 323-71. Laurent, *Corpus* 5.1:424-30. —T.E.G.

ARGOS. See ARGOLID.

ARGYROKASTRON (Ἀργυρόκαστρον, mod. Gjirokastra in Albania), on the left bank of the River Drino, strongly fortified city, known only from the 14th to 15th C. In 1338-39 Argyrokastron supported Andronikos III but later it was in Albanian hands; in 1418 it fell to the Turks under Hamza Beg and served as a Turkish stronghold against Albanian resistance. The surviving forti-

fications, much rebuilt in early modern times, are Byz., and pottery of the 12th-13th C. has been found.

LIT. *TIB* 3:11f.

—T.E.G.

ARGYROPOULOS, JOHN, writer and teacher in Constantinople and Italy; born Constantinople? ca.1393/4 (Canivet-Oikonomides) or ca.1415? (Cammelli), died Rome 26 June 1487. Argyropoulos (Ἀργυρόπουλος) is first attested as a member of the Byz. delegation to the Council of Ferrara-Florence in 1438/9. From 1441 to 1443 he studied at the University of Padua, learning fluent Latin and earning a degree in letters and medicine; at the same time he gave private Greek lessons. He returned to Constantinople, and by 1448 was teaching at the Mouseion of the XENON OF THE KRAL; a pro-Unionist, he had converted to Catholicism by this time as well. After the fall of Constantinople, he emigrated in 1456 to Florence, where for 15 years he taught Greek philosophy, primarily Aristotle and to a lesser extent Plato. His students included Lorenzo de' Medici. He is credited with shifting the interests of Florentine humanists from rhetoric to the metaphysical philosophy of Plato. In 1471 he moved to Rome, where he joined the curia of Pope Sixtus IV, then under the leadership of BESSARION. With the exception of a four-year residence in Florence (1477-81), he spent the rest of his life in Rome as teacher and translator.

Argyropoulos made Latin translations of Aristotle (the *Nicomachean Ethics*), Porphyry, and Basil the Great. His own writings, in both Latin and Greek, were varied: his rhetorical works include a monody for Emp. John VIII (Lampros, *Pal. kai Pel.* 3:313-19), three orations to Constantine XI, and an introduction to the *Progyrnasmata* of APHTHONIOS. In theology, he composed treatises on the Holy Spirit and the Council of Florence (PG 158:991-1008), and 12 short *erotapokriseis*. P. Canivet and N. Oikonomides (*Diptycha* 3 [1982-83] 5-97) have proposed that Argyropoulos is the author of an invective against a certain Katablatas.

ED. S.P. Lampros, *Argyropouleia* (Athens 1910). For complete list of ed. and tr., see Cammelli, *infra* 183-87.

LIT. D. Geanakoplos, "The Italian Renaissance and Byzantium: The Career of the Greek Humanist-Professor John Argyropoulos in Florence and Rome (1415-1487)," *Conspectus of History* 1.1 (1974) 12-28. G. Cammelli, *Gio-*

vanni Argiropulo (Florence 1941). V. Brown, "Giovanni Argiropulo on the Agent Intellect," in *Essays in Honour of A.Ch. Pegis* (Toronto 1974) 160-75. *PLP*, no.1267.

—A.M.T.

ARGYROPRATES (ἀργυροπράτης, lit. "seller of silver," Lat. *argentarius*), term that in the 6th C. primarily designated a moneylender. *Argyropratai* were known in Alexandria and other large cities, but the *argyropratai* of Constantinople were esp. rich and influential. Their private activities (lending money at 8 percent INTEREST, mediating in the sale of precious objects, guaranteeing payment of DEBTS) were combined with various state functions that enabled some of them to acquire significant wealth and exercise political influence. Several seals of *argyropratai* (some of them collective, belonging to two men) dated to the 7th-8th C. imply that their official activity continued long after Justinian I, who devoted three special laws to *argyropratai*. Some *argyropratai*, like JULIANUS "ARGENTARIUS," were wealthy enough to build churches. The function of the *argyroprates* as a moneylender is still found in the 9th-C. *Basilika*.

The term *argyroprates* also designated a vendor of gold and silver. The 10th-C. *Book of the Eparch* (ch.2) describes the guild of the *argyropratai* as primarily concerned with the sale of gold and silver objects, of bullion, and of precious stones. It is unclear, however, to what extent these 10th-C. *argyropratai* functioned as craftsmen (see JEWELERS). Although there is one reference in the *Book of the Eparch* to the *argyroprates* serving as a money changer (ch.2.3), most of their financial operations seem to have been shifted to the *trapezitai* or BANKERS, who formed a separate guild. The term *argyroprates* virtually disappears after the 10th C.

LIT. *Bk. of Eparch* 127-40. Stöckle, *Zünfte* 20-23. A. Čekalova, "Konstantinopol'skie argiopraty v epochu Justiniana," *VizVrem* 34 (1973) 15-21. S. Barnish, "The Wealth of Iulianus Argentarius," *Byzantion* 55 (1985) 5-38.

—A.K., A.C.

ARGYROS (Ἀργυρός, fem. Ἀργυρή, "silver"), or Argyropoulos (Ἀργυρόπουλος), a noble lineage flourishing from the mid-9th to the mid-11th C. The family founder, Leo Argyros, came from the theme of Charsianon, where the Argyroi possessed lands (*TheophCont* 374.6-12). They functioned predominantly as *strategoi* (of Anatolikon,

Sebasteia, Vaspurakan, Italy, etc.); the *patrikios* Marianos was *domestikos ton scholon* under Nikephoros II Phokas, and the *patrikios* Pothos was *domestikos ton exkoubiton* ca.958. ROMANOS III ARGYROS, the only known Argyros in civil service (eparch and *megas oikonomos*), became emperor in 1028. The sons of Romanos's brother Basil participated in the revolt of Isaac I Komnenos of 1057. Alexios (I) Komnenos planned a marriage with a daughter of a certain very wealthy Argyros (Bryen. 221.12-17), but the fiancée died. In the 12th C. the Argyroi lost their high position, but the family is attested through the 15th C. The Argyropouloi were active in Thessalonike in the 15th C.: they leased a tenement from IVERON and improved the land (Dölger, *Schatz.*, no.102). The family produced several intellectuals: the astronomer Isaac Argyros, the humanist John Argyropoulos, the musician Manuel Argyropoulos (see ARGYROS, ISAAC and ARGYROPOULOS, JOHN). The relation of the Byz. Argyroi with the Argyroi of Bari (i.e., ARGYROS, son of Melo) is unclear.

LIT. J.F. Vannier, *Familles byzantines; Les Argyroi (IX-XII^e siècles)* (Paris 1975) and critical notes W. Seibt, *JÖB* 26 (1977) 323-26, and A. Kazhdan *ByzF* 12 (1987) 69f. J. Ferluga, "Počeci jedne vizantijske aristokratske porodice—Argiri," *ZbFilozFak* 12.1 (1974) 153-67. *PLP*, nos. 1249-92.

—A.K.

ARGYROS, son of Melo of Bari; *magistros*, *vestes*, and *doux* of Italy, Calabria, Sicily, and Paphlagonia (1051-58); born ca.1000, died after 1058, possibly Bari 1068. During Melo's first revolt, Argyros and his mother were sent to Constantinople. Returning to Italy in 1029, Argyros repeatedly rebelled against the Byz., in 1042 with Norman assistance. When his opponent, the *katepano* George MANIAKES, tried to usurp the Byz. throne, Argyros went over to the emperor (Sept. 1042). Summoned to Constantinople in 1045, he assisted in defeating Leo TORNİKIOS, but quarreled with Patr. MICHAEL I KEROULARIOS. In 1051 he returned to Bari, as its first Lombard governor. To halt the Normans, he sought an alliance with Pope LEO IX. The alliance materialized, but in 1053 Argyros and Leo were separately defeated and the pope taken prisoner. From captivity, Leo sent Cardinal HUMBERT to Keroularios. Humbert's embassy (1054) visited Bari, and eventually Keroularios claimed Argyros had forged offensive papal letters and had Argyros's son and son-

in-law arrested. Argyros vainly strove to renew the papal-Byz. alliance until relieved of office (mid-1058). The praenomen "Argyros" seems unconnected with the Byz. family of Argyros.

LIT. Falkenhausen, *Dominazione* 59–62, 97f. J.-F. Vanier, *Familles byzantines: Les Argyroi (IX^e–XII^e siècles)* (Paris 1975) 57f. —C.M.B.

ARGYROS, ISAAC, mathematician, astronomer, and theologian; born Thrace? between 1300 and 1310, died ca. 1375. A student of Nikephoros Gregoras, the monk Argyros was the leading Byz. champion of Ptolemaic ASTRONOMY in the 1360s and 1370s. He wrote a *Construction of New Tables* and a *Construction of New Tables of Conjunctions and Oppositions* (of the sun and moon), for both of which the epoch is 1 Sept. 1367. In them he recomputes for the Roman calendar and the longitude of Constantinople the mean motions of the sun, moon, and planets, and the syzygies that PTOLEMY had tabulated in the *Almagest* according to the Egyptian calendar and the longitude of Alexandria. These tables were soon plagiarized and criticized by John ABRAMIOS (Pingree, "Astrological School" 196f). In 1367/8 Argyros wrote a treatise on the ASTROLABE (ed. Delatte, *AnecdAth* 2:236–53), closely based on the similar treatise of Gregoras. In late 1372 he dedicated a work on the COMPUTUS (PG 19:1279–1316) to Andronikos Oinaiotēs (A. Mentz, *Beiträge zur Osterfestberechnung bei den Byzantinern* [Königsberg 1906] 27–29); in this work he indicates that he was at Ainos in Thrace in 1318 (Mercati, *Notizie* 233–36). He also wrote scholia on THEON, but did not write, as has been alleged, the anonymous *Instructions for the Persian Tables*.

Argyros's mathematical works include one on the square roots of nonsquare numbers (A. Al-lard, *Centaurus* 22 [1978] 1–43); a treatise based on Heron's *Geometrics* concerning the reduction of nonright to right triangles and other geometrical problems, composed in 1367/8; and a *Method of Geodesy*, also based on Heron (J.L. Heiberg, *Heronis Alexandrini Opera*, vol. 5 [Leipzig 1914] xcvi–cii). He also wrote scholia to Ptolemy's *Geography* and edited with scholia his *Harmonics* (I. Düring, *Die Harmonielehre des Klaudios Ptolemaios* [Göteborg 1930] xxxiii, lxvi).

Like Gregoras, Argyros supported BARLAAM OF CALABRIA in the Palamite controversy. He wrote three anti-Palamite treatises, including an attack

on Theodore Dexios's concept of the light on Mt. Tabor (M. Candal, *OrChrP* 23 [1957] 80–113).

ED. Scholia on Theon—ed. N. Halma, *Tables manuelles astronomiques*, pt. 3 (Paris 1825) 59–74; pt. 4 (Paris 1825) 67–117.

LIT. Mercati, *Notizie* 229–46, 270–82. *PLP*, no. 1285. —D.P.

ARIADNE (Ἀριάδνη), in Greek mythology daughter of Minos and spouse of THESEUS; after Theseus had deserted her, she married DIONYSOS. NONNOS OF PANOPOLIS, in the 47th book of his *Dionysiaka*, concentrates on the sudden transformation of the abandoned and lamenting Ariadne into the happy bride of her "heavenly wooer" and describes her triumphal wedding; when in the battle against Perseus Ariadne was turned into stone (*petrodes nymphe*), Nonnos notes that she was happy in her death "because she found one so great to slay her" and because she was taken up to the heavens. The idea of happiness through death was important for the world view of the 5th C. MALALAS emphasized another aspect of the myth of Ariadne: he eliminates the theme of Ariadne's romantic attraction to Theseus, made her the wife promised him by the Cretans if he destroyed the Minotaur, and finally claimed that she retired to "the temple of Zeus" (instead of marrying Dionysos).

The name Ariadne was popular in the late Roman period. Leo I's daughter ARIADNE became an empress, and a legend tells of a saint Ariadne, a young bond-maid in Phrygia who fled from persecutions and found a happy death disappearing into a rock (*petra*).

LIT. Reinert, *Myth* 552–55. P. Franchi de' Cavalieri, "La leggenda di S. Ariadne," *ST* 6 (1901) 91–113. —A.K.

ARIADNE, more fully Aelia Ariadne, augusta; born before 457, died Constantinople end of 515. The elder daughter of Emp. Leo I and VERINA, Ariadne married Zeno in 466/7 and Anastasios I on 20 May 491. Since Leo had no sons, Ariadne's marriages served to perpetuate the dynasty. Her union with Zeno also signified Leo's alliance with the Isaurians against ASPAR and marked an important point in the growth of anti-Germanic sentiment in Constantinople. Upon the death of Leo (474), her son Leo II became emperor but soon died, leaving power in Zeno's hands. Ariadne may

have been involved in the revolt of BASILISKOS and sought to soften Zeno's anger against her mother in the aftermath. When Zeno died in 491 Ariadne dominated the court and chose Anastasios I to succeed him.

An unusually large number of portraits of Ariadne survive in marble and ivory, a fact to be explained perhaps by her dominance over her consorts and repeated status as sole heir to the imperial office (*Age of Spirit.*, nos. 24–25).

LIT. Bury, *LRE* 1:390–95, 429–32. W. Hahn, "Die Münzprägung für Aelia Ariadne," in *Byzantios* 101–06. D. Stutzinger, "Das Bronzebildnis einer spätantiken Kaiserin aus Balajnac im Museum von Niš," *JbAChr* 29 (1986) 146–65. —T.E.G., A.C.

ARIANISM, subordinationist heresy that denied the consubstantiality of the Father and the Son; it was named for its main proponent ARIUS. Arianism involved a dispute about the relationship of members of the TRINITY: it taught that the Son was not coeternal with the Father but was created by him from nothing. This preserved the monarchy of the Father and a strict monotheism but raised problems concerning SALVATION since the sacrifice of a Christ who was less than fully God might prevent the genuine deification (THEOSIS) of mankind. Arianism arose in Alexandria, where it was condemned by the bishop Alexander; it gained many adherents, however, throughout the East, including EUSEBIOS OF NIKOMEDEIA. At the Council of NICAEA in 325 the Orthodox party, led by ATHANASIOS of Alexandria, was successful in securing the acceptance of a declaration that Christ was HOMOUSIOS with the Father, which resulted in the condemnation of Arianism. Emp. Constantine I, who at first supported the decisions of Nicaea, soon began to waver; the exiled Arians were recalled in 328 and many Orthodox bishops, including Athanasios, were banished.

Constantius II openly supported Arianism and persecuted the Orthodox; several councils in the East attempted to heal the rift through a variety of compromises. As a result several forms of Arianism developed. Most extreme were the Anomoians, who emphasized the difference between the Father and the Son, but the Homoians, the HOMOIUSIANS, and the PNEUMATOMACHOI represented other variations; prominent Arian spokesmen included AETIOS and EUNOMIOS. The struggle between Arians and Orthodox also re-

flected rivalry among various bishops, esp. those of Constantinople and Alexandria; Arianism may have been a particularly important urban phenomenon in the East, esp. in Constantinople, and the social orientation of Arian monks may help explain the movement's initial success.

After the death of Constantius II Orthodoxy gained ascendancy in the West, although in the East the emperor Valens was an Arian. The final victory of Orthodoxy came under Theodosios I at the Council of Constantinople in 381 (see under CONSTANTINOPLE, COUNCILS OF), and the sect slowly disappeared from the East. In the West, Arianism remained a pressing problem since many Germanic tribes had been converted by Arian missionaries and this religious difference long remained the line between Romania and Germania.

Later legends often dwell on the heinous behavior of the Arians. An unknown chronicler Ankyrianos (sometimes but groundlessly identified as NEILOS OF ANKYRA) was quoted as stating that the Arians burned portraits of the 4th-C. bishops of Constantinople displayed at the Milion (see MESE) together with an image of the Virgin and Child (*Parastaseis* 68.13–70.2); later MS illustrations show them burning Orthodox churches (Omont, *Miniatures*, pl.LII). John of Damascus (*Imag.* 3:90.33–43, ed. Kotter, *Schriften* 3:183), reports, referring to THEODORE LECTOR (*HE* 131f), that an emperor (the name, Anastasios, may be an insertion of John) commissioned a painting showing the death of the Arian Olympios who had insulted the Trinity. As late as the THEODORE PSALTER (Der Nersessian, *L'illustration II*, fig. 176), the Arians are depicted as opponents of Orthodox beliefs.

SOURCE. H.G. Opitz, *Urkunden zur Geschichte des arianischen Streites* (Berlin 1934).

LIT. E. Boularand, *L'Hérésie d'Arius et la 'Foi' de Nicée*, 2 vols. (Paris 1972–73). H.M. Gwatkin, *Studies of Arianism*² (Cambridge 1900). R. Gregg, D. Groh, *Early Arianism: A View of Salvation* (London 1981). M. Simonetti, *La crisi ariana nel IV secolo* (Rome 1975). H.A. Wolfson, "Philosophical Implications of Arianism and Apollinarianism," *DOP* 12 (1958) 3–28. G. Telepneff, J. Thornton, "Arian Transcendence and the Notion of Theosis in Saint Athanasios," *GOrThR* 32 (1987) 271–77. —T.E.G., A.C.

'ARĪB IBN SA'D AL-QURTUBĪ, Arab historian from Cordoba; died 980? He held several positions under the Spanish Umayyads, serving as governor of Osuna in 943 and as secretary to one

ruler, perhaps al-Hakam II (961–76). A practicing physician, he wrote on various medical subjects. He was deemed a competent philologist, and his astronomical, meteorological, and agricultural calendar was incorporated into the so-called *Calendar of Cordoba*.

His best-known work was a history epitomizing the annals of al-Ṭabarī and continuing the narrative into the 960s. Most of this work is apparently lost, but the MS Gotha 261 has been identified as the section for the years 903–32. This text focuses on Iraq, Spain, and North Africa, but includes no less than 12 accounts of conflicts with Byz. along the Thughūr (see 'AWĀSIM AND THUGHŪR) as well as a brief report on a maritime expedition organized from al-Fustāt in 931. It also discusses diplomatic negotiations and Byz. embassies to Baghdad in 907 and 917.

ED. *Šila ta'riḫ al-Ṭabarī*, ed. M.A.F. Ibrāhīm in his *Dhuyūl ta'riḫ al-Ṭabarī* (Cairo 1969) 9–184.
LIT. Vasiliev, *Byz. Arabes* 2.2:48–63. C. Pellat, *ET*² 1:628. Sezgin, *GAS* 1:327. –L.I.C.

ARILJE, a monastery in the western Serbian town of the same name, the seat of the Serbian bishops of Moravica. The main church, dedicated to St. Achilleios of Larissa, was founded by the NEMANJID ruler Stefan Dragutin, the elder son of STEFAN UROŠ I, before 1296. Its essentially Byz. church plan has a single nave with short cross arms for the choir, a dome on pendentives, a tripartite sanctuary, and a narthex. Its façade is decorated with a row of shallow arcades under the roof. According to a fragmentary inscription preserved in the drum of the dome, the frescoes were painted in 1296. To the traditional elements of a Byz. church program were added depictions of the TREE OF JESSE, church councils, the Sacrifice of Abraham, the life of St. Nicholas (Ševčenko, *Nicholas* 40, 236–40), and the figure of a winged John the Baptist as well as portraits of Serbian bishops and archbishops (G. Babić in *Sava Nemanjić* 322–24) and members of the Nemanjid dynasty. The style shows many features typical of Palaiologan art (see MONUMENTAL PAINTING), although certain mistakes in anatomy, the very strong contours that delineate both the figures and the painted architecture, and the relatively dark colors distinguish these frescoes from the best Constantinopolitan achievements of the time. The painters of Arilje were probably Greeks from

Thessalonike: an inscription on a window soffit reads "MARPOU," a Thessalonikan political slogan referring to Michael VIII (cf. Djurić, *infra*, and Pachym., ed. Failler, 1:48 n.2, 49.4). The painters' evident preference for figural relief over the color harmonies favored by the previous generation (the Constantinopolitan artists working at Sopoćani) also suggests a Thessalonikan origin for these frescoes.

LIT. M. Čanak-Medić, *Arilje* (Belgrade 1985). Djurić, *Byz. Fresk.* 61f. –G.B.

ARISTAINETOS (Ἀρισταίνετος), fictitious author of two books of letters, probably written ca. 520 (O. Mazal, *JÖB* 26 [1977] 1–5). The subject is sexual passion, treated in a variety of ways—as miniature romance, dialogue, description, etc. The style is rhetorical and full of quotations from earlier writers (Alkiphron, Menander, Plato, Lucian, etc., none later than about the 3rd C.). These are apparently known extensively and at first hand, a valuable indication of the literary works current in the early 6th C. and of the tastes of the time.

ED. *Epistularum libri II*, ed. O. Mazal (Stuttgart 1971). Russ. tr., S. Poljakova, *Vizantijskaja ljubovnaja proza* (Moscow-Leningrad 1965) 7–45.
LIT. W.G. Arnott, "Pastiche, Pleasantry, Prudish Eroticism: the Letters of 'Aristaenetos,'" *YCS* 27 (1982) 291–320. –E.M.J., M.J.J.

ARISTAKES LASTIVERTCI, 11th-C. Armenian historian. Aristakes came from Lastivert, near Erzurum; of his life nothing is known. His *History of Armenia*, describing the period 1000–72, is of particular value for Byz. expansion into Armenia, the collapse of the BAGRATID dynasty, the invasions of the Seljuk Turks, and the eventual loss of eastern Anatolia. His attitude to Byz. is ambivalent: he often laments the misfortunes brought upon Armenia by foreign nations, but he blames the Armenians' own sins rather than Byz. malice. For the collapse of Armenian unity in the face of Byz. and Turkish invasions he blames the heresy of the TONDRAKITES, a group also attacked by GREGORY MAGISTROS.

ED. *Patmut' iwn Hayoc'*, ed. K. Juzbašjan (Erevan 1963). Tr. with comm. M. Canard, H. Berbérían, *Récit des malheurs de la nation arménienne* (Brussels 1973).
LIT. K. Juzbašjan, "'Varjagi' i 'pronija' v sočinenii Aristakesa Lastivertci," *VizVrem* 16 (1959) 14–28. Idem, "Dej-

lemity v 'Povestvovanii' Aristakesa Lastivertci," *PSb* 7 (1962) 146–51. –R.T.

ARISTEIDES, AILIOS, rhetorician of the SECOND SOPHISTIC; born 117 or 129, died ca. 189. In the discussion of the relative values of philosophy and rhetoric, Aristeides took a clear stand against PLATO and asserted the primacy of RHETORIC. This probably was one of the causes of his popularity in Byz., where his works were copied (one of the best MSS was commissioned by ARETHAS OF CAESAREA) and provided with scholia. The Neoplatonist OLYMPIODOROS OF ALEXANDRIA polemicized against Aristeides, not only in defending Plato but also, in a political context, while attacking the idea of democracy (F. Lenz, *Opuscula selecta* [Amsterdam 1972] 129–34). Aristeides was esp. often used by late Byz. authors such as Planoudes, Thomas Magistros, and Chortasmenos; Theodora Raoulaina copied a MS of his *Orations*. METOCHITES wrote a comparison of DEMOSTHENES and Aristeides, arguing that the latter rivaled the more ancient orator in his mastery of eloquence and was superior to Demosthenes with regard to his moral and political attitude.

LIT. F. Lenz, *Aristeidesstudien* (Berlin 1964). M. Gigante, "Il saggio critico di Teodoro Metochites su Demostene e Aristide," *ParPass* 20 (1965) 51–92. A. Milazzo, "Una declamazione perduta di Elio Aristide negli scolasti Ermogeniani del V secolo," *Sileno* 9 (1983) 55–73. –A.K.

ARISTENOS (Ἀριστηνός), a family of civil functionaries, mostly judicial. In the 12th C. Nikephoros BASILAKES considered them a well-known lineage (A. Garzya, *ByzF* 1 [1966] 100.147–49); George TORNİKIOS stated that they were famous not for their worldly brilliance but for piety (Darrouzès, *Tornikès* 176f). The Aristenoi are known from the mid-11th C. when at least two of them corresponded with PSELLOS. Gregory Aristenos, a judge at the trial of JOHN ITALOS, is probably to be identified with his homonym, the *proedros* of 1094 (Gautier, "Blachernes" 258). Alexios Aristenos was an ecclesiastical official and canonist (see ARISTENOS, ALEXIOS). Basil served as judge in 1196 (MM 4:305.12–13). Several Aristenoi are known only by their seals: an eparch (Laurent, *Corpus* 2, no. 1036); a judge (no. 901); Michael, the *logothetes tou dromou* (no. 439); Basil, the *parathalassites* (no. 1132). The family did not survive the fall of Constantinople in 1204. –A.K.

ARISTENOS, ALEXIOS, mid-12th-C. canonist. Under Emp. JOHN II Komnenos, Aristenos wrote a commentary on the NOMOKANON (A. Pavlov, *ŽMNP* 303 [Jan. 1896] 172f) that probably antedated that of ZONARAS. He fulfilled both ecclesiastical (*protekdikos*, *skeuophylax*, *megas oikonomos*) and secular (*nomophylax*, *dikaiodotes*, *orphanotrophos*) functions. Since this combination was considered an infraction of canon law, the Council at Constantinople in 1157 required Aristenos to relinquish the position of *dikaiodotes* (see under CONSTANTINOPLE, COUNCILS OF). He was still alive at the time of Nikephoros, patriarch of Jerusalem (ca. 1166–71). Nikephoros BASILAKES wrote a panegyric of Aristenos. He was also close to PRODROMOS.

ED. Rhalles-Potles, *Syntagma* 2–4, or PG 137–38 (together with Zonaras and Balsamon).

LIT. Darrouzès, *Tornikès* 53–57. M. Krasnožen, "Kommentarij Alekseja Aristina na kanoničeskij Sinopsis," *VizVrem* 20 (1913) 189–207. –A.K.

ARISTOCRACY, a fluid concept in modern scholarship, usually denoting the ruling class, but equally applicable to those exerting moral and cultural as well as political leadership. The Byz. tended to avoid the words *aristoi* and *aristokratia* in favor of *eugenes*, literally "well-born," emphasizing the concepts of honorable ancestry and high-minded spiritual and moral qualities. The Byz. were ambivalent about what it meant to be "well-born." Scholarly debate has reflected this uncertainty. At one extreme, P. Bezobrazov (*Očerki vizantijskoj kul'tury* [Petrograd 1919] 12) argued that Byz. had neither an aristocracy of noble origin nor a recognized nobility with strict privileges; at the other extreme, R. Guiland (*BS* 9 [1948] 15) claimed that Byz. always made a clear distinction between the old hereditary nobility and the nobility of rank and title.

It seems that the aristocracy of the late Roman era, an old landowning gentry with large estates worked by COLONI, disappeared in the East with the crises of the 7th C. During the 7th–9th C. almost nothing survived that could be called a hereditary nobility but, then, from the mid-9th C. we see the rise of aristocratic families made up of landlords and military magnates, deriving their power from the THEME organization, particularly in the frontier zones of Asia Minor or the northern Balkans. These became the DYNATOI of 10th-

C. sources. The rise of important families seems to be indicated by the introduction of patronymic NAMES, starting in the 9th C. and accelerating after ca.1000. The growing importance of LINEAGE is reflected in a passage from the TAKTIKA OF LEO VI (ch.2.2–3), which states that *strategoi* should be appointed on the basis of their achievements, not their ancestry, and adds that *strategoi* from non-noble families fulfilled their duties better because their deeds had to compensate for their humble birth. After Basil II crushed rebellions (987–89) of the provincial military aristocracy, represented by the families of PHOKAS and SKLEROS, the *dynatoi* began to cooperate with the imperial government and slowly gravitated toward Constantinople, where they eventually developed an economic base founded on rents from land, salaries, and imperial donations, plus some trade (G. Litavrin in *VizŌ* [Moscow 1971] 164–68).

The death of Basil II heralded a struggle between the military aristocracy based on birth (Skleros, ARGYROS, DOUKAS) and the civil aristocracy based on merit. The accession of Alexios I was a victory for the military aristocracy. During the early 12th C. three aristocracies existed: (1) the KOMNENOI themselves and their "clan," a military aristocracy that monopolized military commands and provincial governorships; (2) the old families who took refuge in the BUREAUCRACY and tended to make it a hereditary civil service; and (3) provincial families who dominated the countryside. With the death of Manuel I a new struggle began among families that ultimately led to the structure of the aristocracy in the Palaiologan period. In Constantinople, the PALAIOLOGOS family, along with a dozen or so other families (including the KANTAKOUZENOS, RAUL, PETRALIPHAS, BRANAS, TORNIKIOS, and SYNADENOS families), held the chief positions in the imperial government, benefiting from imperial grants, including PRONOIAI and APPANAGES, primarily in Macedonia and Thrace, while provincial aristocratic families maintained local power bases in towns. Yet, even in this period, the Byz. aristocracy did not become a closed caste.

LIT. *The Byzantine Aristocracy, IX to XIII c.*, ed. M. Angold (Oxford 1984). A. Kazhdan, *Social'nyj sostav gosподstvennikov klassa Vizantii XI–XII vv.* (Moscow 1974), with Fr. résumé by I. Sorlin, *TM* 6 (1976) 367–80. G. Ostrogorsky, "Observations on the Aristocracy in Byzantium," *DOP* 25 (1971) 1–32. A. Laiou, "The Byzantine Aristocracy in the Palaeologan Period," *Viator* 4 (1973) 131–51. —M.B.

ARISTON AND DEIPNON, ancient terms designating midday and evening meals, respectively. The clear distinction between the two was lost in Byz., and Psellos reports that he taught his students the meaning of the word *ariston* (ἀριστον). Eustathios of Thessalonike, in his *Commentary on Homer*, sometimes identifies *deipnon* (δείπνον) as the evening, sometimes as the morning meal; *ariston*, he says, had the general meaning of meal. Nikephoros Bryennios (Bryen. 191.23–24) used *ariston* and *deipnon* interchangeably, as synonyms. Other sources, including monastic *typika*, are more specific and distinguish *ariston* as the earlier and *deipnon* as the later meal. Monks ate their *ariston* after the ORTHROS; sometimes it was their only meal. Laymen did not eat their first meal until midday: John II Komnenos is said to have had the *ariston* after hunting, and Niketas Choniates ridicules the emperors who were served an early *deipnon*. Nicholas Mesarites describes *ariston* as a noontime meal that included bread, wine, fish, meat, and vegetables (A. Heisenberg, *Quellen und Studien zur spätbyzantinischen Geschichte* [London 1973] pt.II, 3, pp. 41.35–42.2). The austere Keikaumenos (Kek. 224.21–22) recommended a large *ariston* and no *deipnon*. The anonymous author of *On Food* advises eating a full meal at noon and only bread and wine for *deipnon* (*PhysMedGr* 2:194.1–195.9).

LIT. Koukoules, *Bios* 5:136–41. A. Kazhdan, "Skol'ko eli vizantijcy?" *Voprosy istorii* (1970) no.9, 217. —Ap.K., A.K.

ARISTOPHANES (Ἀριστοφάνης), Greek comic poet; born Athens ca.445 B.C., died Athens ca.388. The oldest MS to transmit Aristophanes' 11 extant plays is of the late 10th C. At the same period, his life was recorded in the *Souda* along with some 5,000 entries from his text and scholia. Systematic study of Aristophanes began in the 12th C. with the extensive commentaries of John TZETZES and continued in the 14th C. with the annotated editions by THOMAS MAGISTROS and Demetrios TRIKLINIOS. MS evidence shows that the plays selectively studied were *Wealth*, *The Clouds*, and *The Frogs*, with *Wealth* dominant because of its edifying message.

Known as "the Comic" (*ho komikos*), Aristophanes was considered the foremost standard for the Attic dialect (Gregory PARDOS, ed. Schäfer, 6f). The wide range of his language and style as

well as the historical information in his plays undoubtedly caused his popularity with Byz. scholars and teachers who, it must be noted, made no attempt to expurgate his text. Tzetzes' judgment is particularly interesting: he criticizes Aristophanes' unfair treatment of Socrates but (Massa Positano et al., *infra* 2:377.1–10) admires Aristophanes' opposition to war and approves wholeheartedly of his obscenity when it serves to promote the noble cause of peace.

ED. Jo. Tzetze commentarii in Aristophanem, ed. L. Massa Positano, D. Holwerda, W.J.W. Koster, 4 vols. (Groningen-Amsterdam 1960–64). *Scholia in Aristophanem Pars I, II*, ed. W.J.W. Koster, 7 vols. (Groningen-Amsterdam 1969–82).

LIT. W.J.W. Koster, "Aristophane dans la tradition byzantine," *REGr* 76 (1963) 381–96. Idem, *Autour d'un manuscrit d'Aristophane écrit par Démétrius Triclinius* (Groningen 1957). Wilson, *Scholars* 122, 137, 146, 181, 238, 248, 251f. —A.C.H.

ARISTOTLE, ancient Greek philosopher; born 384 B.C., died 322. Byz. higher education always centered on the study of Aristotle. His works have been transmitted in over 1,000 MSS dated between the 9th and 16th C., making him by far the most widely copied ancient Greek author; he is also the most commented on. In the early period, interest in Aristotle was particularly strong at the school of Alexandria, where AMMONIOS and OLYMPIODOROS OF ALEXANDRIA managed to present PHILOSOPHY in a way that avoided trouble with the church. ELIAS OF ALEXANDRIA and DAVID THE PHILOSOPHER, who succeeded Olympiodoros as head of the Alexandrian school, were also commentators on Aristotle, as was John PHILOPONOS. Compared to PLATO, Aristotle was safer and of greater use to the Orthodox because parts of his system could be put directly to the service of theological discussion. After the 7th C., attention was concentrated on the logical treatises, which became the basis of philosophical studies. From then on the average educated Byz.'s direct contact with Aristotle consisted of learning the main concepts of the *Organon*, beginning with the *Categories* and ending with *Sophistical Refutations*. At the same time, interest in the nonlogical works of Aristotle was never fully lost, and in the chain of commentators, which stretches unbroken from PHOTIOS in the 9th C. to John CHORTASMENOS in the 15th, several, through exegesis or paraphrase, made themselves and their students familiar with other parts of the *Corpus*. Striking examples are PSEL-

LOS, who composed a commentary on the *Physics*, MICHAEL OF EPHEBUS, who commented on most parts of the *Corpus* including the zoological treatises, and Theodore METOCHITES, whose contributions to philosophical studies included paraphrases of the *Parva naturalia*. (See also JOHN ITALOS and EUSTRATIOS OF NICAEA.)

Aristotle and the Church Fathers. While the Alexandrian school made a serious study of Aristotle in the 4th–6th C., church fathers, esp. those of the Latin West, were cautious in their approach to Peripatetic philosophy; Jerome emphasized that it was heretics who cited Aristotle. In the East, Eusebios of Caesarea refuted various points of Aristotelian teaching, but some theologians (esp. NEMESIOS) drew upon Aristotle; Aristotelian logic became an important vehicle of argumentation in the Cappadocian fathers, and John of Damascus used Aristotle to build his system of Christian doctrine. The major points of Peripatetic philosophy that Byz. theologians found unacceptable were Aristotle's rejection of divine Providence as a decisive factor directing the universe; the concept that the god is physically represented in the fifth element, the ether, so that the god was reduced to the "soul of the world" that moves material things; the idea that visible things are coeternal with the god; and the doctrine of the mortality of the human soul, while only the *nous* (mind, intelligence) remained immortal.

ED. *Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca*, 23 vols. (Berlin 1882–1909).

LIT. *Aristoteles, Werk und Wirkung: Paul Moraux gewidmet*, vol. 2, ed. J. Wiesner (Berlin–New York 1987). D. Harlfinger, "Einige Grundzüge der Aristoteles-Überlieferung," in Harlfinger, *Kodikologie* 447–83. K. Oehler, "Aristotle in Byzantium," *GRBS* 5 (1964) 133–46. H.G. Thümmel, "Zur Tradition des aristotelischen Weltbildes in christlicher Zeit," *BBA* 52 (1985) 73–80. T.S. Lee, *Die griechische Tradition der aristotelischen Syllogistik in der Spätantike* (Göttingen 1984). S. Lilla, *DPAC* 1:349–63. A.J. Festugière, *L'idéal religieux des Grecs et l'Évangile* (Paris 1932) 221–63. —J.D., A.K.

ARITHMOS (ἀριθμός, lit. "number"), or *poson*, in documents from the mid-10th to mid-12th C. a fiscal term referring to the specific number of PAROIKOS (OR DOULO PAROIKOS) families granted by the emperor to an individual or an ecclesiastical corporation. This number served as a means of quantifying a grant and could not be reduced or increased without imperial approval. In a chry-

sobull of 1148, Manuel I emphatically prohibited *aposos* grants of *paroikoi*, that is, without indication of "number" (Zepos, *Jus* 1:377.26–27). Nikephoros III, in a chrysobull of 1079, emphasized that the specific *arithmos* could be increased or maintained only from the children and grandchildren of the *douloparoikoi* of the monastery that received the grant (*Lavra* 1, no.38.24–26); a similar formula is found in a charter of Manuel I of 1156—the *poson* of 12 *paroikoi* was to be preserved, after the death of one of them, by drawing from their children (L. Petit, *IRAIK* 6 [1900] 32.19–21). This meant that one and only one son (or grandson) of a peasant who was included in an *arithmos* would replace his father in that role; the state could deprive the landowner of peasants above the *arithmos*.

The fiscal and economic character of grants of an *arithmos* as well as the status and obligations of *paroikoi* within an *arithmos* are poorly understood. Although Kantakouzenos (Kantak. 2:63.14–15) uses *arithmos* once to refer to the sizes of PRONOIA grants, the concept of *arithmos* was superseded after the 12th C. by that of POSOTES, in which the object quantified was not the number of persons but the sum of endowed tax (Lemerle, *Agr. Hist.* 245). In a charter of 1385 the monastery of St. Paul was granted not an *arithmos* of peasants but all the "natural (*physikoi*) *paroikoi*" of a certain area (A. Kazhdan, *VizVrem* 2 [1949] 321). (For *arithmos* as the term for a military unit, see VIGLA.)

LIT. Kazhdan, *Agrarnye otnosheniia* 102f. Ostrogorsky, *Paysannerie* 27–31. —M.B.

ARIUS (*Ἀρειος*), theologian, founder of ARIANISM; born Libya? ca.250, died Constantinople 336. A student of LUCIAN OF ANTIOCH, after ordination as a priest he became a popular preacher in Alexandria, and ca.318 his teachings began to excite controversy. Because he said that Christ was not coeternal with the Father, Alexander, bishop of Alexandria, condemned him and he fled to Nikomedeia. The controversy soon spread throughout the East, and Arius won the support of many influential churchmen such as EUSEBIOS OF NIKOMEDEIA. Constantine I became involved in the controversy and summoned the Council of NICAEA in 325; Arius was condemned and exiled to Illyria. In 328 Constantine recalled Arius, who soon managed to convince the emperor of the

correctness of his views. ATHANASIOS of Alexandria opposed Arius's teaching, but the latter allied with supporters of the first MELETIAN SCHISM; Athanasios was exiled, and the council of Tyre and Jerusalem rehabilitated Arius in 335.

"A man of the big city" (Kannengiesser, *infra* 208), Arius was an ascetic and a spiritual leader to numerous holy women and other disciples, a passionate preacher, and commentator on the Bible. Of his writings only fragments are left: a letter to Eusebios of Nikomedeia and another to Alexander of Alexandria as well as the *Thalia* (Banquet), written at least partly in metric form (M.L. West, *JThSt* 33 [1982] 98–105) before 320 (C. Kannengiesser in *Kyriakon* 1 [Münster 1970] 346–51) and presenting his doctrine. Athanasios berates "the dissolute tone" and "effeminate tune" of the *Thalia*. According to Philostorgios (*HE* 2.2, p.13.6–8), Arius wrote songs for travelers on sea and land and for workers in the mills.

Athanasios relates that Arius died an ignominious death in a latrine. This tale, suspiciously resembling the fate of Judas, was developed in later legends (A. Leroy-Molinghen, *Byzantion* 37 [1967–68] 126–33; 38 [1968] 105–11).

LIT. Quasten, *Patrology* 3:7–13. C. Kannengiesser, "Athanasios of Alexandria vs. Arius," in *Roots of Egypt. Christ.* 204–15. G.C. Stead, "The *Thalia* of Arius and the Testimony of Athanasios," *JThSt* n.s. 29 (1978) 20–52.

—T.E.G., A.K.

ARKADIA (*Ἀρκαδία*), mountainous central region of the Peloponnesos. The name *Arkadia* appears infrequently until the 15th C. (e.g., in pseudo-Sphrantzes). During the period of the Roman Empire, the area underwent an economic decline exacerbated by invasions of the Goths (end of the 4th C.) and Slavs (7th C.); the latter left substantial traces in local toponymy. Old cities (Orchomenos [at modern Kalpaki], Mantinea, Megalopolis) disappeared; the name *Arkadia* was applied to the city of Kyparissia on the west coast of the Peloponnesos, suggesting a population movement; in Tegea-Nikli archaeological excavations reveal a gap between levels of the 6th C. and those of the 10th–12th C. Byz. authority in the region was restored after the expedition of STAUAKIOS in 783 and that of Skleros under Nikephoros I. The oldest church in Arkadia after the Byz. reconquest is probably St. Christopher in Pallantio of the 10th C. (A. Abramea in *Geographica byzantina* [Paris

1981] 33–36). Arkadia was placed under the jurisdiction of the bishopric of LAKEDAEMON; in 1082/3 Lakadaimon was transformed into a metropolis that included the bishoprics of Nikli, Pisse, and Ezerai. The area was conquered by the Crusaders by 1209 and divided into four baronies. Various monuments of this period survive, in Mouchli (see NIKLI) and Leontarion, near ancient Megalopolis (P. Velissariou, *JÖB* 32.4 [1982] 625–31).

LIT. B. Konte, "Symbole sten historike geographia tes Arkadias," *Symmeikta* 6 (1985) 91–124. A. Orlandos, "Palaiochristianika kai byzantina mnemeia Tegeas-Nikliou," *ABME* 12 (1973) 3–176. G. Petropoulos-Sagias, *Mesaionika toponymia potamon Arkadias* (Athens 1978). —A.K.

ARKADIOPOLIS (*Ἀρκαδιούπολις*), name of two cities, in Asia Minor and in Thrace.

ARKADIOPOLIS IN IONIA (mod. Arakclar in Turkey), suffragan bishopric of the metropolis of Asia (*Notitiae CP* 1.102). Its bishop attended the Council of Ephesus in 431; his successors are attested up to the 13th C. (E. Kurtz, *VizVrem* 12 [1906] 103.8; J. Nicole, *REGr* 7 [1894] 80.26). Laurent (*Corpus* 5.1, nos. 292–93) ascribes to this see two seals of bishops of the 10th–11th C., arguing that the hierarch of Thracian Arkadiopolis at that time would have been an archbishop.

LIT. R. Janin, *DHGE* 3:1483f.

—A.K.

ARKADIOPOLIS IN THRACE (mod. Luleburgaz, in European Turkey), city on the route from ADRIANOPLE to Constantinople, built on the site of ancient Bergoule. This ancient name was retained by late Roman geographers (*Tabula Peutingeriana*, Cosmographer of Ravenna, Hierokles, etc.) but in *notitiae* it appears already as Arkadiopolis—the see of the autocephalous archbishopric of Europe (*Notitiae CP* 1.49) and by the late 12th C. a metropolis. Most historians, from Theophanes to Kantakouzenos, make Emp. Arkadios the founder of the city; Kedrenos (Cedr. 1:568.5–7), however, relates that it was Theodosios I who built the *polis* on the site of ancient "Bergoulion" and named it in honor of his son (i.e., Arkadios).

As one of the strongholds (*kastron*—Beševliev, *Inscripfen*, no.26) protecting Constantinople from northern invasions, Arkadiopolis was often subject to hostile attack. Attila seized the city in 441 and Theodoric besieged it in 473; Thomas the Slav retreated to Arkadiopolis after his assault on

Constantinople had failed; in 970 the Rus' army reached Arkadiopolis but was defeated at its walls by Bardas Skleros. The stronghold was an important station on the route of the Third Crusade: the *HISTORIA DE EXPEDITIONE FRIDERICI* describes the attack of German soldiers on *Archadinopolim* where they found much wine and other stored goods. Near the "*polisma* built by Arkadios," writes Niketas Choniates (Nik.Chon. 446.67), the general Alexios Gidos was routed by rebellious Bulgarians and Vlachs in 1194. After the fall of Constantinople in 1204, the *civitas Archadiopoli* (A. Carile, *StVen* 7 [1965] 218.27) was given to Venice, but the rights to it were disputed, and the city changed hands several times; according to Choniates, it suffered serious destruction, and Villehardouin relates that its inhabitants left the city and sought refuge in Adrianople. According to Kantakouzenos (Kantak. 1:541.17–21), by his time Arkadiopolis was an ancient city in ruins; he mentions that in 1340 Andronikos III planned to rebuild it.

LIT. V. Velkov, *Gradūt v Trakija i Dakija prez kūsna antičnost* (Sofia 1959) 99f. C. Asdracha, "La Thrace orientale et la Mer Noire," *Byzantina Sorbonensia* 7 (1988) 231–33. Laurent, *Corpus* 5.1:206f. —A.K.

ARKADIOS (*Ἀρκάδιος*), emperor in the East (395–408); born Constantinople 377/8, died Constantinople 1 May 408. The son of THEODOSIOS I and Aelia Flaccilla, he became augustus in 383. Left as regent in Constantinople in 394 when his father departed to fight the usurper EUGENIUS, he shared power with his brother HONORIUS after the death of Theodosios the following year. Apparently weak-willed and averse to action (Zosim. 5.12.1; Philostorg., *HE* 11.3), Arkadios was dominated by others, first by RUFINUS (395–96), then EUTROPIOS (396–400), his wife EUDOXIA (400–04), and finally the praetorian prefect ANTHEMIOS (404–08). During Arkadios's reign ALARIC ravaged the Balkans, while the Huns broke through the Caspian Gates and the ISAUARIANS disturbed eastern Asia Minor. Although Arkadios may not have dominated policy, important developments marked his reign: the growing movement toward the proscription of paganism, the defeat of GAINAS and the Germanic threat to Constantinople, and the deposition of JOHN CHRYSOSTOM. The court of Arkadios encouraged the development of a new concept of imperial victory based not on the

military prowess of the emperor but on his piety, reflected in new symbols of victory set up in the HIPPODROME and in the Column of Arkadios erected in 400.

LIT. Bury, *LRE* 1:106–58. Demougeot, *Unité* 93–410. A. Güldenpenning, *Geschichte des oströmischen Reiches unter den Kaisern Arcadius und Theodosius II* (Halle 1885; rp. Amsterdam 1965). Kulakovskij, *Istorija* 1:157–226. —T.E.G.

ARKARIOS (ἀρκάριος, Lat. *arcarius*), in the late Roman Empire the name of various subordinate officials of treasuries—imperial, provincial, military, even private—who were often slaves or freedmen (P. Habel, *RE* 2 [1896] 429–31). In Byz. practice the term retained a very restricted meaning. In the *Kletorologion* of PHILOTHEOS the *arkarios* is a subaltern official of the ORPHANOTROPHOS. The *spatharokandidatos* Leo, in the first half of the 11th C., held the offices of *chartouarios*, *arkarios*, and imperial “measurer” (*metretes*) (Zacos, *Seals* 2, no.837), thus suggesting that the *arkarios* was probably involved in fiscal or economic operations. The NOMOKANON OF FOURTEEN TITLES (Rhalles-Potles, *Syntagma* 1:175.7–11) repeats Justinian I’s law of 530 (*Cod. Just.* I 2,24.16) that ordered the OIKONOMOI of Constantinople to give an accounting to the *arkarioi* (of the Great Church—omitted in the *Nomokanon*) every one or two months. It is unclear whether this rule reflects reality or only tradition. In Rome of the 6th–8th C., the *arcarius*, as keeper of the papal treasury, was, along with the *sacellarius*, the most important fiscal official.

LIT. Beck, *Kirche* 100. Bury, *Adm. System* 105. S. Keller, *Die sieben römischen Pfalzrichter im byzantinischen Zeitalter* (Stuttgart 1904) 108–12. —A.K.

ARKLA (ἀρκλα, “box”), a kind of treasury, probably provincial. The *Kletorologion* of Philotheos mentions the CHARTOULARIOI of the *arklai* in the department of the GENIKON as well as their notaries; the *De ceremoniis* identifies these *chartouarioi* as “external,” that is, acting outside of Constantinople (*De cer.* 694.19). A seal of the 11th or 12th C. belonged to a certain Demetrios, *chartouarios* of the *arkla* (Laurent, *Corpus* 2, no.383). An 11th-C. fiscal document (*Ivir.* 1, no.30.34) is signed by Gregory Chalkoutzes, *chartouarios* of the *arkla* of the West, a department of the *genikon*.

LIT. Bury, *Adm. System* 87. Dölger, *Beiträge* 69. —A.K.

ARK OF THE COVENANT (κιβωτός [Ex 25:22] or σκηνή τοῦ μαρτυρίου [Ex 37:5]). Usually found in narrative contexts such as the synagogue at DURA EUROPOS and illustrations to Joshua (chs. 3–4, 6) (e.g., in the JOSHUA ROLL, the OCTATEUCHS), it occurs rarely and symbolically elsewhere: a fresco in the CHORA treats the recovery of the Ark from the Philistines as a prefiguration of the Virgin (see also NOAH’S ARK), while KOSMAS INDIKOPLEUSTES discusses the Ark’s cosmological significance. As a vessel threatened but divinely protected, the Ark symbolized the church for NIKETAS DAVID PAPHLAGON (*Encomium*, p.36) and other commentators. Gregory of Nyssa’s Life of MOSES (2.179) glosses the tabernacle as Christ and the Ark as his powers.

LIT. P. Bloch, *LCI* 1:341–43. L. Brubaker, “The Tabernacle Miniatures of the Byzantine Octateuchs,” 15 *CEB*, vol. 2 (Athens 1976) 85–90. —J.H.L., A.C., C.B.T.

ARMAMENTON (ἀρμαμέντον, from Lat. *armamentum*), arms depot or arsenal in Constantinople. According to a 9th-C. chronicler (Theoph. 274.22–24), Emp. Maurice built an *armamenton* near MAGNAURA in 596 and set up his statue there; later sources ascribe both to Emp. Phokas. Guiland (*Topographie* 1:42) surmises that there were two different *armamenta*. There are some data concerning other arsenals. An enigmatic inscription mentions a great *arsenales* of Theophilos (Guiland, *Topographie* 2:107), and it is unclear whether this evidence can be connected with the mansion of Armamentarea (the wife of the chief of the arsenal?) allegedly built by Theophilos (Janin, *CP byz.* 455) or transformed by Empress Theodora into the monastery of St. Panteleemon (Oikonomides, *Documents*, pt.IX [1964], 195). Some anti-Iconoclast texts accused Leo III or Constantine V of transforming the Church of St. Euphemia into an arms depot. Arsenals in the Blachernai region and on the Propontis are known in the 14th C.

The administration of *armamenta* presents some problems as well. Both the TAKTIKON of Uspenskij and the *Kletorologion* of PHILOTHEOS mention the *archon* of the *armamenton*; Theophanes (297.17) speaks of *ho epano* of the *armamenton* in the reign of Phokas; Oikonomides (*Listes* 317) denies the existence of the *katepano* of the *armamenton*, whereas Ahrweiler (*Mer* 424, n.4) doubts his thesis. Seals mention the *archon*, *strategos*, and *chartouarios* of the imperial *armamenton*. Questionable, however,

is the figure of the *kourator* of Arsanas or Artzanas whom Laurent considered a member of the staff of the *armamenton*—it would be more reasonable to interpret Arsanas as a local name, not as an arsenal. *Armamenta* possessed pack animals—a bronze tablet of the 6th C. indicates that they were exempt from ANGAREIAI (Zacos, *Seals* 2, no.187; cf. N. Oikonomides, *Diptycha* 4 [1986–87] 49–52).

LIT. Bury, *Adm. System* 118. Oikonomides, *Documents*, pt. IX (1964), 193–96. Laurent, *Corpus* 2:343–46. —A.K.

ARMBAND (usually in plural form ψελλ(λ)ία, Lat. *armillae*). The term usually refers to a military ornament, worn by Germanic soldiers on the upper arm. Elsewhere, it is described as *armilla gallica*, a BRACELET inset with gem stones, worn on the lower arm. In the Romano-Byz. world the term *armillae* normally refers to military insignia in the form of armbands, made of silver and worn in pairs, one, or sometimes two, on each arm. Examples of *armillae*, as part of the emperor’s largesse, may be seen in the exergues of 4th–7th-C. medallions (e.g., *DOCat* 2, no.2), where they are shown as complete rings. Elsewhere, as in illustrations in the NOTITIA DIGNITATUM, they are shown as incomplete hoops, with the open ends forming knobs. The two spectacular enameled bracelets found in Thessalonike in 1958 (*Splendeur de Byz.* 190) have also been called *armillae*.

LIT. R. MacMullen, “The Emperor’s Largesses,” *Latomus* 21 (1962) 159–66. R. Elze, “Baugen-armillae: Zur Geschichte der königlichen Armspangen,” *MGH Schriften* 13.2 (1955) 538–53. Koukoules, *Bios* 4:388f. —S.D.C.

ARMBANDS, AMULETIC, were manufactured in Egypt and Syria in the 6th–8th C. Most often silver, such JEWELRY is distinguished by recurrent inscriptions and images, and by a ribbonlike design with incised figural medallions. Typically these armbands show at least part of the PALESTINIAN CHRISTOLOGICAL CYCLE as well as the beginning of the apotropaic goth Psalm. More elaborate examples add RING SIGNS, apotropaic ACCLAMATIONS, the HOLY RIDER, and some form of CHNOUBIS. Because these armbands are closely related to Medusa AMULETS, which in addition to the above words and images bear various uterine incantations, they too were probably made specifically for women and control of the uterus.

LIT. Vikan, “Art, Medicine & Magic” 75–77. M. Piccirillo, “Un braccialetto cristiano della regione di Betlem,” *Lib.ann.* 29 (1979) 244–52. —G.V.

ARMENIA (Ἀρμενία), kingdom and province on the northeast frontier of Byz. Much of medieval Armenian history remains obscure and problematic because of the lack of native sources before the Armenian alphabet was created (5th C.) and the limited point of view of subsequent ecclesiastical historians. They were hostile to Iranian and Muslim cultures and Byz. Orthodoxy, which they rejected as nestorianizing after the Council of CHALCEDON. They focused primarily on northern Armenia and often supported the interests of a particular noble family. The christianization of the country at the beginning of the 4th C. drew it toward the Romans and away from its Iranian past. Nevertheless, throughout the Middle Ages, Armenia remained a buffer zone oscillating between the classical world and the East. Consequently, its own history was conditioned by the balance of power beyond its borders, even though the native language, culture, and customs were stubbornly maintained. Internally, the sharp geographical divisions of the Armenian plateau fostered the centrifugal tendencies of the magnates, jealous of their prerogatives and inclined to view the ruler merely as *primus inter pares*.

Between 387 and 390 the earlier tripartite “Armenia” (the imperial province of Armenia Minor west of the Euphrates, the kingdom of Greater Armenia east of the river, and the southern SATRAPIES) was transformed by the division of the ARSACID realm of Greater Armenia into a smaller imperial portion and a much larger Persarmenia (comprising some four-fifths of the former kingdom) along a north-south line from Karin (THEODOSIOUPOLIS) on the upper Euphrates to DARA in Mesopotamia. The Arsacid dynasty disappeared in both portions in the early 5th C. Thereafter, Persarmenia was governed by a *marzpan*, often a native magnate, residing at DUIN, while the imperial portion, Armenia Interior, was first administered by a *comes Armeniae* until Justinian I (nov.31 in 536) fused it with Armenia Minor, the Satrapies, and parts of PONTOS to form regular imperial provinces known as Armenia I–IV. This pattern survived almost three centuries when Emp. Maurice, by the peace of 591, greatly increased the imperial portion by extending the Byz. frontier eastward almost to Duin and the northwest

corner of Lake Van. Armeno-Byz. relations grew increasingly strained during this period as Byz. attempts to force Armenia back into communion with Constantinople and to impose imperial institutions and customs fueled the hostility of the powerful native clergy and of the local magnates whose prerogatives were threatened. As a result, the Arab invasions of the mid-7th C. met comparatively little opposition.

At first, the Muslim occupation of Armenia was relatively mild and taxes remained low because the caliphate relied on the Armenian cavalry to repel the KHAZARS raiding through the Caucasian passes. Administratively, Armenia was now joined with Iberia and Caucasian ALBANIA to form the province of Armīniya governed by an *ostikan* residing first at Duin and subsequently at Partaw/Bardha'a in Azerbaijan. Much of the western portion of Armenia, however, was incorporated into a military zone turned against Byz. Conditions in Armenia began to change in the 8th C. when the Arabs, profiting from the crises distracting Constantinople, tightened their hold. The turbulence of the Armenian nobles stirred up Muslim fanaticism and led to punitive expeditions, massacres, and deportations; much of the Armenian nobility was annihilated, and numerous Muslim emirates were established in the country.

From the 9th C. onward, Byz. eastward expansion and the simultaneous decline of the 'Abbāsīd caliphate permitted a native revival. The Bagratid dynasty established itself in the north while the Arçruni controlled most of VASPURAKAN in the south. Armenian autonomy was recreated with the coronation of AŠOT I THE GREAT Bagratuni in 884 and that of Gagik Arçruni in 908, and the external balance of power was reestablished. This second period of independence, though politically fragile and increasingly fragmented, lasted almost two centuries; the native culture may have reached its zenith during this period (see ARMENIAN ART AND ARCHITECTURE; ARMENIAN LITERATURE). Armenia likewise prospered through extensive international trade until Byz. expansion destroyed the external equilibrium once again.

Byz. expansion into Armenia began in the second half of the 10th C., and TARŌN became an imperial province in 966/7, but in 974 Emp. John I Tzimiskēs was still collaborating with King AŠOT III. Byz. annexation of Armenia accelerated in the next century. In successive campaigns, Basil

II gained much of western Armenia, which became the theme of IBERIA early in the 11th C. The cession of Vaspurakan threatened by the first Turkish invasions of the empire led to the creation of the Katepanate of Basprakanian (VASPURAKAN) in 1021/2. Byz. imperial pressure finally caused GAGIK II to abdicate and surrender ANI to Byz. in 1045, after repeated attacks against the capital had failed. Imperial armies also failed to take Duin from the Muslims, but by the mid-11th C. most of Armenia had been converted into imperial themes—Tarōn, Iberia, Basprakanian, and MESOPOTAMIA—while the native nobility migrated to CAPPADOCIA, GEORGIA, or CILICIA.

As the Seljuks overran the country, the Byz. annexation of Armenia proved short-lived and ended with the Byz. defeat at MANTZIKERT in 1071. Thereafter, Muslim dynasties controlled Armenia except for a brief revival under the ZAK'ARIDS, who ruled the northern portion of the country for two generations in the early 13th C. This Indian summer ended with the Mongol invasions of the 1230s; thereafter Armenia, dominated by various Muslim dynasties from the 14th C. onward, passed for centuries out of the orbit of the Mediterranean world.

The equivocal nature of Armeno-Byz. relations in every period is amply attested. Some collaboration unquestionably occurred because imperial support was indispensable if Armenia was to repel Eastern aggressions, and Byz. relied to a large extent on its Armenian military contingents. Armenian nobles repeatedly served the empire and settled and prospered in Asia Minor and Constantinople (see ARMENIANS). Recurring religious dissensions marred these contacts, however, and Armenia's traditional social structure (dominated by haughty magnates holding hereditary offices and domains) was fundamentally irreconcilable with the centralized and bureaucratic pattern characteristic of Byz., and with its fiscal policies. Despite Armenia's rejection of Byz. language and religion, cultural and artistic ties were maintained; the Armenian architect Trdat was even summoned to Constantinople in 989 to restore the damaged dome of Hagia Sophia. Similarly, Armenia profited from the transit trade crossing the country—which led to the designation of ARTAŠAT as the only northern imperial customs post in the 5th–6th C. (*Cod. Just.* IV 63.4) and to the later prosperity of Ani—while Constantinople de-

pended on the same exchange for Eastern luxury goods and some Armenian products such as metals (silver, copper, lead, etc.) and the region's red-dyed and embroidered leathers and textiles. Nevertheless, Armenia's almost total deurbanization from 364 to late Bagratid times ran directly counter to the characteristic focus of the Mediterranean world on the city and hindered the development of Armenia's internal trade; lacking a native currency entirely, Armenia had to rely on Byz. or Arab coinage for all commercial transactions. The basic incompatibilities between Armenia and Byz. won out over their mutual reliance and prevented the integration of Armenia into the empire until both were overwhelmed by the Ottomans in the 15th C.

LIT. C. Toumanoff, *CMH* 4:593–637. M. Canard, *EI*² 1:634–50. N. Adontz, *Armenia in the Period of Justinian* (Lisbon 1970). Manandyan, *Trade and Cities*. N.G. Garsoian, "The Early-Medieval Armenian City—An Alien Element," *Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society* 16–17 (1984–85 [1988]) 67–83. Eadem, *Armenia between Byzantium and the Sasanians* (London 1985) iii–xii. —N.G.G.

ARMENIAKON (Ἀρμενιάκον), one of the first THEMES of Asia Minor, originated in the command of the *magister militum* for Armenia instituted by Justinian I. Although 9th-C. sources (Theophanes the Confessor and al-Balādhuri) suggest that the theme may have existed as early as 629, its *strategos* is first unambiguously attested in 667. The theme encompassed eastern Anatolia from Cappadocia to the Black Sea and the Euphrates. In the 9th C. the *strategos* of Armeniakon commanded 9,000 troops and drew a salary of 40 pounds of gold; his domain included 17 fortresses. The army frequently played a role in politics, supporting the revolts of Leo III in 715 and Artabasdos (their former commander) in 742. They revolted against Irene in 790, but supported Michael II against Thomas the Slav. The importance of Armeniakon derived from its size and strategic location. The original area was divided early in the 9th C. into Armeniakon, CHARSIANON, and CAPPADOCIA, and in the 10th C. CHALDIA became separate, leaving Armeniakon to comprise the western Pontic coast as well as the mountains and valleys to the south. Its capital was AMASEIA.

LIT. A. Pertusi in *De them.* 117–20. W. Kaegi, "Al-Baladhuri and the Armeniak Theme," *Byzantion* 38 (1968) 273–77. —C.F.

ARMENIAN ART AND ARCHITECTURE. The medieval art of Armenia falls into three main periods: that between the establishment of Christianity and the Arab invasions (ca.305–750); that of the independent Armenian kingdoms (ca.862–1021); and that of the pockets of Armenian power that survived under Seljuk, Georgian, and Mongol rule (ca.1150–1500).

In architecture, many elements remain constant: churches are almost always made of a rubble conglomerate faced with large, finely joined tufa blocks. They are vaulted, and, after the 6th C., carry masonry domes. The exteriors of most Armenian churches barely hint at the spaces within. Domes are encased in cones or pyramids, and vaults are gabled. Apses are often embedded in straight walls. Steep niches indicate the position of aisles and apses.

First Period (ca.305–750). Prior to the 6th C. Armenian churches were single-naved or simple basilicas (F. Gandolfo, *Le basiliche armene IV–VII secolo* [Rome 1982]). With the notable exception of Ereruk (ca.500), they are also small and dark.

In the 7th C. the ties of Armenia with GEORGIA, Syria, and Palestine were strong, and this period produced a remarkable variety of centralized domed plans. Attempts to find examples, that surely predate the Justinianic taste for centralized churches have not been convincing.

Among the most popular domed CHURCH PLAN TYPES is the cross-domed basilica (e.g., St. Gayanē at VAZARŠAPAT), in which transverse vaults raised to the height of the nave interrupt barrel-vaulted aisles. At the crossing, freestanding piers support a dome on squinches (a plan very similar to the Byz. cross-in-square). In the domed hall church (e.g., at Ptñi, ca.630) these piers abut the walls so that three deep niches replace each aisle. Here the dome is on pendentives. Small cruciform buildings with domes on squinches were also popular, as was the domed quatrefoil superimposed on a cube (e.g., St. John at Mastara, 7th C.).

External sculptural decoration is generally restricted to cornices over windows and doors and at the gable-line; internal decoration is limited to capitals. Occasional figural elements appear: Old and New Testament scenes, or donor portraits. Memorial stelae illustrate the same subjects. A large relief of the VIRGIN HODEGETRIA survives, now built into the wall of the cathedral of Ojun.

Vrt'anes K'ert'ol's 7th-C. treatise in defense of

images indicates that some church interiors in this period contained images of saints and New Testament scenes. A few fragments of fresco still survive: a theophanic vision in St. Stephen at Lmbat, and Christ addressing the Apostles, at T'alis.

K'ert'ot also described MSS illuminated in the Greek style and bound in ivory. The 10th-C. Eġmiacin Gospels (Erevan, Mat. 2374) have 6th-C. Byz. ivory covers and include two illuminated pages taken from an earlier Gospel. The four full-page miniatures on these folia allow a fuller appreciation of the style preserved in the frescoes; all have strong ties with 7th-C. Byz. painting such as the apse mosaic at KġTI and the icon of Sts. Sergios and Bakchos at Kiev (Weitzmann, *Sinai Icons*, pl. 12, no. B.9).

Second Period (ca. 862–1021). Armenian kings of the 9th and 10th C. supported a very retrospective architecture. Seventh-century church types served as the basis for new dynastic monuments at ANI and ALT'AMAR, and the same phenomenon occurs in smaller principalities (the Holy Apostles at KARS [937] copies St. John at Mastara) and in monasteries. The new versions are often steeper in elevation than their models. Sculptural articulation, though often based on 7th-C. forms, developed in new directions, from the elegant, attenuated arcading at Ani to the exuberant figural reliefs at Alt'amar. Large-scale donor portraits, some carved nearly in the round, appear at Ani, Alt'amar, Sanahin, and Halbat. Islamic influence in this period is evident in the use of *muqarnas* (stalactite squinches), polychrome stonework, and large expanses of flat, leafy interlace, esp. in forechurched and secular buildings.

The *xač'k'ar* ("stone-cross"), a stone slab carved with a cross and a variety of other motifs, was used from the 9th C. onward. Serving a number of commemorative purposes, *xač'k'ars* are usually freestanding, but were sometimes incorporated into the walls of churches and other buildings. Especially after the late 13th C., donor portraits and Old and New Testament scenes appear on *xač'k'ars*.

Extensive fresco cycles survive at Tat'ev (ca. 930)—where Stephen Orbelian (died 1304) says the painters were "Frankish"—and at Alt'amar.

In some MS illumination, Byz. is the predominant influence, for example, in the painting style, ornament, and imagery (but not the placement of

the scenes) of the Trebizond Gospels (Venice, San Lazzaro 1400, 11th C.) and in the narrative scenes in the Gospels of Gagik of Kars (Jerusalem, Arm. Patr. 2556, 11th C.). Several Gospels like that copied in Melitene in 1057 (Erevan, Mat. 3784) include Byz. compositions (e.g., the Entombment of Christ) developed only after Iconoclasm. The illustrations, however, are placed at right angles to the side margins; the erratically drawn figures in bright, wash-like colors on bare parchment are not Byz. in character. Other MSS preserve pre-Iconoclastic imagery, some in a style reminiscent of the RABBULA GOSPELS or Eġmiacin Gospels (the Mlk'e Gospels, Venice, San Lazzaro 1144, dated 862), others in a flattened, linear transformation (Jerusalem, Arm. Patr. 2555, 11th C.). The influence of Islamic court art is clear in the miniature of Gagik now bound into his Gospels, showing him with his family, dressed in oriental robes, seated cross-legged on rich carpets.

Third Period (ca. 1150–1500). After the Seljuk invasions, smaller Armenian principalities fostered their own, often highly individual, art (e.g., the MS painting of Armenian CILICIA). Although some activity continued in cities (e.g., the patronage of Tigran Honenc'), it was the monasteries that became the most important focus for princely patronage.

Although patrons still turned to 7th-C. church types, they developed new plans for other buildings. Among the ZAK'ARID additions at Halbat is the forechurch of the Church of the Holy Sign (1208–10), its roof supported by four intersecting arches, with a three-story bell tower (1245) with chapels on each floor.

The sculpture of the Prošian funerary church at Gelard and its forechurch (1285) is typically exuberant. Fleishy vegetal motifs and *muqarnas* ornament the dome of the rock-cut church, while animals and New Testament figures share the surfaces of the forechurch with crosses and interlace.

In the 14th C., the Orbelian family had tympana carved at Amalu with a variety of new subjects, for example, the Ancient of Days (see CHRIST: Types of Christ) with the Crucifixion and Adam. This inventiveness also emerges in MS illumination of the period. At Glajor, under Orbelian protection, T'oros of Tarōn and other artists developed Old and New Testament imagery reflecting the anti-Chalcedonian theology of their abbot,

Esayi Nč'ec'i, including, at the same time, Western images, for example, the crowned *Virgo lactans*.

LIT. S. Der Nersessian, *Armenian Art* (London 1978). *Documenti di architettura armena*, ed. A. Manoukian (Milan 1968–). T. Mathews, "The Early Armenian Iconographic Program of the Eġmiacin Gospel," in *East of Byzantium* 199–215. T. Mathews, A.K. Sanjian, *Armenian Gospel Iconography* (Washington, D.C., 1990). —A.T.

ARMENIAN CHURCH. Considering itself autocephalous, this church traces its origin from the preaching of St. GREGORY THE ILLUMINATOR at the beginning of the 4th C. and also claims to be an apostolic foundation through St. Thaddeus. This double tradition stems from two evangelizing waves: the earlier came from Syria-Palestine and reached southern Armenia before the end of the 2nd C., the other represented the hellenizing tradition of Cappadocian CAESAREA introduced by Gregory into Armenia and continued by his descendants. This second wave, which predominated in the northern part of the country, ultimately prevailed over the Syrian one, whose existence was all but expunged from the sources.

The Armenian church still recognizes only the first three ecumenical COUNCILS. It rejects the Council of CHALCEDON as NESTORIAN, while simultaneously condemning MONOPHYSITISM, and holds to the Christological definition of CYRIL of Alexandria: "One is the nature of the Incarnate Logos." Armenian primates ceased to be consecrated at Caesarea after the death of St. NERSĒS I THE GREAT in the 4th C., but a break with Constantinople came only considerably later, at a date that is still debated.

Despite this breach, adherents of Chalcedon remained numerous, esp. in the western provinces of Armenia, as evidenced by the pro-Chalcedonian NARRATIO DE REBUS ARMENIAE (8th C.). The Armenian patriarch or KATHOLIKOS resided from the 5th to the 9th C. at DUIN on Persian territory and was thus free to defy Byz. ecclesiastical authority, but western Armenian bishops disregarded his injunctions and continued to attend Byz. church councils. After the new partition of Armenia in 591, the Emp. Maurice even succeeded in installing a rival *katholikos* at Awan near Erevan, thus creating a schism that lasted some 20 years. Herakleios and his successors continued efforts to bring the Armenian church back into communion with Constantino-

ple, but all compromise formulas failed, and in 725/6 the Council of MANTZIKERT proclaimed the union of the Armenian and Syrian churches, while maintaining their rejection of extreme Monophysitism. Some attempts at negotiation continued in BAGRATID times. Armenian patriarchs corresponded with PHOTIOS and NICHOLAS I MYSTIKOS, but the Council of Ani in 969 again condemned Chalcedonianism and its adherents in Armenia. Relations worsened in the 11th C. with polemics and forced rebaptisms occurring on both sides. Armenian historians denounced Armenian Chalcedonians in the service of Byz.—such as Philaretos BRACHAMIOS—as traitors and "Iberians," that is, no longer Armenian. During the sojourn of the *katholikoi* in CILICIA (1051–1444), a final attempt at union under the *katholikos* St. Nersēs the Gracious (1166–73) failed after Emp. Manuel I died (1180); negotiations then focused, ultimately without success, on the Latin church, although relations between Armenia and Byz. were not entirely severed.

Byz. influence can be traced in Armenian ecclesiastical practices: Armenian liturgy follows the Greek LITURGY attributed to St. Basil and the custom of distinguishing between the black (celibate, monastic) and white (married, secular) clergy follows Byz. usage. Other customs, however, differed from those of Byz.: the use of AZYMES and unmixed wine for the Eucharist, for example, as well as the early traditions involving hereditary patriarchs and clan bishops are purely indigenous.

LIT. M. Ormanian, *The Church of Armenia* (London 1912). K. Sarkissian, *The Council of Chalcedon and the Armenian Church* (London 1965). V. Arutjunova-Fidanjan, *Armjane-chalkidonity na vostočnyh granicah Vizantijskoj imperii (XI v.)* (Erevan 1980). Garsoian, *Armenia*, pt. IX (1984), 220–50. —N.G.G.

ARMENIAN LITERATURE. Until the year 400 the Armenians used Greek or Aramaic for their inscriptions, coinage, and correspondence. Syriac also was known in ecclesiastical circles. Only after MESROP MAŠTOC' invented the native script did a vernacular literature develop.

The pupils of Maštoc' traveled to centers of Christian learning, esp. EDESSA, the Greek cities of Asia Minor, and Constantinople, to study Syriac and Greek and to make translations. A corpus of translated literature rapidly developed. At first the emphasis was on liturgical, biblical, and gen-

eral theological writings, but succeeding generations of Armenians translated and adapted many of the standard texts of late antiquity dealing with secular scholarly themes.

Some of the first translators themselves composed original works, the earliest being the *Life of Maštoc'* by his pupil Koriun, and the treatise on evil and free will by the latter's colleague Eznik. Though the authors of the earliest major histories are unknown, the genre of historical writing devoted to Armenian themes quickly took root: AGATHANGELOS described the conversion of Armenia in hagiographical style; pseudo-P'AWSTOS BUZAND dealt with the conflict of Christian and traditional values in the 4th C.; EZIŠE described the struggle of Christian Armenians against Sasanian domination in the mid-5th C.; the later MOSES XORENAC'I gave the first account of the beginnings of the Armenian nation and of Armenia's historical role between the Roman Empire and Iran down to the time of Maštoc'.

Characteristically, historians wrote about a specific house or province rather than the country as a whole. Pseudo-P'awstos focused on the MAMIKONEAN family, and LAZAR OF P'ARPI composed a history of 5th-C. Armenia extolling the virtues of the same family for his patron, Vahan Mamikonean, governor of Armenia (485–505). The work of Moses Xorenac'i was primarily concerned with the fortunes of the BAGRATID family, and Thomas ARCRUNI glorifies the merits of the Arcruni princes of southern Armenia in his *History*.

Interest in Hellenistic and early Christian literature is demonstrated by translations of many Greek and Syrian church fathers and of Greek texts used in the schools of the eastern Mediterranean. Among theological works of especial importance translated from Syriac are the writings of APHRAHAT and EPHREM THE SYRIAN, the Lives of 4th-C. martyrs in Persia, and the *Ecclesiastical History* of EUSEBIOS OF CAESAREA (his *Chronicle* was translated from the original Greek). From Greek were also translated works by ATHANASIOS of Alexandria, BASIL THE GREAT, GREGORY OF NAZIANZOS, and JOHN CHRYSOSTOM. The *Refutation* by TIMOTHEOS AILOUROS influenced later polemical CATENAE composed by Armenians. In the secular field the translation and adaptation for the Armenian language of the *Art of Grammar* by DIONYSIOS THRAX led to extensive later commentaries on grammar. Works by the 6th-C. Alexandrians,

DAVID THE PHILOSOPHER and ELIAS, led to an interest in logic. Rhetoric was studied through the *Progymnasmata* of THEON and of APHTHONIOS. An Armenian *Book of Chreiai*, attributed to Moses Xorenac'i, introduces Christian examples to illustrate traditional Greek themes. PAPPOS OF ALEXANDRIA was used as a source for a unique work on geography, also attributed to Moses. Numerous works by PHILO were very influential, and the *Jewish War* by JOSEPHUS was used, at least by Moses. The popular ALEXANDER ROMANCE was reedited with a Christian interpretation of its meaning in the 13th C. Also in the 13th C. the Syriac *Chronicle* by Patr. MICHAEL I THE SYRIAN was translated and adapted to Armenian interests.

The first translations were made in Edessa and Constantinople, where Armenians went to study. After the 5th C. Jerusalem became a significant center for Armenian (and Georgian) scholarly activity. Armenians joined Greek, Georgian, Syrian, and Western Catholic monks on the Wondrous Mountain near Antioch at the time of the Crusades, but being non-Chalcedonian Armenians had no monasteries on Mt. ATHOS. Numerous works, lost in Greek and Syriac, survive in Armenian versions: e.g., Irenaeus, Eusebios's *Chronicle*, some commentaries of John Chrysostom, Timotheos Ailouros's *Refutation*, Ephrem's *Commentary on the Diatessaron* (of which the original was discovered only in 1957). Translations from Armenian into Greek were rare, though Armenian was known by many Byz., e.g., the teacher of ANANIAS OF ŠIRAK. In addition, when Stephen of Siwnik' worked in Constantinople ca.715, he was assisted by a court official. Greek versions exist of two recensions of AGATHANGELOS and one of the NARRATIO DE REBUS ARMENIAE.

Many Greek letters sent to Armenian bishops (5th–12th C.) are preserved with the Armenian responses in the *Book of Letters*, an official compilation of correspondence between Armenians, Greeks, Georgians, and Syrians. (Tendentious alterations to these documents are not uncommon). The compilation of CANON LAW begun by John of Ojun (*katholikos*, 717–28) includes the canons of many Greek councils.

Armenian writers evince little interest in later Byz. literature, though patristic works continued to be popular. Thus in 696/7 the *Ecclesiastical History* of SOKRATES was translated; Stephen of Siwnik' translated the corpus attributed to pseudo-

DIONYSIOS THE AREOPAGITE (ca.715 in Constantinople), as well as GREGORY OF NYSSA, *On the Making of Man*, and NEMESIOS, *On the Nature of Man*. The translation of the 7th-C. *Hexaemeron* of GEORGE OF PISIDIA is, however, an unusual foray into later Greek literature.

Armenian attitudes to Byz. were ambivalent: interest in, and respect for, Greek learning remained strong, but they were tempered by fear of cultural and esp. religious domination. Not all Armenians were staunchly anti-Chalcedonian, but a defensive tone permeates much Armenian theological writing. Notably pro-Greek were the famous religious poet Gregory of Narek (ca.950–1010); NERSĒS ŠNORHALI, who worked toward a reunion of the churches; and GREGORY MAGISTROS. Notably, the last's 88 letters reflect Byz. attitudes towards learning and scholarship rather than a traditional Armenian outlook.

The historians generally pay little attention to Byz. save insofar as Armenian interests are directly involved. Thus the *History of Herakleios* of SEBEOS is of prime importance for the Byzantinist because it describes Byz.-Persian rivalry, whereas the histories of LEWOND and JOHN V KATHOLIKOS are less directly useful because they describe Muslim control of Armenia. Since Armenian historians concentrate on events in Armenia, they become valuable witnesses after the eastward expansion of Byz. power. In the late 10th and 11th C. Stephen of Tarōn (known as ASOŽIK) describes events up to the year 1000, while ARISTAKES LASTIVERTC'I details the collapse of Armenian independence. MATTHEW OF EDESSA is a witness to the coming of the Turks, the collapse of Byz. control in Armenia and eastern Anatolia, and the arrival of the Crusaders.

Although they attempt both narrative and explanation, the writers just named lack the sophistication of the first historians (e.g., Eliše or Moses Xorenac'i). By the 11th C. more creative minds had turned to poetry and theology. The *Chronicle* of SAMUEL OF ANI merely notes events year by year, and this style became increasingly popular. Histories on a grander scale were also produced, however, the more important of these dealing with eastern Armenia, Georgia, and the Mongols. The last comprehensive history dealing at times with Byz. is that of VARDAN VARDAPET, but it is a secondhand source, since Vardan's career was spent primarily in Greater Armenia and he had few

direct contacts with Greeks and none with Constantinople.

Loss of Armenian political independence in the 11th C. did not disrupt cultural life or literary production. Especially after the Armenians took control of Cilicia, they were receptive to ideas and influences from new quarters. Scholars traveled even more than in the past, though not so frequently to Constantinople. LATIN and Arabic as well as Greek were increasingly known. Gregory V kayaser (who abandoned his see as *katholikos* in 1067 after one year in office) and NERSĒS OF LAMBRON sought out numerous texts in Greek and Latin not yet available in Armenian; at this time the Black Mountain with its many monastic centers of different nationalities became an important source for texts not yet translated into Armenian. Medicine, primarily based on Arabic sources, was studied. For the first time a secular law code was compiled, by Mxit'ar Goš (died 1213). SMBAT THE CONSTABLE revised this in light of Cilician interaction with the Crusader principality of Antioch, but Mxit'ar's work remained standard in the Armenian diaspora in succeeding centuries.

Byz. as a source of inspiration was irrelevant to Armenian writers after the 12th C. Nonetheless, the fall of Constantinople in 1453 did spark a literary reaction, and several laments (THRENOI) were written. This genre had a long history in Armenian, e.g., Nersēs Šnorhali on the fall of Edessa and GREGORY TŁAY on the fall of Jerusalem.

LIT. H.S. Anasyan, *Haykakan Matenagitut'yun*, 2 vols. (Erivan 1959, 1976). V. Inglisian, *Armenische und Kaukasische Sprachen* (Leiden 1963). K. Sarkissian, *A Brief Introduction to Armenian Christian Literature* (London 1960). R.W. Thomson, "The Formation of the Armenian Literary Tradition," in *East of Byzantium* (Washington, D.C., 1982) 135–50. Hr.M. Bartikjan, *To Byzantion eis tas Armeniakas pegas* (Thessalonike 1981).

—R.T.

ARMENIANS formed an important and influential minority in the Byz. Empire. Before the Arab invasion they were settled primarily in the eastern provinces of the empire (Armenia I–IV) and had lively economic and cultural connections with the Syro-Palestinian world; certain Armenians (e.g., NARSES in the 6th C., VALENTINOS ARSAKUNI in the mid-7th) held important military and court positions in Constantinople. One might expect that subsequent developments would have severed relations between Armenia and the em-

pire. On the one hand, the decline of the city in Armenia and Byz. alike decreased trade and cultural exchange. On the other hand, the Armenian church rejected the decisions of the Council of Chalcedon; the radical anti-Orthodox movements of the TONDRAKITES and PAULICIANS attracted broad segments of the Armenian population. In reality, however, the role of Armenians in the empire kept growing, and many Armenians emigrated to Byzantium. The Armenian historian LEWOND relates several cases of mass flight from the Arabs, for example, that 12,000 Armenian nobles with their wives, children, and retinues found a home in Byz. ca.790. Some Armenian emigrés settled in Armeniakon and Chaldia, while others moved (or were removed by the state) westward, to the northern Balkans (Philippopolis became one of the most important Armenian centers) and even to southern Italy.

Through the 10th C. Armenians played an important role in the Byz. army, producing many generals and several emperors: Leo V, Theodora (Theophilos's wife), Basil I, Romanos I Lekapenos, and John I Tzimiskes. Armenian commanders, such as MELIAS or KOURKOUAS, were instrumental in expanding Byz. territories toward the Euphrates. These Armenians were predominantly Chalcedonian, some of them even holding high ecclesiastical positions in the Orthodox church; culturally they were hellenized and contributed much to the development of education and knowledge in Byz. Nevertheless, the Byz. attitude toward Armenians was often negative, and the stereotype of "the cunning and treacherous Armenian" became firmly implanted in Greek literature.

The number of Armenians in the empire increased drastically in the 11th C. as several Armenian states were annexed, and their population resettled in Cappadocia and neighboring lands. These newcomers probably retained their language, religion, and culture, including habits and costume. The clashes between semi-independent noble Armenians and local Orthodox landowners and bishops were sometimes acute; GAGIK II perished in one such conflict. Chalcedonian Armenian and Armeno-Georgian families (e.g., PAKOURIANOI, TORKIKIOI) continued to hold high positions (esp. as governors of frontier themes) and probably 10–15 percent of the Byz. aristocracy was of Armenian stock, but there was no

Armenian emperor in this period, and few Armenians were affiliated with the Komnenian dynasty. From the end of the 11th C. the Armenian nobility tended to create independent states in CILICIA and nearby; from that time Armenians who served in the Byz. army were predominantly allies and not subjects of the emperor.

Frequent attempts to reach a reconciliation with the Armenian church produced vast polemical literature but no practical results. Enmity toward Armenians grew, and Patr. ATHANASIOS I, among others, considered contacts with Jews and Armenians defiling (ep.36.6); Patr. Joseph I Galesiotes called the Armenians "a morbid and rebellious people" (*RegPatr*, fasc. 4, no.1400). In the last centuries of Byz. history, Armenians lived in Constantinople as merchants but did not play any substantial role in the administration of the empire.

LIT. P. Charanis, *The Armenians in the Byzantine Empire* (Lisbon, n.d.). E. Bauer, *Die Armenier im byzantinischen Reich und ihr Einfluss auf Politik, Wirtschaft und Kultur* (Erevan 1978). A. Kazhdan, "The Armenians in the Byzantine Ruling Class Predominantly in the Ninth through Twelfth Centuries," *Medieval Armenian Culture* (Chico, Calif., 1983) 439–51. V.A. Arutjunova-Fidanjan, *Armjan'-chakidoni na vostochnykh granicakh Vizantijskoj imperii (XI v.)* (Erevan 1980). —A.K.

ARMOR. The 6th- and 10th-C. STRATEGIKA and other literary sources identify several types of body protection worn by Byz. soldiers. Body armor (*thorax*) for cavalymen was made of chain mail or lamellar, small plates of horn or iron laced together or to a leather backing. These protective coats, called *zabai*, *lorikia*, or *klibania*, varied in length, reaching the ankles, knees, or waist. To guard against concussive as well as penetrative blows, heavy cavalymen or KATAPHRAKTOI wore padded, waist-length surcoats (*epilorikia*, *epanoklibania*) made of wool, felt, or cotton over their mail or lamellar armor. They also wore apronlike coverings (*pteryges*, *kremasmata*) to protect the midsection. Armor for horses was made of hide, felt, lamellar, or mail, and covered the animal's face and chest; according to a 9th-C. chronicler (Theoph. 318.25–28), the horse of Herakleios survived a battle in 627 by wearing padded armor. Felt coverings hung from belts of light cavalymen to protect their legs and part of their horses.

Infantrymen wore simple body armor such as knee-length quilted coats (*kabadia*) of felt or linen,

and other homemade types of armor are noted; a 12th-C. historian (Nik.Chon. 386.1–7) describes a soldier's linen corslet, stiffened by soakings in wine and salt, which was strong enough to resist arrows. Gauntlets (*manikia*) and padded wool or cotton arm guards (*manikelia*), sometimes overlaid with mail, and wooden or iron greaves are prescribed for both infantrymen and cavalymen in the *strategika*. The sources attest helmets (*kranea*, *kassidia*) made of iron, either segmented or cast whole, sometimes with flaps of chain mail or felt to protect the face and neck; felt caps (*kamellaukia*), however, were more commonly used by infantrymen in the 10th C. Many illustrations show soldiers wearing caps or helmets with a cloth hung over the back of the neck, presumably to protect against exposure to the sun.

Shields of many types and sizes—oval, rectangular, and kite-shaped—were made of wood and often sheathed in leather or iron, and were secured over the soldier's neck or shoulder by straps to leave both hands free to handle weapons. The average infantryman's shield was fairly large, about 1.4 m long and 80 cm across, but light infantry- and cavalymen carried smaller shields. After the 12th C., Western triangular shields appear in illustrations.

A warm climate and open, mobile warfare kept Byz. armor relatively limited in comparison with that of Western knights, but, in spite of the comments of Liutprand of Cremona that the Byz. were lightly armed, they were still better protected than their enemies in the later 10th C. The Arabs were amazed by the sight of the heavily armored Byz. *kataphraktoi*, and Skylitzes records that few Byz. were killed in a 970 engagement against the Rus', though many were wounded (Skyl. 291.95–99); he later cites the effects of heat on the "fully armored" Byz. soldiers during a long battle against the same enemy (306.44–46). Byz. soldiers were obliged to carry their weapons and shields on the march and could be severely punished for discarding their equipment along the way (Leo Diac. 57.4–58.10). For sake of comfort they did not wear armor while marching; instead it was carried nearby on pack animals, to be donned quickly in case of attack (*Taktika* of Nikephoros OURANOS, TM 5 [1973] 292f).

Practically no archaeological material exists to support the evidence of literary sources for Byz. armor, but details and changes in armor are re-

corded in art. The lamellar corslet is worn by numerous military saints and emperors depicted on ivories and in illustrated MSS of the 10th and 11th C. This garment is supplemented by leather straps suspended from the shoulders and waist, but Roman "fighting skirts" still appear. By the 12th C. knee-length coats of mail are shown (Kallavrezou, *Steatite*, no.21). The greaves depicted in the images of the 10th and 11th C. were probably archaisms by that time, but innovations such as the kite-shaped shield, replacing oval and circular types, can be traced in representations of David and Goliath in PSALTER illustrations.

LIT. T. Kolias, *Byzantinische Waffen* (Vienna 1988) 37–131. P. Schreiner, "Zur Ausrüstung des Kriegers in Byzanz," in *Les pays du nord et Byzance* (Uppsala 1981) 215–36. P.L. Theodorides, "Hysteroromaika kai protobyzantina krane," in *Praktika tou A' Diethnous Symposiou. He Kathemerine Zoe sto Byzantio* (Athens 1989) 477–506.

—E.M., A.C.

ARMOURES, SONG OF, a poem or TRAGOUDI preserved in 15th- and 16th-C. MSS. It describes the exploits of young Armoures-Armouropoulos (the son of Armoures) who crossed the Euphrates with the help of an angel and annihilated a Sarcen army. Despite the late date of the MSS, H. Grégoire hypothesized that the poem was a 9th-C. work (*REGr* 46 [1933] 29–69). On the sole basis of the resemblance of the name of Armoures to the name of the city of Amorion, he affirmed that the poem dealt with the Byz. retribution for the Arab capture of Amorion in 838 and that Armoures was Michael III. Even bolder was G. Veloudis's hypothesis that Armoures should be identified with the emir of Melitene, 'Umar al-Aqta' (*BZ* 58 [1965] 313–19).

ED. H.G. Beck, *Byzantinische Volksepik* (Munich 1963) 7–13. Fr. tr. by H. Grégoire in *Prace Polskiego towarzystwa dla badań Europy wschodniej i Bliskiego Wschodu* 4 (Krakow 1933/4) 150–61. It. tr. S. Impellizzeri, *Il Digenis Akritas* (Florence 1940) 33–36.

LIT. Beck, *Volksliteratur* 53–57.

—A.K.

ARMY (*στρατός, στρατόπεδον, φοσσάτων*). The history of the army in the late Roman and Byz. period begins with the military reforms of the early 4th C. The legions once massed along the frontiers were reorganized into local frontier militias (LIMITANEI) and mobile field armies (COMITATENSES) garrisoned within the empire. By the 5th C. five such armies under the command of

MAGISTRI MILITUM defended the empire in the East. Two armies (*praesentales*) were stationed with the emperor at Constantinople, two (*per Illyricum, per Thracias*) along the Danube frontier, and one (*per Orientem*) along the Euphrates; a *magister militum per Armeniam* was created in the 6th C. The forces consisted of native Roman enlisted men equipped by the state, and the FOEDERATI of many nationalities who were under Roman command. Foreign mercenaries (*symmachoi*) were sometimes hired as separate units under their own commanders (J.L. Teall, *Speculum* 40 [1965] 294–322).

The STRATEGIKON OF MAURICE illustrates the transition during the 5th and 6th C. from Roman to Byz. methods of warfare, which increasingly relied on CAVALRY and ARCHERY in imitation of Persian and Avar practices (Bivar, "Cavalry" 271–91). The army's total manpower in the 4th and 5th C. is estimated to have been as high as 650,000, of which only a minority were well-trained, mobile fighting men (R. MacMullen, *Klio* 62 [1980] 451–60). By the 6th C., the period of the great campaigns of Generals BELISARIOS and NARSES, Justinian I's army had decreased to 150,000 men. The continuing decline in the empire's manpower and resources was so acute that an army sent to fight the Persians in 578 numbered fewer than 6,400 men (H. Turtledove, *BS/EB* 10 [1983] 216–22). Internal rebellions and defeats by the Avars and Persians made the late 6th and 7th C. a time of crisis for the Byz. Although by 628 Herakleios was able to reorganize the shattered imperial forces into an army capable of defeating Persia, new, more aggressive enemies—the Arabs, Bulgars, and Lombards—inflicted serious defeats on the imperial armies and overran much of Byz. territory during the 7th and 8th C.

Two fundamental reactions to the 7th-C. military crisis shaped the Byz. army from the late 7th to the 11th C. The first step was the stationing of army groups (*themata*) in military districts (THEMES); four such armies are mentioned in 687 (R.-J. Lilie, *JÖB* 26 [1977] 7–47). The second step was the reimposition of hereditary military service (STRATEIA) in exchange for land (Hendy, *Economy* 619f). The thematic armies, recruited and maintained locally, were sometimes effective against invaders (as at AKROINON in 740) but were slow to mobilize and coordinate for campaigns. They often lacked discipline and military skill and were prone to

rebellion (Kaegi, *Unrest*). This tendency led Constantine V to dissolve the OPSIKION army, which had represented the imperial field force, and create new imperial units, known as the TAGMATA, which were based in or around Constantinople. The tagmatic units were better equipped and paid than the provincial armies and formed the crack regiments of the Byz. army; after the early 9th C. tagmatic and thematic troops commonly joined forces for expeditions. The army was mostly composed of native recruits through the 7th to 10th C., although foreigners were hired (e.g., THEOPHOBOS) or foreign peoples were resettled within Byz. territory to provide manpower (Theoph. 364.11–18).

The army's greatest period was in the 10th and early 11th C., when the Byz. recaptured much of the territory lost to the Arabs and Bulgars. As shown by contemporary STRATEGIKA, the army's increased effectiveness was rooted in the efforts of such soldier-emperors as Nikephoros II Phokas and Basil II to employ more heavily armed men (e.g., KATAPHRAKTOI) and to perfect combined infantry and cavalry tactics in battle or on campaign. At the same time, however, the army's composition and structure began to change; command was centralized at Constantinople (N. Oikonomides, *TM* 6 [1976] 141–47), and the growing presence of MERCENARIES (RUS', NORMANS), already well attested in the 10th C., became even more pronounced during the 11th and 12th C. The old tagmatic and thematic units were replaced by new contingents—mainly foreign troops—billeted in the provinces (J.-C. Cheynet, *TM* 9 [1985] 181–94). Especially under Manuel I Komnenos, the Byz. eagerly attempted to adopt the Western panoply and tactics, but this had mixed results (R.P. Lindner, *JÖB* 32.2 [1982] 207–13). They also accepted such Western traditions as tournaments and the glorification of military prowess in literature and art. The size and multinational character of 12th-C. Byz. armies astonished their neighbors, but this and the centralization of command made the army unwieldy; the fall of Constantinople to the Fourth Crusade in 1203–04 demonstrated the superiority of Western feudal armies over the imperial forces.

The emperors of Nicaea developed the traditions adopted by Manuel I and learned from their Western rivals; their armies were small but effective. They were composed of Western, Cuman,

and Turkish mercenaries, supported by provincial levies; Theodore II Laskaris later attempted to convert them into a national army to control the number and cost of foreign soldiers. The restoration of the empire in 1261 precipitated attack from various claimants and created a burden that Byz. was incapable of bearing. On the one hand, acting in the interests of great landowners, the emperors abolished the last troops of peasant soldiers who guarded the frontiers; on the other hand, they were unable to maintain the NAVY and substantial land forces. They tried to transfer the obligation of military service to local landowners at a time when Byz. faced the growing centralized armies of the Ottomans, which were primarily composed of professional warriors (JANISSARIES), and the swift fleets and skillful mariners of the Italian republics. The *Chronicle of the Tocco* reveals the relative strength of the forces in the Balkans in the first half of the 15th C. when it calculates the military detachments of local lords at between 20 and 100 men, and those of the emperor at 500 horsemen, whereas the Turks could afford to send 30,000 soldiers to Epiros (A. Kazhdan in *Bisanzio e l'Italia* [Milan 1982] 173). Nor could the Byz. compete with the Turks in military TECHNOLOGY, lacking, for instance, cannons such as those that the Turks used during sieges in the 15th C. (see FIREARMS).

LIT. Jones, *LRE* 607–86. J. Haldon, *Byzantine Praetorians* (Bonn 1984). Ahrweiler, "Administration" 1–109. Angold, *Byz. Government* 182–201. N. Oikonomides, "A propos des armées des premiers Paléologues et des compagnies de soldats," *TM* 8 (1981) 353–71. —E.M., A.K.

ÁRPÁDS (Ἀρπαδῆς in *De adm. imp.* 40.48), a dynasty of princes (876–1000) and then kings (1000–1301) of HUNGARY. Constantine VII preserves a legend (contrary to Arabic sources) that Árpád, founder of the dynasty, received his power from the *khagan* of Khazaria and of the "Turks" (Hungarians). Circa 894, at the invitation of Emp. Leo VI, Árpád attacked SYMEON OF BULGARIA and thus began the occupation of PANNONIA and neighboring lands by the Hungarians. From the 11th C. onward, the Árpáds were in close contact with Byz.: according to a 13th-C. legend, Prince Imre (Henry), son of István (Stephen) I, married ca. 1020 the daughter of a Greek emperor, whom de Vajay (*infra*) arbitrarily identifies as Romanos III; ca. 1075 Synadene, a relation of Emp. Nike-

phoros III, was given in marriage either to an Árpád (Géza I [r. 1074–77] or LÁSZLÓ I [Ladislás]) or to a Hungarian lord (acc. to A. Kazhdan, *ActaAntHung* 10 [1962] 163–66, but contrary to Gy. Moravcsik, *BZ* 55 [1962] 381); Álmos, the blinded brother of King Kálmán (Coloman, r. 1095–1116), fled to Byz., where he was renamed Constantine and granted the town of Constantinia in Macedonia (E. Szentpétery, A. Domanovszky, *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum*, vol. 1 [Budapest 1937] 442f); Piroška (Irene), László's daughter, married Emp. John II in 1104/5; István, a brother of King Géza II (r. 1141–62), fled ca. 1155 to Byz., where he married Manuel I's niece, Maria in 1161; László, another brother of Géza, followed István to Constantinople. BÉLA III was, for a while, heir to the Byz. throne; his daughter Margaret-Maria married Isaac II. An enigmatic *kralaina*, Arete Doukaina, who possessed lands in Byz. ca. 1157/8, was possibly the spouse of BORIS KALAMANOVIĆ (V. Laurent, *BZ* 65 [1972] 35–39). Circa 1222 Béla IV married Maria, daughter of Theodore I; Agnes-Anna of Hungary was the first wife of Andronikos II and mother of Michael IX.

LIT. G. Györffy, *LMA* 1:1022–24. Gy. Moravcsik in *De adm. imp.*, vol. 2 (1962) 146. R. Kerbl, *Byzantinische Prinzessinnen in Ungarn zwischen 1050–1200 und ihr Einfluss auf das Arpadenkönigreich* (Vienna 1979), with rev. Sz. de Vajay in *Ungarn-Jahrbuch* 10 (1979) 15–28. —A.K., J.B.

ARRHA SPONSALICIA (ἀρραβών, "engagement gift"), a payment in money or in kind that served as the guarantee of the BETROTHAL promise. It fell to the bride if the groom broke off the betrothal without good cause; in the reverse situation, the bride had to return the *arrha sponsalicia* to the groom and also pay him an equivalent sum. *Arrha sponsalicia* is first mentioned in Byz. law in the 4th C. (*Cod. Just.* V 2.1, a.380). Leo I regulated it in greater detail (*ibid.* V 1.5, a.472) and stipulated that no PROSTIMON be arranged in addition to the *arrha*. If the *arrha* was, until Justinian I, an optional payment, in the *Ecloga* (1.1–2) it appears as an essential act for the betrothal—as an alternative to the written contract with *prostimon*. The *Epanagoge* (title 15) and the *Procheiron* (title 2) return, as does the *Basilika* (28.1–2), to the Justinianic legal situation, which considers the consent of the engaged couple sufficient for valid betrothal, without payment of an *arrha*. Even so, the

securing of a betrothal through *arrha* or *prostimon* remained common. Leo VI stipulates (nov.18)—contrary to Leo I—that this securing should ensue through the “more important” *prostimon* (in contrast to *arrha sponsalicia*), as this was already taking place in custom.

In the wake of the extensive equalization of marriage and betrothal, the *arrha sponsalicia* survives as a payment, bound together with the blessing of the betrothal (*Reg.* 2, no.1116). *Arrabon* or *arrabonismos* become synonymous with betrothal. *Prostima*, on the other hand, are prohibited for “genuine” betrothals, since they should be as little dissoluble in exchange for a money payment as the marriage (*Reg.* 2, no.1167). According to the *Peira* (17.5, 17.14, 49.2) the betrothal was, on the contrary, still dissoluble through payment of the *prostimon*.

LIT. Zhishman, *Eherecht* 647–53. P. Koschaker, “Zur Geschichte der *arrha sponsalicia*,” *ZSavRom* 33 (1912) 383–416. E. Volterra, “Studio sull’*arrha sponsalicia*,” *Rivista italiana per le scienze giuridiche* n.s. 2 (1927) 581–670; 4 (1929) 3–33; 5 (1930) 155–245. —M.Th.F.

ARSABER (Ἀρσαβήρ, Arm. Aršawir), early 9th-C. usurper. An Armenian of noble background (C. Toumanoff, *Traditio* 27 [1971] 150), he served the Byz. emperor as quaestor and *patrikios*. In Feb. 808 a group of lay and clerical officials opposed to Emp. NIKEPHOROS I, including the *synkellos*, *sakellarios*, and *chartophylax* of Hagia Sophia, proclaimed the “pious and most eloquent” Arsaber as emperor (Theoph. 483.25–26). When Nikephoros discovered the plot, Arsaber was beaten, tonsured, and exiled to Bithynia, while his supporters were beaten, stripped of their property, and exiled. Arsaber had a daughter, Theodosia, who married Leo V (Genes. 16.82–83).

LIT. Guiland, *Titres*, pt. IX (1970), 337. Bury, *ERE* 14. —P.A.H.

ARSACIDS (Ἀρσάκιδαι, Arm. Aršakuni), junior branch of the Parthian royal house ruling in ARMENIA until the beginning of the 5th C. The precise date of their establishment in Armenia is uncertain, and even in the 4th C. their chronology remains confused and highly controversial. Re-established on the throne by the Romans after the peace of Nisibis of 298, the Arsacids generally followed a pro-imperial policy. This orientation, deriving from their hostility to the Sasanian

usurpers of their family’s kingdom in Persia, was reinforced by their conversion to Christianity in 314. Their arianizing policy under Constantius II alienated the native clergy as well as the magnates, and Armenian sources disagree with the allegiance to the Romans claimed by classical sources. Jovian’s abandonment of Armenia to the Sasanians in 363 led to the Persian occupation of the country and to the ultimate downfall of the Arsacid house. After the partition of Armenia between Rome and Persia in ca.387, the Arsacid branch on imperial territory died out within a decade, while the Iranian branch ended in 428. Descendants of the Arsacids maintained an important, if primarily military, role at the Byz. court: in the 7th C. an Arsacid named VALENTINOS ARŠAKUNI made a bid for the Byz. throne; in the 9th C. an apocryphal pedigree made Emp. Basil I one of their descendants.

LIT. C. Toumanoff, “The Third-Century Armenian Arsacids: A Chronological and Genealogical Commentary,” *REArm* n.s. 6 (1969) 233–81. Asdourian, *Armenien und Rom* 160–377. Garsoïan, *Epic Histories* 354f. —N.G.G.

ARŠAK II/III (Lat. Arsaces), ARSACID king of Armenia (338/50–363/68); his birth and death dates are uncertain. According to Ammianus Marcellinus (25.7.12–13), Aršak was a “constant and faithful friend” of the Romans, who rewarded him in 358 with a tax exemption and an imperial bride. Probably because of his attempts at centralization and his adherence to Constantius II’s arianizing policy, however, Armenian aristocratic and ecclesiastical sources are hostile to Aršak, portraying him as cruel and vacillating in his allegiance. Aršak seems to have supported the campaign of Julian the Apostate against the Persians in 363 (Julian’s threatening *Letter* to Aršak is usually deemed spurious). Abandoned to the Sasanians by Jovian’s peace of the same year, Aršak was captured by Šāpūr (Lat. Sapor) II and deported to Persia, where he died in the “Castle of Oblivion” a few years later.

LIT. Asdourian, *Armenien und Rom* 282–300. Garsoïan, *Armenia*, pt.IV (1967), 297–320; pt.V (1969), 148–64. Eadem, *Epic Histories* 352f. —N.G.G.

ARSAMOSATA (Ar. Shimshāt, called Ἀρμόσατον [Asmosaton] in the 10th C.; often confused with Samosata in Commagene; now Haraba), a fortress on the Murad Su (Arsanias River) about

50 km east of Harput. Arsamosata was annexed to the empire by Diocletian in 297. After the Arabs captured it in the 640s it became one of their major frontier fortresses. Stormed by Theophilos in 837 and Michael III in 856, it was finally taken by Romanos I Lekapenos in 939 and became the center of a theme of the same name (Asmosaton) and a metropolitan bishopric. It remained Byz. until the battle of MANTZIKERT in 1071. Remains of a substantial fortress survive, with undated medieval walls representing the contraction of a sprawling ancient city.

LIT. Honigmann, *Ostgrenze* 75–78. J. Howard-Johnston, “Byzantine Anzitenene,” in *Armies and Frontiers in Roman and Byzantine Anatolia*, ed. S. Mitchell (Oxford 1983) 247f.

—C.F.

ARSENAL. See ARMAMENTON.

ARSENIOS, metropolitan of Kerkyra (9th–10th C.). According to his *akolouthia*, Arsenios was born in Bethany (Palestine) during the reign of Basil I and became a monk at age 12. After being educated in Seleukeia (on the Orontes?), he went to Constantinople where, under Patr. Tryphon (928–31), he was entrusted with “the care of churches” (the post of *oikonomos*?). He was then elected bishop of Kerkyra (ca.933–56), where he survived an invasion of “Scythians.” On the other hand, an inscription of 1669 states that Arsenios’s relics were transferred to the Cathedral of St. James, Kerkyra, in 869 (Athenagoras in *Eis mnemen Spyridonos Lamprou* [Athens 1935] 436).

Several *enkomia* are attributed to Arsenios’s pen: on the apostle ANDREW (*BHG* 105), the martyr BARBARA (*BHG* 218), and the martyr Therinos who died in Epiros (*BHG* 1799). J. Mateos (*OrChrP* 22 [1956] 368–74) ascribes to Arsenios the authorship of the *kanon* on St. Timothy of Prousa. Arsenios probably wrote the *kanon* of *euchelaion*, the sacrament of extreme unction for the sick (M. Jugie, *EO* 26 [1927] 416–19), and several other liturgical verses, including an Anacreontic on Easter Sunday (Matranga, *AnecGr* 2:670–75), in which he not only underscored the cosmic festivity but also employed pagan mythological images to portray the joy of spring. Arsenios’s identification with his homonym, a contemporary of THEODORE OF STOUDIOS and a friend of PHOTIOS, is questionable.

LIT. *BHG* 2044–45. S. Pétridès, C. Emereau, “Saint Arsène de Corfou,” *EO* 20 (1921) 431–46. —A.K.

ARSENIOS AUTOREIANOS, patriarch of Constantinople (Nov. 1254–Feb./March 1260; May/June? 1261–spring 1265 [cf. V. Laurent, *REB* 27 (1969) 139f, 142; A. Failler, *REB* 38 (1980) 59–65, 39 (1981) 155–64]); baptismal name George; born Constantinople ca.1200, died Prokonnesos 30 Sept. 1273. Born to Theodore (or Alexios) AUTOREIANOS and Irene Kamatera, Arsenios began his career as the monk Gennadios at the monastery on Oxeia (Princes’ Islands). He resided in several monasteries in Asia Minor until 1254, when he became patriarch at Nicaea. Although after Theodore II’s death, Arsenios, together with George MOUZALON, served as protector of JOHN IV LASKARIS, he crowned the usurper MICHAEL VIII PALAIOLOGOS in 1258 or 1259. By 1260 Arsenios realized Michael’s ambition for sole rule and, in protest, refused for over a year to serve as patriarch. In 1261, however, he was persuaded to resume his duties and performed a second coronation of Michael in Hagia Sophia in Aug. 1261. Shortly thereafter, angered by the blinding of John IV, Arsenios excommunicated Michael. Antagonism between emperor and patriarch continued until 1265, when a synod deposed Arsenios and banished him to Prokonnesos. Arsenios’s deposition led to the rise of the ARSENITES; in 1284, as a concession to this faction, Andronikos II permitted the translation of Arsenios’s remains to Hagia Sophia in Constantinople. Perhaps at this time his sanctity was recognized; his cult continued into the 15th C.

SOURCES. Testament of Arsenios—PG 140:947–58. P.G. Nikolopoulos, “Akolouthia anekdotos eis Arsenion Patriarchen Konstantinoupoleos,” *EEBS* 43 (1977–78) 365–83. Idem, “Anekdotos logos eis Arsenion Autoreianon Patriarchen Konstantinoupoleos,” *EEBS* 45 (1981–82) 406–61.

LIT. *RegPatr*, fasc. 4, nos. 1329–1347, 1353–1374. I.E. Troickij, *Arsenij, patriarch Nikejskij i Konstantinopol’skij, i Arsenity* (St. Petersburg 1873; rp. London 1973). R. Macrides, “Saints and Sainthood in the Early Palaiologan Period,” in *Byz. Saint* 67–87. *PLP*, no.1694. Angold, *Byz. Government* 82–93. —A.M.T.

ARSENIOS THE GREAT, saint; born Rome 354, died Troia near Memphis in Egypt 445; feastday 8 May. According to an *enkomion* by THEODORE OF STOUDIOS, Arsenios, who was born to a noble and rich family, was invited by Theodosios I to Constantinople to educate the emperor’s sons. Two sources (*vita*, ed. Phirippides, *EkkI Phar* 34 [1935] 196.19; *enkomion*, ed. Nissen, *BNJbb* 1 [1920] 257.19) call him *pater basileon*, while the *Synaxarion of Constantinople* (*Synax.CP* 666.7) applies to him

the anachronistic title of *basilopator* (see *BASILEOPATOR*). A 12th-C. historian (Zon. 3:231.17–18) states that he was a deacon of the Roman church. After forty years in the palace, Arsenios fled to Egypt, obeying a voice from heaven, and became a hermit in Sketis, then in Troia, then on an island near Alexandria, and again in Troia. Theodore of Stoudios describes Arsenios as a hermit who worked with his hands, weaving and sewing, and educated his pupils and visitors with shrewd conversations. His short stories are reminiscent of the *Apophthegmata Patrum*, and indeed several stories in the *Apophthegmata* are ascribed to a certain Arsenios (PG 65:87–108). Theodore also describes Arsenios's physical appearance: a tall, lean man, bent with age, his beard reaching to his belly, his eyelashes worn away by excessive weeping. SYMEON METAPHRASTES included Arsenios's vita in his collection. The 14th-C. Nikephoros Kallistos XANTHOPOULOS was the first to mention Arsenios's literary activity, so it is questionable whether two short pieces preserved under the name of a monk Arsenios (PG 66:1617–26) should be attributed to him.

Representation in Art. Portraits of Arsenios echo Theodore's description of the venerable desert father: he is gaunt, with an extremely long white beard (sometimes four- or five-pointed), and wears monastic robes. One *menologion* of Symeon Metaphrastes (Moscow, Hist. Mus. gr. 9, fol.11r) ignores his ascetic achievements and illustrates only his arrival on horseback from Rome and his instruction of the two young princes in Constantinople. His burial is included in another *menologion* (Paris, B.N. gr. 1528, fol.21r) and possibly on a fragmentary icon on Mt. Sinai (M. Chatzidakis, *Venezia e il levante*, vol. 2 [1974] 97, fig.67).

SOURCES. T. Nissen, "Das Enkomion des Theodoros Studites auf den heiligen Arsenios," *BNJbb* 1 (1920) 241–62, corr. E. Kurtz, *BNJbb* 2 (1921) 293–95. *Žitie iže vo svjatyh otca našego Arsenija Velikogo*, ed. G. Cereteli (St. Petersburg 1899). "Bios kai politeia tou hosiou patros hemon Arseniou tou Megalou," ed. N.S. Phirippides, *EkkliPhar* 34 (1935) 37–55, 189–201.

LIT. BHG 167y–169c. Mouriki, *Nea Mone* 159f. —A.K., N.P.Š.

ARSENITES, followers of ARSENIOS AUTOREIANOS, who were in schism with the patriarchate of Constantinople from 1265. The rift began with Arsenios's deposition from the patriarchal throne by MICHAEL VIII PALAIOLOGOS. The Arsenites

refused to recognize Arsenios's successor, JOSEPH I, and all subsequent patriarchs until NIPHON. Following several attempts by Andronikos II to reconcile the Arsenites, Niphon succeeded in negotiating a compromise; the schism officially ended on 14 Sept. 1310 in a dramatic ceremony at Hagia Sophia.

The Arsenite schism has generally been viewed not only as an ecclesiastical controversy but as part of the political opposition to the upstart Palaiologan dynasty by Laskarid supporters. The Arsenites, who had a strong following among monks and the populace of western Anatolia (the territory of the former Laskarid Empire of NICAEA), supported the revolt of Alexios PHILANTHROPENOS in 1295 and the conspiracy of John Drimys in 1305/6.

LIT. V. Laurent, "Les grandes crises religieuses à Byzance: La fin du schisme arsénite," *BSHAcRoum* 26 (1945) 225–313. I. Sykoutres, "Peri to schisma ton Arseniaton," *Hellenika* 2 (1929) 267–332; 3 (1930) 15–44. —A.M.T.

ARSINOE. See FAYYŪM.

ART (τέχνη). The Greek term *techne* had a broad range of meanings, including mental dexterity, linguistic ability, and trickery as well as the skills of rulers and physicians. It therefore implied something closer to craft and denied a privileged role to the work of art and to its creator. Art was understood not as completing nature, as in Aristotle, nor as possessing value independent of nature, as in the modern view, but as nature: art reproduced reality, including those aspects of it that were normally invisible (John of Damascus, ed. Kotter, *Schriften* 3:126.2–3). Despite centuries of theorizing about the relationship of the image to its prototype, not until the 15th C. (Manuel CHRYSOLORAS) was a practical distinction drawn between the image and that which it represented. Equally, written accounts of works of art rarely distinguish the material of which they were made: differentiations between the principal genres and materials are usually to be found only in INVENTORIES where they served quite other purposes than aesthetic appreciation or even evaluation as stimuli to religious faith. But descriptions of MOSAIC and wall painting (see MONUMENTAL PAINTING), the two main types of monumental decoration in Byz., largely ignore the contribution of the medium to the work's final effect, emphasizing

instead the lifelike quality of the image and its impact upon the beholder. Where the medium can be discerned at all, reports on ICONS, ecclesiastical SILVER, ENAMELS, and TEXTILES—some of the most frequently noted categories of portable works—stress function rather than form, message rather than materials.

Literature provides our primary means of access to the Byz. response to that which we call art and confirms the view that the purposes of representational art took precedence over its nature and materials. The effects of art—the magnificence of a building and its decoration, the glittering splendor of a piece of metalwork—all but efface other considerations. The purpose of ARCHITECTURE is to magnify the builder and often, as described in the *VITA BASILII*, to show that he has recovered the glory of the past. Such an approach links imperial founders, KTETORS of lesser rank, and church builders. The significant aspect of a structure lies in what it says about its PATRON: it shows that an emperor has restored (often "from the ground up") what had crumbled, be it the fabric of a building, the reputation of a city, or the strength of right belief.

On the one hand, what was ancient, when it survived, was prized for its own sake; on the other, its restoration was a Christian's duty and a credit to him. Since an icon was understood to function by virtue of perfect correspondence to its subject, panels were frequently "made anew" (Skyl. 384.21–24) and portraits in mosaics and MSS often remade. Lacking autonomous value as art, frescoes were overpainted with subjects sometimes quite different from the originals. Nonetheless, both the means by which pictures were produced and their ICONOGRAPHY demonstrate the respect for authority and tradition (Mansi 13:252C) and the emphasis on orthodoxy of thought and behavior, apparent in other aspects of Byz. culture. Many works can be shown to have a more or less close dependence upon earlier examples, due in some cases to direct derivation but more often to the employment of a conventional and ubiquitous visual vocabulary. This lexicon included individual figures and poses, GESTURES and BACKGROUNDS preserved either in model-books (see MODELS AND MODEL-BOOKS) or, more likely, in the MEMORY of craftsmen. Such elements were used or modified, and their syntactical relationships adjusted, according to context.

Thoroughly pragmatic, ARTISTS borrowed es-

tablished forms, much as builders used SPOLIA, and usually invented only when an exemplar was not at hand. How faithfully older forms were transmitted depended upon opportunities for access to models and the purpose, training, and native ability of the artist. This approach to artistic production was reinforced by socially sanctioned notions of decorum, of what was appropriate to a particular type of commission. Although there were variations in the size of a ktetor's investment, CHURCH PROGRAMS OF DECORATION conformed to highly developed ideas of what was fitting. Works in other favored media, above all textiles, BOOK ILLUSTRATION, and METALWORK, display similar homogeneity. While the same genres characterized Islamic art, the latter exhibited neither the Byz. emphasis on sacred decoration nor the resultant body of canonical subject matter. The overriding Byz. concern with an established and limited iconographical corpus likewise distinguishes it from the medieval West: most of the "profane" subjects—the virtues and vices, the liberal arts, the representation of trades and crafts—are largely missing from Byz. art.

The exploitation of older models was a phenomenon common to the visual arts and LITERATURE. Just as the 10th-C. historian Leo the Deacon was content to use descriptions of battles taken from Agathias writing four centuries earlier, so the 14th-C. mosaics of the CHORA MONASTERY, for example, quote details from the 10th-C. JOSHUA ROLL. Such "antiques" were valued both for their age and their potential as models. As descriptions were interchangeable in texts, so were details of physiognomy, clothing, and setting in art: identity often depended as much on INSCRIPTIONS as on formal variation. The benign and constant cannibalism of earlier work largely undercuts the notion of successive RENAISSANCES that have been imposed on particular periods. The supposition that painters of the 6th, 10th, and early 14th C. were more interested in ANTIQUITY than those of other times attributes to them an unusual motivation when, in fact, the use of ancient types was a form of economy on their part. The more frequent appearance of "classicizing" elements in certain eras is merely because of the fact that these were periods of cultural revival producing more works of high quality.

While particular instances of copying may reflect an act of choice on the part of a patron, this attitude was culturally determined. Overt ex-

amples of the political supervision of artistic production are few, but social control was compelling and depended on the various functions assigned to the work of art. Basil the Great (PG 32:229A) regarded images, like the lives of saints, as inspirations to virtue. More concretely, for Gregory of Nyssa (PG 46:737D) they had the value of "silent writing." This didactic role was expanded in the 8th and 9th C. For the patriarch Nikephoros I the educative power of icons exceeded that of words, while Photios saw representations of martyrdom as more vivid than writing (L. Brubaker, *Word and Image* 5 [1989] 23f). Independent of such theoretical statements, art provided a vehicle for the expression of supplications and gratitude to God (Sophronios, PG 87.3:3388C). Icons were a means of access to the divine and responsible, Psellos's mother believed (An.Komn. 2:34.8–10), for human success. As materially rich creations, works of art were considered proper gifts at holy sites (PIACENZA PILGRIM) and, as the will of Eustathios BOILAS and the *diataxis* of Michael ATTALEIATES make clear, to churches and monasteries.

Other types of document, notably the EK-PHRASIS, emphasize the presence of Christ, his mother, and his saints, in their images. This sort of "realism" differs from that which allowed actuality to obtrude into representations of agriculture, navigation, and the like, and to invest biblical and hagiographical events with details that the artist's contemporaries could recognize. Since all attention was paid to the immediate significance of a scene, no attempt was made to present the past as such (see HISTORY PAINTING). Constantine I, for instance, was sometimes given the features of the reigning monarch, and incidents of the OLD TESTAMENT were employed for their value as PREFIGURATIONS of current events.

Despite such constants, developments in both STYLE and subject matter are evident over the centuries, particularly in monumental painting, which, to a much greater extent than in the West, was the dominant visual medium. Such changes are in part to be explained by church doctrine: the Second Council of NICAIA had defined the manner of representation as the domain of the artist. Before this time, art displayed the iconographical and formal diversity characteristic of late antiquity and its far-flung cities. Lively scenes drawing on the everyday world distinguish both imperial imagery (BARBERINI IVORY) and Christian

themes (ROSSANO GOSPELS). A more rigorous definition of acceptable subject matter and its modes of presentation emerged from the search for authoritative, ancient statements concerning the validity of images both before and during ICONOCLASM. To a degree this debate was responsible for the evolution of an attitude, akin to ENCYCLOPEDIISM, toward the artistic heritage that was at once selective and prescriptive. In the service of dogmatic clarity, art of the 10th and early 11th C. exhibits a formal austerity based on the principles of FRONTALITY and SYMMETRY.

These features have been seen as reducing the MONUMENTALITY attributed to the painting of the "Macedonian Renaissance" but they are symptoms not causes. Rather, the late 11th- and 12th-C. desire to express more complex Christological ideas and more affective expressions of EMOTION widened the range of art, in the creation of which the number of identifiable and named artists increased greatly. But territorial losses and the fall of Constantinople to the Latins in 1204 brought to a close four centuries in which the artistic hegemony of the capital had been recognized and emulated beyond the confines of the empire. Already in the 12th C. both Latin and Turkic elements can be found in Byz. art; this trickle became a spate in and after the late 13th C. Even before the Civil War of 1341–47 cut short a brief Palaiologan revival, the sponsorship of works of art had passed into the hands of local magnates, both lay and ecclesiastical; the final 150 years display a range of representational quality and manners at odds with the splendor and uniformity that had characterized 9th–12th-C. production and on which the reputation of Byz. art has long been based. Only very recently has the appropriateness of modern standards such as aesthetic autonomy and independence of its ideological well-springs been questioned (R. Nelson, *Art History* 12 [1989] 144–57). The recovery of and sympathy for the context in which this body of production came into being is now seen as a more direct route to the understanding of Byz. art.

LIT. V.N. Lazarev, *Storia della pittura bizantina* (Turin 1966). A. Grabar, *Byzantium from the Death of Theodosius to the Rise of Islam* (London 1966). R. Cormack, *Writing in Gold* (London 1985). A. Cutler, J.W. Nesbitt, *L'arte bizantina e il suo pubblico* (Turin 1986). C. Mango, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire 312–1453* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1972; rp. Toronto 1986). W.F. Volbach, J. Lafontaine-Dosogne, *Byzanz und der christliche Osten* (Berlin 1968). —A.C.

ARTA ("Ἀρτα), located at the site of ancient Ambrakia, on the river Arachthos, about 13 km north of the Gulf of Arta; capital of the state of EPIROS from 1205 onward. There is no certain information on Arta before the end of the 11th C. In the 12th C., however, Arta was an important trade center frequented by Venetians and an archbishopric (its archbishop is attested in 1157); an *episkopesis* of Arta probably existed within the theme of Nikopolis. The city flourished in the 13th C.: it was fortified evidently after 1227 (A. Orlandos, *ABME* 2 [1936] 156f), and excavated artifacts suggest local ceramic production (A. Vavyloupoulou-Charitonidou, *DChAE*⁴ 12 [1984] 453–72). The CHRONICLE OF THE TOCCO describes Arta as the center of a fertile agricultural region with many water buffaloes, cows, and horses; merchants from Venice and Dubrovnik competed for the market of Arta, which supplied dried meat, lard, ham, furs, and indigo.

Arta was attacked by the empire of Nicaea and fell briefly in 1259 to Nicaean troops. The restored empire continued these assaults: Andronikos II attacked Arta unsuccessfully, but in 1338 Andronikos III took it. After a rebellion led by Nikephoros BASILAKES the city surrendered to John Kantakouzenos. Afterwards Arta changed hands many times: it was conquered by Stefan Uroš IV Dušan, then passed to the Albanians, and in 1416 to Carlo I TOCCO. It fell to the Ottomans in 1449.

The bishopric of Arta does not appear regularly in the notitiae and may have been combined with that of nearby Rogoi. In an act of 1367 Arta is named the "bishopric of Akarnania" (MM 1:494.13).

Monuments of Arta. The fortifications of the acropolis have been attributed to Michael I Komnenos Doukas, but in their present state they are largely post-Byz.; the palace has vanished completely.

There are churches in and around Arta that date, in part at least, from the 9th to 10th C.: simple wooden-roofed basilicas, sometimes topped by domes with high cylindrical drums (St. Demetrios tou Katsoure), or of a free-standing cross plan (St. Basil tes Gephyras, early 9th C.?). But the main building activity in Arta took place in the time of the despotate of Epiros, when many of these early churches were also renovated. Because of the strength of this local tradition, the

penetration of Constantinopolitan and Western influences into the region produced in Arta architectural forms of considerable originality that are beholden to neither. The 13th-C. structures, often still basilical in plan, have lively bands of brick and multicolored ceramic decoration, the latter even including figural plaques, as in the Church of St. Basil (S. Xenopoulos, *EEBS* 6 [1929] 387–97), while stone figural sculpture adorns column capitals and tombs as well as church façades.

The most important monument in Arta is the large metropolitan Church of the Virgin Paregoretissa, founded by the *despotes* NIKEPHOROS I KOMNENOS DOUKAS, his wife, and his son, ca. 1290. It has a square, blocklike exterior rising three stories like a palace; on its horizontal roofline appear five domes and a lantern. The interior is spacious, being a form of domed octagon like NEA MONE on Chios, though the eight piers here are divided into three tiers, with reused columns serving both as consoles and as vertical supports. The walls of the church had marble revetment up to the level of the surrounding galleries, and the dome itself has a Byz. program in mosaic: a huge figure of Christ Pantokrator surrounded by seraphim and cherubim, and 12 prophets between the windows of the drum. The mosaicists were presumably brought in from a Byz. center outside Epiros, though it is not known which. Western elements are also evident in the carved Romanesque monsters and reliefs with biblical themes that adorn the interior.

The Church of the Kato Panagia, built ca. 1250–70 by the father of Nikephoros I, the *despotes* MICHAEL II KOMNENOS DOUKAS, has a barrel-vaulted nave, but a transverse vault rises high over the crossing to produce the effect of a dome. The plan, very similar to that of the Porta Panagia in Thessaly, has affinities also with Peloponnesian monuments of the 13th C. The monastery of Theodora (previously St. George) has a three-aisled basilica of the mid-12th C. The domed narthex added by St. THEODORA OF ARTA (ca. 1270) housed her tomb; a marble slab from her sarcophagus bears her portrait in relief, dressed as an empress, and that of a male figure, probably her son Nikephoros I.

Frescoes in the despotate churches of Arta are generally Byz. in inspiration (e.g., St. Nicholas tes Rhodias), most painted in the style of the early decades of the 13th C. The church of the Bla-

cherna convent preserves a fragmentary fresco showing a procession of the icon of the VIRGIN HODEGETRIA through the streets of Constantinople (M. Acheimastou-Potamianou, *DChAE* 13 [1985-86] 301-06). The church itself (part of which may belong to the early 10th C.) is a three-aisled basilica with a dome over each aisle; fragments of its marble templon with figures of archangels flanking the Virgin have also been preserved, as has its marble mosaic floor, and some inscribed tomb reliefs that identify the deceased as members of the royal family.

LIT. *TIB* 3:113-15. A. Ducellier, "Aux frontières de la Romanie: Arta et Sainte-Maure à la fin du moyen âge," *TM* 8 (1981) 113-24. A. Orlandos, "Byzantina mnemeia tes Artes," *ABME* 2 (1936) 3-216. D. Pallas, "Epiros," *RBK* 2 (1968) 258-89. Idem, *He Paregoretissa tes Artas* (Athens 1963). P. Bokotopoulos, *He ekklesiastike architektonike eis ten dytiken sterean Hellada kai ten Epeiron* (Thessalonike 1975) 20-28, 45-50, 56-69. Grabar, *Sculptures II* 144-46. P. Vokotopoulos, "Arta," in *Alte Kirchen und Klöster Griechenlands*, ed. E. Melas (Schauberg 1972) 135-61.

-T.E.G., N.P.Š.

ARTABASDOS (Ἀρταβάσδος, Ἀρτάβαζος), usurper (742-43). An Armenian (Toumanoff, "Caucasia" 135), Artabasdos was appointed *strategos* of the Armeniakon by Anastasios II (713-15). He supported the revolt of Leo III against Theodosios III and subsequently received Leo's daughter Anna in marriage, the title *kouropalates* (Guilland, *Titres*, pt.III [1970], 198f), and the position of *komes* of the Opsikion. The report of Eutychios of Alexandria that Artabasdos came from Germanikeia, Leo's birthplace, may explain their strong ties. After Leo's death Artabasdos revolted against Constantine V in June of either 741 or 742, defeated him, and entered Constantinople, perhaps exploiting a reaction against ICONOCLASM. He ruled with his eldest son Nikephoros as co-emperor and received recognition from Pope ZACHARIAS. Artabasdos may also have crowned Anna and his youngest son Niketas (*Synopsis chronike*, ed. Sathas, *MB* 7:124.2-3). His most notable achievement was the restoration of icons (denied by Speck, *infra*, but reaffirmed by W. Treadgold, *AHR* 88 [1983] 94f). He sent Niketas as *monostrategos* to the Armeniakon, but Constantine defeated him in the summer of 743 and entered Constantinople on 2 Nov. of that year. Artabasdos and his sons were blinded in the Hippodrome.

LIT. I. Rochow, "Bemerkungen zur Revolte des Artabasdos aufgrund bisher nicht beachteter Quellen," *Klio* 68 (1986) 191-97. P. Speck, *Artabasdos, der rechtgläubige Vorkämpfer der göttlichen Lehren* (Bonn 1981). -P.A.H.

ARTABASDOS, NICHOLAS RHABDAS. See RHABDAS, NICHOLAS ARTABASDOS.

ART AND THE WEST. While the dedication of CONSTANTINOPLE as the new Rome symbolized imperial and artistic unity and Constantinople was patterned after old ROME in its topography and monuments, their shared traditions contained the seeds of future separation. After the division of the empire and the decline of the Western part in the 5th C., it was the art of the Eastern part that upheld the classical standards of old Rome while developing new Christian form and content. When Rome gradually lost its position as artistic capital after ca.450, Constantinople assumed this role; by the 540s its impact on Italian soil was evident in the architecture and decoration of the Church of S. Vitale in RAVENNA.

The new Byz. art followed in the path of Justinian I's generals and, where political hegemony was maintained, this art flourished. As the attempt to reestablish the empire in the West failed in the face of barbarian invasions, however, manifestations of Byz. art in Italy became less the product of state patronage and, as at S. Maria Antiqua in ROME, more the result of individual traveling artists or workshops commissioned by Italians. Byz. rule continued in parts of Italy until the 11th C., so Greek artists were readily available, and possibly so even in areas not under Byz. control (e.g., S. Maria di CASTELSEPRIO). ICONOCLASM may also have stimulated the flow of artists to the outlying provinces and beyond. North of the Alps, however, the impact of Byz. art was less pronounced. Major works such as Charlemagne's Palatine Chapel at Aachen and the early 9th-C. Lorsch ivory bookcover were sponsored by the Western emperor and other knowledgeable political patrons who sought to follow imperial Byz. models. An itinerant Greek painter may have worked on the Schatzkammer Gospels (Vienna) ca.800. Farther afield the strength and frequency of Byz. influence were much less. Discrete elements of the Lindisfarne Gospels show that the artist had indirect contact with Byz. art in the late 7th C.

Similarly the full-page Virgin and Child in the Book of Kells, ca.800, reflects a THEOTOKOS at some distance, probably filtered through intermediate works.

In the 10th-11th C., direct Byz. influence on artists working for the Western emperor intensified with the marriage of Otto II and THEOPHANO: an ivory (Paris, Cluny Museum) made for their coronation depends upon a Greek prototype. Byz. ivories also transmitted to Ottonian book-painters iconographic types such as the DORMITION of the Virgin, and a Greek artist probably worked on the face and hands of Christ and the Virgin in the *Codex Aureus* of Henry III (Escorial Vit. 17, 1043-46). By contrast, in the British Isles much more selective iconographic borrowings continue to be found, for example, at Winchester in the Benedictional of St. Aethelwold of 963-84 (London, B.L. Add. 59598). Farther south direct Byz. artistic intervention did occur at MONTECASSINO, however, to which Emp. Constantine IX made large donations and where Abbot Desiderius employed Greek artists. The impact of this project is visible in some of the frescoes of SANT'ANGELO IN FORMIS and in numerous 11th-12th-C. bronze DOORS on churches throughout Italy.

At the time of the CRUSADES, Byz. artistic influence in the West increased. This new and substantial phase is represented by and emanated from the monuments of the Norman kings of Sicily at CEFALÙ, PALERMO, and MONREALE; at S. Marco in VENICE; and nearby at TORCELLO. Transmitted from Italy, with Venice as an important intermediary, awareness of Byz. art spread widely through Europe at various levels of impact and understanding (A. Cutler, *Mediaevalia* 7 [1981] 41-77): in Spain in the now-destroyed chapter house at Sigena; in England in a major series of MSS, including the St. Albans Psalter and a series of giant Bibles, and frescoes at Canterbury; in France in MS illumination at Cluny and the frescoes of the chapel at Berzé-la-Ville nearby; and in Austria, Germany, and the Meuse valley in the work of goldsmiths such as Nicholas of Verdun.

The nature of the artistic relationship changed greatly in the 13th C. as a result of the Latin conquest of Constantinople, the Frankish presence in Greece during the Latin Empire (1204-61), and the strengthened contacts between Byz.

and the merchant cities of Venice, GENOA, and PISA. The two cultures interacted in a way that affected both Byz. art in the 13th and 14th C. and the development of the *maniera greca* in Duecento Italian panel painting. This *maniera*, expressed early in the Kahn and Mellon Madonnas (Washington, D.C., National Gallery), evolved into the individual styles of Cimabue and Duccio; the prolongation of Byz.-influenced painting in Germany; the spread of panel painting to northern Europe; and even the provision of certain components of the developing Gothic style in France, seen, for example, in the Ingeborg Psalter (Chantilly, Musée Condé 1695, ca.1200).

The impact of Byz. art on the West in the 14th-15th C. is less clear, but one major change is apparent. Whereas until the 13th C. Byz. art had influenced the West without—except in the 4th-5th C.—the reverse being true, instances of Western artistic influence on Byz. became marked. Examples range from Italian-influenced sculpture in the Church of the Virgin Paregoritissa at ARTA, through Western elements in the iconography of frescoes at BOJANA, to the dedication pages of two 14th-C. Hippokrates MSS (Vat. Palat. gr. 199; Paris, B.N. gr. 2144), and a MS of the ALEXANDER ROMANCE (Nelson, *Preface & Miniature* 42f, 52f). A very late example is the fresco (ca.1450) decorating Tomb G in the CHORA, "the first painting found in Constantinople in which clear-cut and precise evidence of direct Renaissance influence can be observed" (Underwood, *Kariye Djami* 1:292-95).

Although the interrelationship of Byz. art and medieval art in western Europe is clearly a complex phenomenon, the asymmetry of artistic flow, mainly westward from Constantinople and its empire, can be explained by a variety of factors. These include the strength and stability of the Byz. artistic tradition, the authority of imperial patronage, the high artistic quality maintained at Constantinople and consequent renown of Byz. art, the direct or indirect dissemination of objects, and the growing familiarity of Westerners with Byz. art and artists through travel and specific commissions. Only after the Crusades and expanded exploitation of the Mediterranean trade routes brought the West into direct contact with Byz. could the former begin to affect the art of Byz. Ironically, the very catastrophe that definitively sundered the Greek and Latin cultures, the

sack of Constantinople in 1204, provided the decisive turning point when western Europe saw a major infusion of Byz. works. This and the implantation of Franks on Greek soil sowed the seeds of artistic interpenetration. The role of the Latins in Frankish Greece and the Holy Land, and the resultant CRUSADER ART AND ARCHITECTURE, remain to be fully studied; similarly, the means of artistic transmission and interchange must be further clarified. Clearly the importance of the Crusaders' intermediary role is one of the most significant new contributions to the understanding of artistic relations between Byz. and the West.

LIT. O. Demus, *Byzantine Art and the West* (New York 1970). E. Kitzinger, *The Art of Byzantium and the Medieval West* (Bloomington-London 1976). H. Belting, *Das Bild und sein Publikum im Mittelalter* (Berlin 1981). K. Weitzmann, *Art in the Medieval West and Its Contacts with Byzantium* (London 1982). *Il Medio Oriente e l'Occidente nell'arte del XIII secolo*, ed. H. Belting [Atti del XXIV Congresso Internazionale di Storia dell'Arte 2] (Bologna 1982). —J.F.

ARTAŠAT (Ἀρτάσατα), early Armenian capital on the north bank of the mid-Araxes River, founded by Artasēs (Artaxias) in the 2nd C. B.C. It was also the capital of the later Armenian ARSACIDS. Recent excavations reveal that it was a major urban center, but rulers rarely resided there and it never recovered from its sack by the Persians in 363. Nearby DUIN replaced it, probably in the second half of the 5th C. The main importance of Artasat apparently lay in its position on the commercial transit route through Armenia; it was officially designated one of the three customs posts between Byz. and the Sasanians in the 5th C. (*Cod. Just.* IV 63.4), a position apparently reconfirmed at the Peace of 562, even though the clause did not specifically mention Artasat (MENANDER PROTECTOR, fr.6, ed. Blockley 70.323–26). The city slowly declined to the level of a village, but was still known to 9th-C. Arab sources as a center for the production of red dye (*kirmiz*).

LIT. Manandyan, *Trade and Cities* 44–46, 80–92, 101, 106f, 110f, 114f, 153. S. Der Nersessian, *The Armenians* (London 1969) 25, 28f, 64, 67. A. Ter-Ghewondyan, *The Arab Emirates in Bagratid Armenia* (Lisbon 1976) 126f, 138. —N.G.G.

ARTEMIOS (Ἀρτέμιος), saint; died Antioch ca.362; feastday 20 Oct. Born to a noble family,

Artemios was governor of Egypt in 360. An Arian supporter of Constantius II, Artemios persecuted both pagans and Orthodox Christians (*PLRE* 1:112). After Emp. Julian had him executed for his Christian beliefs, the deaconess Ariste brought his body to Constantinople, where it was later deposited in the Church of John Prodromos in Oxeia. The healing power of his relics became famous: a series of miracles is described in an anonymous collection of legends compiled in 660–68. Artemios mainly cured diseased testicles by means of INCUBATION inside the church. The legend emphasizes the miraculous nature of Artemios's cures: for instance, a certain George had a vision in which Artemios appeared as a butcher and performed an operation with a butcher's implements. Artemios's miracles attracted patients from Amastria, Phrygia, Chios, Rhodes, Alexandria, and Africa. It is questionable whether the Church of Prodromos was renamed in honor of Artemios.

PHILOSTORGIOS eulogized Artemios's martyrdom, and on this basis a *passio* was produced: Bidez (*infra*, xlv–lxviii) ascribes it to John of Rhodes (otherwise unknown); Beck (*Kirche* 482f) attributes it to JOHN OF DAMASCUS, although this is unlikely, since the *passio* is referred to in the 7th-C. *Miracles*. SYMEON METAPHRASTES included it in his collection of saints' Lives.

Representation in Art. The somewhat confused historical tradition is reflected in art. In miniatures of the *menologion* of Metaphrastes, and in the THEODORE PSALTER (fol.75r), Artemios appears as a noble martyr with a short dark beard like that of Christ. In wall-painting, however, his military role is emphasized: he is dressed in armor and paired with other MILITARY SAINTS, esp. MERKOURIOS and Niketas the Goth. Scenes of his martyrdom apparently once adorned the templon of his shrine in Constantinople. His beheading is depicted in the *MENOLOGION* OF BASIL II (p.126), and there is a Passion cycle of eight episodes in an 11th-C. MS on Mt. Athos (Esphig. 14, fols. 90r–v, *Treasures* 2:210f).

SOURCES. Miracles—A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Varia graeca sacra* (St. Petersburg 1909) 1–79. Passions—Philostorgius, *Kirchengeschichte*³, ed. J. Bidez, F. Winkelmann (Berlin 1981), 166–76, with corr. John of Damascus, *Schriften*, ed. Kotter, 5 (1988) 183–245.

LIT. BHG 169y–174e. S. Zebelev, “Čudesā sv. Artemija,” in *Sbornik statej posvjaščennyh počitateljami V.I. Lamanskomu*, vol. 1 (St. Petersburg 1907) 451–73. A. Kazhdan, “Hagio-

graphical Notes,” *Erytheia* 9 (1988) 200–05. P. Maas, “Artemioskult in Konstantinopel,” *BNJbb* 1 (1920) 377–80. C. Mango, “On the History of the *Templon* and the Martyrion of St. Artemios at Constantinople,” *Zograf* 10 (1979) 40–43. K. Lehmann, “Ein Reliefbild des heiligen Artemios in Konstantinopel,” *BNJbb* 1 (1920) 381–84. —A.K., N.P.S.

ARTEMIS, female deity of pre-Hellenic origin, whose cult survived in the late Roman Empire until the 5th–6th C. Artemis Ephesia, a variant who was popular in Asia Minor, was venerated as a helper of women in childbirth, as fertility goddess, and as city-protector. Her statues represent her with a dozen or more breasts exposed beneath a wide brooch and the mural crown. Sixth-C. poets also refer to Artemis as protector of women in childbirth. Her temple at Ephesus was closed only at the beginning of the 5th C. An inscription, probably of the 5th C. (M. Guarducci, *Epigraphia graeca*, vol. 4 [Rome 1978] 400f), records a certain Demeas who “tore down the beguiling image of the *daimon* Artemis” and substituted a cross. At Sardis her temple was abandoned by the mid-4th C., and a small church was built at the eastern end.

The vita of St. HYPATIOS OF ROUPHINIANAI records in the 5th C. a festival in the Bithynian uplands called the “Basket” (*kalathos*) of Artemis, which the rural population celebrated annually. Hypatios allegedly saw her appear in the form of a giantess swineherd. In the 6th C. THEODORE OF SYKEON heard a rumor about a place in Galatia, possibly a sacred grove, where it was popularly believed that Artemis resided with many demons and killed people. In the Byz. polemic against paganism Artemis was represented as extremely cruel; although she was a chaste virgin, she enjoyed bloody sacrifices and killed strangers and thus did not fit the ideal of Christian morality.

Radically transformed from her Antique image of athletic huntress, Artemis, represented as a kindly, hooded woman, presides with OPPIAN over the introductory miniature of the 11th-C. Venice *Kynegetika*.

LIT. H. Thiertsch, *Artemis Ephesia: Eine archäologische Untersuchung* (Berlin 1935). C. Foss, *Ephesus after Antiquity* (Cambridge 1979) 32, 34, 86f. Trombley, “Paganism” 328, 334–36. —F.R.T., A.C.

ARTILLERY AND SIEGE MACHINERY. The Byz. employed catapults (*petrobola*) and other stone- or arrow-shooting devices (*cheiroballestria*, *cheiro-*

mangana) in siege operations. Although torsion catapults had been developed in antiquity, the Byz. normally used the less complicated and more easily maintained rope-pulled trebuchets favored by the Arabs, Avars, and steppe peoples (D.R. Hill, *Viator* 4 [1973] 99–116). A beam was fixed unevenly over a crossbar and a stone placed in a sling at the end of the longer arm; several men then pulled down the rope(s) attached to the shorter arm, flinging the longer arm upward and propelling the stone. The *Miracles of St. Demetrios* provide an excellent description of rope-pulled catapults (Lemerle, *Miracles* 1:154.9–22).

The *cheiroballestria* resembled a crossbow (see WEAPONRY). An arrow or stone was laid in a channel along the stock, while the string, fastened to the ends of the two arms, was wound back, locked, and released to fire the projectile. These weapons, usually mounted on stands, were used by defenders and attackers; Prokopios (*Wars* 5.21.14–18) describes Belisarios's men operating this weapon from a siege tower.

Remains of late 4th-C. catapults were discovered on the sites of some Dacian strongholds (N. Gudea, D. Baatz, *Saalburg Jahrbuch* 31 [1974] 50–72). P. Brennan (*Chiron* 10 [1980] 553–67) suggests that in the Danubian provinces of Scythia, Pannonia I and II, composite detachments of *ballistarii* were formed from both legions of each province; they operated catapults and other missile-wielding weaponry at permanent bridgeheads to assist expeditionary armies.

Siege machinery included wooden towers (*helepoleis*) built or rolled next to the wall. They often had a platform from which to shoot GREEK FIRE (as depicted in the 11th-C. Vat. gr. 1605, fol.185) and were covered with soaked hides to guard against similar incendiary weapons. Soldiers also used battering rams (*krioi*) to break down gates; rams were also suspended from a frame to be swung back and forth against the target. Nikephoros OURANOS recommended tunneling above all other methods to collapse the wall (ed. J.-A. de Foucault, *TM* 5 [1973] 295–303). The soldiers made hutlike shelters (*laisai*) from branches and vines to protect themselves while undermining the base of the wall. Most artillery and siege machinery was built *in situ* during sieges instead of being transported. Engineers (*technitai*) accompanied the besiegers to construct the necessary equipment (Leo Diac. 16.11–21).

LIT. E.W. Marsden, *Greek and Roman Artillery*, 2 vols. (Oxford 1969–71). M.F.A. Brok, "Bombast oder Kunstfertigkeit? Ammians Beschreibung der ballista (23.4.163)," *RhM* 120 (1977) 331–45. —E.M.

ARTISAN. There was no special Byz. term for the artisan and, contrary to B. Malich (*BBA* 51 [1983] 47–59), there was no clear distinction between the artisan and the MERCHANT. Of course, there were professional traders not involved in production as well as craftsmen who worked for an employer (or a prearranged customer) rather than for the market; but both Egyptian papyri and the *Book of the Eparch* note various artisans (e.g., candlemakers, soapmakers, silk weavers) who sold their own goods. The major branches of Byz. craftsmanship were metallurgy; production of weapons; manufacture of jewelry, pottery, and glass; production of textiles and clothing; the leather industry; carpentry and masonry; the building industry; baking of bread; and production of vegetable oil and other victuals. Late Roman texts present a diversified pattern of artisan professions (H. von Petrikovits, *ZPapEpig* 43 [1981] 285–306) that presupposes a very consistent division of labor, although the list of names is longer than the number of actual professions because various terms are used to refer to the same profession. The terminology of the *Book of the Eparch* seems to be less varied, and probably only silk production and the leather industry reflect any significant division of labor.

Craftsmanship was divided into several categories: state *fabricae* or *ergasteria basilika* (see FACTORIES, IMPERIAL), GUILDS, and craftsmen outside state or guild organizations. Artisans were concentrated in towns; according to M.Ja. Sjuzjumov (*VizVrem* 11 [1956] 66f), they worked primarily in suburban areas—a thesis that is not supported by archaeological data. Monasteries (for example, the Stoudios) had their own workshops and monk-artisans. In *praktika*, the most frequently named rural artisans are smiths, tailors, and shoemakers.

Artisans appear more commonly in Late Antique than in Byz. art. An ivory fragment at Princeton (*Age of Spirit.*, no.254) shows a carpenter planing a board; masons lay up a wall in a fresco in the Via Latina catacomb, Rome (ibid., no.253). In Byz. their role is as peripheral figures in compositions honoring a KTETOR, as in the Vienna

DIOSKORIDES (fol.6v; Weitzmann, *Late Antique Ill.*, pl.15), or as illustrations to biblical scenes such as the construction of NOAH'S ARK or the tower of Babel (see GENESIS).

LIT. J.-P. Sodini, "L'artisanat urbain à l'époque paléochrétienne," *Ktema* 4 (1979) 71–119. Fikhman, *Egipet* 11–34. B. Malich, "Handwerk und Handwerksvereinigungen im Byzanz im Übergang zum Feudalismus," *Jahrbuch für Wirtschaftsgeschichte* 4 (1977) 173–81. Kazhdan, *Derevnja i gorod* 190–249. E. Kisliger, "Gewerbe im späten Byzanz," in *Handwerk und Sachkultur im Spätmittelalter* (Vienna 1988) 103–26. P. Schreiner, "Die Organisation byzantinischer Kaufleute und Handwerker," in *Untersuchungen zu Handel und Verkehr der vor- und frühgeschichtlichen Zeit in Mittel- und Nordeuropa* (Göttingen 1989) 44–61. —A.K., A.C.

ARTISTS. No precise equivalent existed in Byz. Greek for this generic modern term: practitioners of the arts and crafts are variously referred to in texts and inscriptions as *zographos* or *historiographos* (painter), MAISTOR, and *klistes* used in the sense of an executant of a commissioned work (cf. KTETOR). No clearly defined social or economic boundary separated ARTISANS from artists, some of whom achieved eminence. LAZAROS was a member of two diplomatic missions to Rome, and PANTOLEON was on equal terms with a *hegoumenos* of the Constantinopolitan monastery of the Panagiotou. Some artists were rich enough to act as *kletores* themselves. A 10th-C. goldsmith named Gregory paid for the construction of a church at Trani; Michael Proeleusis (see list below), an early 14th-C. painter, rebuilt and restored a monastery on land that he had rented near Halmyros.

Unlike in ancient Rome, the practice of art in Byz. was not considered demeaning. Artists might be as lowly as the "poor widow woman" in mid-6th-C. Syria "who had been taught the art of drawing and used to . . . labor at it for her necessities" (John of Ephesus—PO 17.1:15); at the other end of the social scale its most celebrated exponent was CONSTANTINE VII PORPHYROGENETOS. Icon-painting was by definition an acceptable enterprise for a Christian, on the model of St. LUKE who was supposed to have plied this trade. Painters are frequently described in hagiographic texts as "inspired" or "skilled," and many painters are credited with privileged, supernatural aid that enabled them to finish their commissions. A great master like EULALIOS was celebrated by numerous writers of his time. Amateurs, lay and monastic and often of high rank, aspired

to such talents (N. Oikonomides in *AAPA* 1:45–51).

Artists were not narrowly specialized, which helps to explain consistencies in both style and subject matter across different media. While legal documents such as the CODEX THEODOSIANUS (*Cod. Theod.* XIII 4.2) and the BOOK OF THE EPARCH distinguish, for administrative purposes, craftsmen by their trades, panel painters like Pantoleon also illustrated books, and muralists produced icons. At sites such as the Chora in Constantinople, mosaicists were probably also responsible for the frescoed decoration.

Of the training of artists almost nothing is known. The above-mentioned Syrian woman used to teach pupils for a fee; there is no later evidence for such instruction or for art schools in the narrow sense of the term. As is made clear in the will of the Cretan painter Angelos Akotantos (see list below), both skills and equipment, including drawings (*skiasmata*), were transmitted from father to son. The transmission of technical skills from one generation to another is already implied in Constantine I's legislation of 334 (*Cod.Theod.* XIII 4.2, repeated in the CODEX JUSTINIANUS—*Cod.Just.* X 66.1). Parents also placed their children as apprentices. One must suppose some sort of on-the-job training like that of ALIMPIJ, "given by his parents to study icon-painting" and employed as an assistant to the Byz. mosaicists at work in the monastery of the Caves at Kiev. Training would have been particularly necessary in MOSAIC, a craft demanding both individual expertise and a quasi-industrial organization.

Painters on a smaller scale and other craftsmen worked at home or, at least in the 4th–6th C., in small ateliers. A law of the emperor Valentinian of the year 374 (*Cod.Theod.* XIII 4.4) mentions painters' studios (*pergulae*) and workshops in public places. One such may be the room equipped with an easel used by a portrait-painter depicted in the Vienna DIOSKORIDES. Although it is often supposed that monasteries maintained painters' workshops in addition to their SCRIPTORIA, there is no documentary proof for such a notion. Most tasks would have been farmed out, by monks and laymen alike, to professionals.

In the 5th C. there is unequivocal evidence that painters worked directly from life (THEODORET OF CYRRHUS, *Histoire des moines de Syrie*, ed. P. Canivet, A. Leroy-Molinghen [Paris 1979]

2.248.11–16). A legend in the Life of NIKON HO "METANOIEITE" has it that an artist could not paint the saint's likeness because he had no MODEL. Artists probably knew the majority of the themes they were called upon to paint and used techniques that enabled them to work quickly. D.C. Winfield ("Painting Methods" 132f) estimated that FRESCO painters covered 6–7 sq. m daily. The team working with THEOPHANES "THE GREEK" finished painting the Annunciation Church in the Moscow Kremlin in one season. Yet, while employing well-established formulas and perhaps model-books, they were not externally controlled. There is no reason to suppose them regulated in aesthetic matters and almost as great a variety obtains in details of iconography as in the areas of style and composition. Conventional models and schemes of decoration were modified to suit the dimensions and layout of a building and, presumably, the financial size of a commission. Such factors, equally affecting portable artifacts, determined the mode of production.

The exercise of an artist's taste is not an identifiable characteristic of Byz. ART. While artists were not limited to biblical subjects—both monumental painters (as in the patriarchal apartments at HAGIA SOPHIA, Constantinople) and illuminators (as in marginal PSALTER illustration) "commented" on current and recent events—interventions of this sort seem to have lain in the domain of the PATRON rather than with those hired to execute his wishes. Nonetheless, major painters could exercise considerable freedom in their choice of models: Pantoleon is known to have reproduced a picture he had just painted while, in the second half of the 14th C., Gastreas (see list below) traveled in Arkadia seeking "ancient icons" to copy.

With the exception of the team that decorated the MENOLOGION OF BASIL II, artists' "signatures" do not appear in any numbers before the 12th C. The rare self-portrait of the scribe and/or painter THEOPHANES in a MS of ca.1100 coincides with other individualistic trends in monumental painting of the period. By the 14th C., artists such as KALLIERGES were legends in their own time; others, like PANSELINOS, may be no more than legends. Artists' inscriptions are usually laconic; where longer, they constitute proof of literacy.

Proud boasts claiming the presence of Byz. artists abound in Latin and Slavic literature. While

Byz. artists had long been active abroad—a diaspora to Rome during Iconoclasm is often asserted, but DAMASCUS, MONTECASSINO, and DUBROVNIK offer better-documented examples—named individuals are not found before the 13th C. Rather than venturing overseas alone, artists seem to have gone abroad in clusters. A succession of Greeks painted churches in Macedonia and Serbia after the fall of Constantinople in 1204; in the early 14th C. Byz. wall-painters were active in Venice, Sicily, Genoa, and Russia. A second spate returned or was summoned to Russia and Georgia in the 1370s. Preserved monuments show that they adapted themselves quickly to the local concerns and requirements of their new hosts.

Wall-painters and mosaicists such as Eulalios are more widely celebrated in chronicles than ILLUMINATORS and other craftsmen, a fame reflecting quite literally the size of their achievement; hagiography more often yields the names of icon-painters. Generally, artists appear in literature for achievements other than their artistry. This fact, the absence of documentation regarding patrons' wishes, and the impersonal nature of much Byz. craftsmanship make it hard to define artistic personality. Yet the notion that art was always an anonymous activity is contradicted by the following selection of documented names. Many craftsmen, esp. painters, gem-cutters, and goldsmiths of the 4th–7th C., are known only by their names on funerary and other inscriptions. They have been collected by Mentzou (*infra*) and are not included here.

[A]jetios, monk, signed a wall-painting in the Church of the Forty Martyrs at Suveş (Capadocia) in 1216/17 (Jerphanion, *Églises rupestres* 2.1:156–74).

Akotantos, Angelos, icon-painter and *protopsaltes* in Chandax 1407–13. His will (M. Manoussakas, *DChAE* 2 [1960–61] 146–48) was drawn up in 1436 before he sailed for Constantinople. Recently, several icons, signed by or attributed to Akotantos, have come to light (M. Vasilake-Maurakake, *Thesaurismata* 18 [1981] 290–98; *PLP*, no.13318; cf. 13319, 13320).

[Ana]stasios, priest and painter of the Church of St. George at Apodoulos, Crete, 14th/15th C. (Kalokyris, *Crete* 33; *PLP*, no.90088).

Andrea[s], sculptor named in an inscription on

the upper cornice of Hagia Sophia, Constantinople (unpublished; notice courtesy of L.E. Butler).

Apokaukos, Alexios, painter on Crete, fl. 1402–1421, executor of the will of Joseph BRYENIOS (*PLP*, no.1194).

APSEUDES, THEODORE.

Argyros, John, painted a series of miniatures of the labors of the MONTHS in the *typikon* of the monastery of St. Eugenios, Trebizond (a.1346) (A. Bryer, *ArchPont* 35 [1978] 392f).

Arsenios, monk and painter who, together with his son Theophylaktos, decorated a chapel of St. Michael in the Hasan Dağ in the reign of Constantine VIII (?) (N. Thierry, *JSav* [1968] 45–61).

ASBESTAS, GREGORY.

Atzemos, Basil, also called Berges, 11th-C. (?) painter who signed a supplication to Symeon the Stylite beside the saint's image in a Chicago MS, Univ. Lib. 947, fol.151v (Spatharakis, *Corpus*, no.319).

Bardas, Ioannitzes, painter, second founder of the "white church" at Selas in Chalkidike, and in 1285, hieromonk of the Great Lavra on Mt. Athos (*PLP*, no.2205).

Barlaam, early 14th-C. wall-painter whose name appears, together with the date 6827 (= 1319/20), over the door of a room in the western part of the church at GRAČANICA (P. Mijović, *Studia slavico-byzantina et mediaevalia europensia*, vol. 1 [Sofia 1989] 1949–54).

BASILIOS PICTOR.

Byzagios, Andronikos, wall-painter who worked in the chapel of St. George in the Athonite monastery of St. Paul, 1423 (*PLP*, no.3266).

Chartoularis and Chenaros, painters otherwise unknown, associated with EULALIOS by Theodore Prodromos (A. Maiuri, *BZ* 23 [1920] 399).

Constantine and his son, John, named in inscriptions at Hagia Sophia, Ohrid, ca.1350 (G. Subotić, *Zograf* 5 [1974] 44–47; *PLP*, nos. 8593, 14166).

Daniel, painter of the cave church of S. Biagio at S. Vito dei Normanni (Apulia), named in an inscription of 1197 (Medea, *Cripte* 1:95).

Demetrios of Monemvasia, painter named in an inscription of 1095 or 1100 in the Church of St. Demetrios near Pourko on Kythera (Skawran, *Development* 162, no.28).

Elpidios, 5th-C. mosaicist known from an inscription in the basilica of the Virgin at Palaipolis on Kerkyra (M. Guarducci, *Epigrafi greca* 4 [Rome 1978] 348f).

EPHRAIM.

EULALIOS.

EUGENIKOS, MANUEL.

Eustathios, wall-painter named in an inscription of March 1020 in the Chapel of Sts. Marina e Cristina at Carpignano, Apulia (Medea, *Cripte* 1:114).

Euticius (Eutychios) of Naissos, mid-4th-C. silversmith. His name appears on a silver plate found at Augst (*Kaiseraugst*, no.60).

Flavius Nicanus, early 4th-C. silversmith whose name is inscribed on ingots found at Šabac, south of Sirmium, and on two plates from Červenbreg (Bulgaria) prepared for the *decennalia* of Licinius (F. Baratte, *JSav* [1975] 198).

Gabriel, monk and painter in 1322, addressed in a letter by Michael Gabras for whom he painted an icon of the Virgin (*PLP*, no.3408).

Gastreus, icon-painter ca.1329–60 (R.-J. Loenert, *EEBS* 26 [1956] 162; *PLP*, no.3575).

George *mastora*, stone-carver (*marmaras*) named in an inscription of 1395 in the Church of the Phaneromene in the Mani (N.B. Drandakes, *ArchEph* [1967] 139–41).

George, painter and monk who witnessed the *typikon* of John I Tzimiskes (972); founder of the ZOGRAPHOU MONASTERY (*Docheiar.* 99, n.1; *Prot.*, no.7.167).

"Georgius Grecus," painter mentioned in the archives of Dubrovnik between 6 Aug. 1377 and 2 Apr. 1386 (Krekić, *Dubrovnik*, nos. 326, 373, 384).

Gerontios, wood-carver of the second quarter of the 5th C., recommended to the sophist Isokasios by THEODORET OF CYRRHUS (ep.38, ed. Y. Azéma, 1:102.22–103.2).

"Hemanuel Grecus," painter who became a citizen of Dubrovnik on 28 June 1367 (Krekić, *Dubrovnik*, no.268).

Isaias, monk and painter, fl. 1295/6, acquaintance of Melchizedek Akropolites and Manuel Planoudes (D. Pallas, *Hellenika* 12 [1952] 94–96).

Isaias "the Greek," wall-painter commissioned on 4 May 1338 to paint the Church of the Entry into Jerusalem in Novgorod (*Novgorod-*

skaja pervaja letopis', ed. A.N. Nasonov [Moscow-Leningrad 1950] 348).

Iveropoulos, John, identified in a Greek inscription in the crypt at PETRITZOS (Bačkov) as the painter of the upper and lower stories of the church (E. Bakalova, *Bačkovskata kostnica* [Sofia 1977] 133).

John, a monk and disciple of St. Symeon the Stylite the Younger who, according to the latter's vita (ed. van den Ven, 88f), even though untrained, carved the columns and capitals of a church at Sykeon.

John, deacon and founder in 1266 of the Monastery of St. George at Struga, near Ohrid, to which he gave an icon of the saint which he had painted. John supervised the decoration of the Church of St. Nicholas at Manastir in Macedonia in 1270/1 (Djurić, *Byz. Fresken* 20–22).

John, wall-painter who signed his name in Greek in the apse of the Church of St. Demetrios at Peć (V.R. Petković in *Mél. Diehl* 2:133–36; *PLP*, no.8591).

John of Athens, wall-painter named in an inscription of 1244 in the Church of the Trinity at Kranidi, Argolis, and, a year later, in the Church of St. John Kalybites at Psachra, Euboea (S. Kalopissi-Verti, *Die Kirche der Hagia Triada bei Kranidi in der Argolis* [1244] [Munich 1975] 2, 4).

Karkinelos, 8th-C. (?) silversmith mentioned in a fanciful tale in the *Patria of Constantinople* (*Parastaseis* 100.5–6).

LAZAROS.

Leontios, deacon and painter on Cyprus, 1333. Leontios worked at ASINOU and LAGOUDEIRA (D.C. Winfield, C. Mango, *DOP* 23–24 [1969–70] 378f; *PLP*, no.14708).

Leontios, *marmorarios* from Antioch, said in the vita of St. THEKLA (ed. Dagron, 334–37) to have decorated the saint's church with both murals and an *opus sectile* pavement.

Libanios and Prokopios, mosaicists named in a pavement in a 5th-C. church at Heit, Syria (P. Mouterde, *Syria* 6 [1925] 360f, no.41).

Makarios, early 14th-C. painter, named by Manuel Philes (*Carmina*, ed. Miller, 1:131) as creator of an icon of Christ (*PLP*, no.16249).

Manasses, Constantine, wall-painter, decorated the Church of the Monastery of Paliopanagia, near Sparta, 1304/5 (*PLP*, no.16599).

- Maria, 14th–15th-C. painter, working in Georgia, who made an image of the Virgin (*PLP*, no.16894).
- Marianos, mosaicist who, with his son Aninas, worked at the synagogue of Beth-Alpha (C. Balmelle, J.-P. Darmon in *AAPA* 1:244).
- Mark ("ego magister Marchus Grecus pintor qui fui de Constantinopoli") named in a Genoese notarial document of 9 Feb. 1313.
- Markos, 7th-C. (?) silversmith, who prepared a cross for the *doux* Neanias (Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Analekta* 5:5f).
- Maximus, early 4th-C. *vascularius* whose name appears on two silver ingots found near Philippopolis. F. Baratte (*JSav* [1975] 198) suggested that Maximus's workshop was possibly responsible for six silver plates inscribed for the *decennalia* of Licinius and found at the same site.
- Methodios, monk and painter said by Theophanes Continuatus (*TheophCont* 164.3) to have painted a Last Judgment that caused the conversion of Boris I.
- MICHAEL (ASTRAPAS) AND EUTYCHIOS.
- Modestos, painter in the Monastery of Magoulion in Constantinople, 1265/6 (*PLP*, no. 19202).
- Morphopoulos, Theodore, painter, *hegoumenos* of the monastery of St. Lawrence in Thessalonike in 1405/6 (*PLP*, no.19333).
- Moses, a monk and painter on Mt. Athos in 1344. A Bogomil, he was anathematized by a synod at Karyes and expelled (*PLP*, no.19926).
- Myron, 11th-C. painter addressed as a contemporary in a poem by CHRISTOPHER OF MYTILENE (ed. Kurtz, no.112), possibly responsible for a portrait of the emperor Michael IV.
- Naouma, Kyriakos, and Thomas, mosaicists whose names are recorded in a 6th-C. pavement at Mt. NEBO (C. Balmelle, J.-P. Darmon in *AAPA* 1:238, n.20).
- Nicholas, *anagnostes* and painter in 1290/1 of the Church of St. George at Sklavopoula, near Selinos in western Crete (Kalokyris, *Crete* 31; *PLP*, no.20482).
- Nicholas, a painter and *paroikos* of the Great Lavra ca.1300 (*Lavra* 2, no.91.122).
- Nicholas the *droungarios* who, with his brothers, according to an inscription of 1074/5 in St. Merkourios on Kerkyra, built and decorated the church (P.L. Vocotopoulos, *CahArch* 21 [1971] 152f).

- Nicholas, who signed the collar of St. Stephen's *sticharion* and, together with a certain John, painted the frescoes of the Monastery of the Holy Apostles at Neromana in Aitolia in 1372/3 (S.K. Kissas, *EESM* 3 [1971–72] 48, 52).
- Nicholas and his spiritual son Daniel, who in 941 decorated a MS of the homilies of Gregory of Nazianzos (Patm. gr. 33) in Reggio di Calabria (D. Mouriki, N.P. Ševčenko in *Patmos, Treasures of the Monastery* [Athens 1988] 280).
- Nikephoros, mid-10th-C. (?) painter named in an inscription at Tokalı Kilise, GÖREME (A.W. Epstein, *Tokalı Kilise* [Washington, D.C., 1986] 33f, but cf. N. Thierry in *Proceedings of the Second International Byzantine Conference* [Athens 1989] 229).
- Niketas, stone-carver (*marmaras*) named in an inscription of 1075 in the Church of St. Theodore at Balaka and three other churches in the Mani (N.B. Drandakes, *Dodone* 1 [1972] 21–24).
- Nikodemos, painter and hieromonk known by an inscription of 1310/11 at the Monastery of St. George at Karditsa in Boeotia (*PLP*, no.20353).
- Pagomenos, John, wall-painter named in inscriptions of 1313–47 in eight churches in the districts of Apokoronos and Selinos, Crete (Kalokyris, *Crete* 31f; cf. *PLP*, no.8363).
- PANSELINOS.
- PANTOLEON.
- Paul, painter of the second half of the 12th C. who, according to ANTONY of Novgorod (ed. Loparev, *PPSb* 51 [1899] 17.3–11) was responsible for the fresco of the Baptism of Christ in the baptistery of Hagia Sophia, Constantinople.
- Paul of Otranto, painter named in an epigram of the first third of the 13th C. by Nektarios, *hegoumenos* of St. Nicholas at Casole, Apulia (*Poeti bizantini di terra d'Otranto nel secolo XIII*, ed. M. Gigante [Galatina 1985] no.10).
- Pausilypos of Thessalonike, silversmith, who signed the Achilles plate (*Kaiseraugst*, no.63) buried at Augst before 353.
- Peter, early 13th-C. painter whose name appears on two icons at Mt. Sinai and to whom D. Mouriki (in *Studenica et l'art byzantin autour de l'année 1200*, ed. V. Korać [Belgrade 1988] 329–47) attributes two other panels.
- Petrovič "the Greek," who painted the interior

of the Church of "the Holy Mother of God at the Gate," Novgorod, in 1196/7 (*Novgorod-skaja pervaja letopis'*, ed. A.N. Nasonov [Moscow-Leningrad 1950] 42).

- Phokas, Manuel and John, fl. 1436–ca.1453, wall-painters who decorated three churches in eastern Crete (Th. Gouma-Peterson, *Gesta* 22 [1983] 159–70).
- Phrangopoulos, Kyriakos, wall painter, fl. ca.1300. His name appears in a dedicatory inscription in the apse of the Church of St. Nicholas at Agoriane, Lakonia (M. Emmanouel, *DChAE* 14 [1987–88] 110). His connection, if any, with the PHRANGOPOULOS family is unknown.
- Proeleusis, Michael, painter mentioned in a deed of 1304 (*Chil.*, no.21.8; G. Babić, *Zograf* 12 [1981] 59–61).
- Riz(z)o (Ritzos), family of 15th-C. Cretan painters. Francesco Rizzo is first mentioned in a notarial document of 13 Feb. 1420, Nicholas Rizzo in the same year, and Andreas Rizzo in 1450 (M. Cattapan, *Thesaurismata* 10 [1973] 238–82).
- Romulus, Flavius, early-5th-C. engraver whose name appears on a sardonix in Leningrad carved with a scene of imperial investiture (Delbrück, *Spätant. Kaiserport.* 211–14).
- Sava, painter, signed in Slavonic and dated (Dec. 1209) frescoes in the drum of the Church of the Virgin at Studenica, Serbia (D. Tasić in M. Kašanin et al., *Studenica* [Belgrade 1968] 71f).
- Sclopulus, Muscolcus, goldsmith of Chandax mentioned in deeds of 1366 and 1377 (Krekić, *Dubrovnik*, nos. 256, 266).
- Soelos, Kaiousmos, and Elias, identified as mosaicists in an inscription of 531 at Mt. Nebo (M. Piccirillo, *Lib.ann.* 26 [1976] 314f).
- Staurakios of Esbous, and his colleague Eremios, floor mosaicists named in a pavement in the Church of St. Stephen at Um er-Rasas (Jordan) in an inscription of March 756 (M. Piccirillo, *Lib.ann.* 37 [1987] 180–82).
- Stephen, icon-painter of the late 12th C., who signed two large icons at the Monastery of St. Catherine, Sinai (Soteriou, *Eikones*, nos. 74–75).
- Stephen, son (?) of Therianos, painted an early 14th-C. icon of St. Mark in the Church of al-Mu'allāqa in Cairo (L.-A. Hunt, *Varia* 2 [1987] 41).

- Theodore, mid-6th C., formerly a *kastrensios* (see KASTRESIOS) who gave up his position to be a carpenter, builder, and carver (John of Ephesus, tr. and ed. E.W. Brooks in *PO* 19:200f).
- Theodore, mid-11th-C. painter whose house is mentioned among the possessions of a monastery at Neokastron near Reggio-Calabria (A. Guillou, *Le brébion de la métropole byzantine de Région* [Vatican 1974] 201.535).
- Theodore, painter of the 11th–12th C., named in an inscription on the Deesis in the cave chapel of Hagia Sophia on Kythera (Skawran, *Development* 163, no.30).
- Theoktistos, 13th-C. painter who made a miniature of John Chrysostom and wrote the accompanying verses (*PLP*, no.7491).
- THEOPHANES "THE GREEK."
- Theophylaktos, wall-painter, who signed an image of Christ in the Chapel of Sts. Marina and Cristina at Carpignano, Apulia (Medea, *Cripte* 1:115).
- Theorianos, John, fresco- and possibly icon-painter, fl. 1346–50. His Greek signature appears on the sword of the Archangel Michael in the exonarthex of St. Sophia at Ohrid (Djurić, *Byz. Fresken* 98f).
- Thomas, 7th or 8th C., monk and painter of Damascus known from an entry in the psalter, Leningrad, Pub. Lib. gr. 216, fol.349v (*Iskusstvo Vizantij* 2, no.479). A. Frolov (*BEO* 11 [1945–46] 121–30) hypothesized that Thomas was a mosaicist who had worked in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem.
- Tzykandeles, Manuel, mid-14th C. scribe, illuminator (and fresco painter?), who decorated a commentary on Job, Paris, B.N. gr. 135 (*Byzance et la France médiévale* [Paris 1958] no.87).
- Veneris, Daniel, who, with his nephew Michael, painted the Church of Christ at Meskla (Kydonia), Crete, in 1303. In 1318 Michael painted the Church of the Virgin in the province of Rethymnon (Kalokyris, *Crete* 32f; M. Cattapan, *Thesaurismata* 9 [1972] 203; cf. *PLP*, nos. 2601, 5151, 91999).

LIT. T. Velmans, "Aspects du conditionnement de l'artiste byzantin: les commanditaires, les modèles, les doctrines," in *AAPA* 2:79–97. V. Djurić, A. Tsitouridou, *Namentragende Inschriften auf Fresken und Mosaiken auf der Balkanhalbinsel vom 7. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart 1986). Ph. Piompinos, *Hellenes hagiographoi mechri to 1821* (Athens 1984). Mentzou, *Symbolai*. —A.C.

ARTSRUNI. See ARCRUNI.

ARTUKIDS, Turkoman dynasty, 11th–15th C. Artuk (Ἀρτούχ) (died ca. 1091) appears in 1074/5, aiding MICHAEL VII against ROUSSEL DE BAILLEUL, whom Artuk captured and subsequently released for ransom. In 1086 Artuk became governor of JERUSALEM; his descendants succeeded him there until expelled by the FĀTIMIDS in 1098. Thereafter, the family secured possession of Amida, Mardin, Martyropolis, and even, briefly, Aleppo. Artuk's son Sukmān fought the First Crusade at ANTIOCH; his brother Īlghāzī was temporarily allied (1115) with Roger, prince of Antioch, but subsequently defeated and killed him (1119). In 1120 Īlghāzī's cousin Balak aided GHĀZĪ against Constantine GABRAS of Trebizond. Initially rivals of ZANGĪ, the Artukids became followers of NŪR AL-DĪN and joined his display of force against MANUEL I in 1159. The dynasty continued to serve successive rulers of northern Syria. Artukid copper coins imitated early Byz. coinage.

LIT. C. Cahen, *Et* 1:662–67.

—C.M.B.

ARTZE (Ἀρτζε), trade settlement (*komopolis*) near THEODOSIOPOLIS. According to an 11th-C. historian (Skyl. 451.28–30) it was rich and densely populated, attracting many local, Syrian, Armenian, and other merchants. In 1049 the Seljuks captured and burned the town. Skylitzes' statement that 150,000 inhabitants were killed by the flames and arrows is evidently an exaggeration.

The name survived in the Turkish toponym for Theodosiopolis, Erze-rum (Erzurum). —A.K.

ASAN (Ἀσάνης, fem. Ἀσανίνα), or Asen, Bulgarian royal dynasty founded by ASEN I in 1186. The evidence about the Asans' ethnic origin is vague; theories have been advanced of the family's Vlach, Cuman, or even Rus' origin, none of which has proved valid. The family produced several Bulgarian tsars (up to John III, r. 1279–80; died as *despotes* before 1302); IVAN ALEXANDER may have been related to the Asans. Some princesses of the house were married to Byz. emperors (Helene to Theodore II, Keratsa to Andronikos IV) or other rulers of the region (Maria to Henry of Hainault, emperor of Constantinople). The descendants of John III and Irene Palaiologina were active at the Byz. court and as generals and governors in the 14th C., but less in the 15th C.; these included, for example, Paul Asan, governor of Constantinople (1438–40), and Demetrios Asan, governor of Corinth (1444) and Nauplion (1448–53). (See genealogical table.)

LIT. I. Božilov, *Familijata na Asenevci (1186–1460)* (Sofia 1985) and Fr. résumé BHR 9 (1981) nos. 1–2, 135–56. E. Trapp, "Beiträge zur Genealogie der Asanen in Byzanz," *JÖB* 25 (1976) 163–77. B. Krekić, "Contribution à l'étude des Asanès à Byzance," *TM* 5 (1973) 347–55. *PLP*, nos. 1472–1535.

—A.K.

ASBESTAS, GREGORY, archbishop of Syracuse. An ally of Patr. METHODIOS I, Asbestas (Ἀσβεστάς) was deposed in 853 by IGNATIUS.

His appeal to Pope Leo IV (847–55) gave the latter a pretext to intervene in the internal struggle of the Byz. church. In 858 Ignatios was deposed and Asbestas consecrated Photios as patriarch; the Council of 861 formally rehabilitated Asbestas and his supporters while condemning Ignatios. Asbestas's political leanings shaped his literary and artistic activity: he wrote a vita of his patron Methodios (J. Gouillard, *Byzantion* 31 [1961] 374–80) and created (or ordered?) a series of CARICATURES ridiculing Ignatios; both are lost. Asbestas's miniatures are described by NIKETAS DAVID PAPHLAGON as depicting Ignatios scourged, chained, banished, and perhaps executed, while captions identified the patriarch as the Devil, the Antichrist, and Simon Magus (PG 105:540D–541A). In disgrace during Ignatios's second patriarchate, Photios wrote to Asbestas, urging him to continue to erect churches with figural decoration (ep. 112, ed. Westerink, 1:150f).

LIT. P. Karlin-Hayter in *Iconoclasm* 141–45.

—A.C., A.K.

ASCENSION (ἀνάληψις), feast of Jesus' ascent into heaven (Lk 24:50–53, Acts 1:9–12), celebrated on the Thursday that comes 40 days after Easter. Originally celebrated together with PENTECOST, the Ascension was first assigned its own feastday in the 4th C., a usage begun in the environs of Antioch ca. 380. The evidence for Jerusalem provided by EGERIA remains problematic (P. Devos, *AB* 86 [1968] 87–108), though the 5th-C. Armenian LECTONARY of Jerusalem already puts Ascension on the 40th day (A. Renoux, *PO* 35:72f).

The Ascension was one of the dominical GREAT FEASTS; it had a week-long afterfeast, but no forefeast. A series of 13 receptions took place in Constantinople on this day, during which the emperor was honored by the factions; he celebrated the feast in the Church of the Virgin at PEGE, where he took communion and dined (Philotheos, *Kletor*. 213.1–10; *De cer.*, bk. 1, chs. 8, 18).

Representation in Art. Initially shown in a form derived from imperial APOTHEOSIS scenes, with Christ striding upward grasping the HAND OF GOD (Milan ivory: Volbach, *Early Christian Art*, pl. 93), the Ascension assumed in the 6th C. the form that characterized it thereafter (Monza and Bobbio AMPULLAE): Christ, bearded and enthroned in a MANDORLA surrounded by angels, rises over the

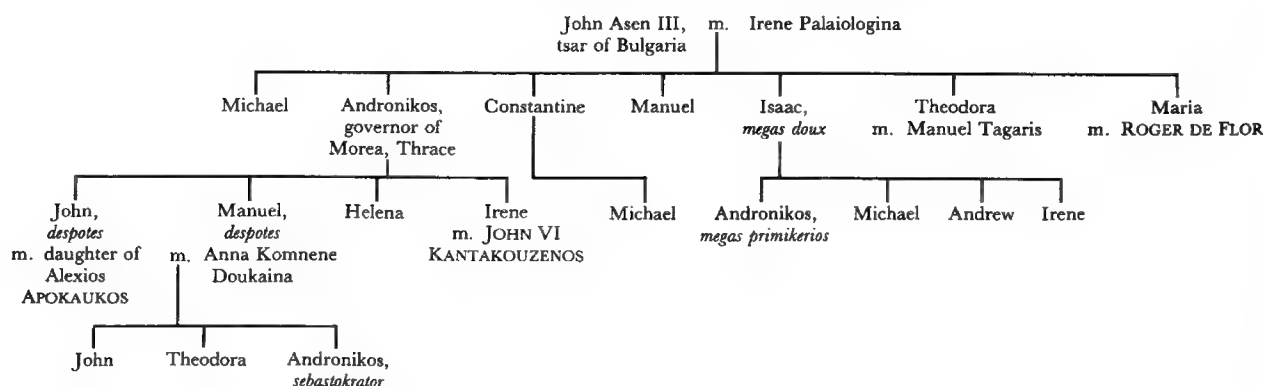
12 APOSTLES with Mary at their center. The presence of Mary, the inclusion of PAUL, and the use of 12 apostles rather than the 11 disciples of Scripture are references to the Church, showing the Ascension as a major event in its history. In the RABBULA GOSPELS (fol. 13v) elements from Ezekiel's prophetic Vision are added to underline the scene's eschatological connotations (cf. Lk 1:11). In the 9th C., the Ascension was represented in the domes of the NEA EKKLESIA (Constantinople) and HAGIA SOPHIA (Thessalonike), a situation so apt in form and in significance that it was repeated in all periods. By the 11th C. (St. Sophia, OHRID), the Ascension was also standard in bema vaults, reflecting its eucharistic significance as the apotheosis of Christ's sacrificed flesh. The Ascension appears on icons, in mural cycles, in *evangelia* and Gospel books at Mark 16:19, and occasionally before Acts (CODEX EBNERIANUS, fol. 231v).

LIT. J. Daniélou, "Grégoire de Nysse et l'origine de la fête de l'Ascension," in *Kyriakon: Festschrift Johannes Quasten*, vol. 2 (Münster 1970) 663–66. Talley, *Liturgical Year* 66–70. Grabar, *Martyrium*, 2:185, 197, 221, 233, 293. E.T. Dewald, "The Iconography of the Ascension," *AJA* 19 (1915) 277–319.

—R.F.T., A.W.C.

ASCETICISM (ἀσκησις, "exercise, training"), the practice of austerity and self-discipline; an ideal for all Christians, but esp. associated with monks and hermits. *Askesis* was sometimes used as a synonym for monastic life; *asketerion* for a monastery or hermitage; and *asketes* for a monk, nun (*asketria*), or solitary. Asceticism was a characteristic of monasticism from the earliest hermits in the Egyptian desert (e.g., ANTONY THE GREAT) to the hesychasts and *kelliotai* of the last centuries of Byz. All monks were expected to follow an ascetic regime, but the degree of severity varied. It was practiced in a most extreme form by HERMITS, ENKLEISTOI, STYLITES, and holy FOOLS, but a number of celebrated ascetics lived in cenobitic monasteries. Although there were some noted female ascetics in the earlier centuries, rigorous mortification of the body was not expected of the aristocratic nuns of the late Byz. period (V. Laurent, *REB* 8 [1950] 78f). The chief forms of this discipline were celibacy, fasting, standing vigils, and sleeping on the floor; ascetics went barefoot, wore only a single tunic, even in bitter cold, mortified the flesh with hair shirts or chains and fetters, prayed continuously, and often lived in isolation. Basil the Great urged moderation so that monks

GENEALOGY OF THE ASAN FAMILY IN BYZANTIUM
IN THE THIRTEENTH AND FOURTEENTH CENTURIES



Based on E. Trapp, "Beiträge zur Genealogie der Asanen in Byzanz," *JÖB* 25 (1976) 177.

would not become arrogant on account of their ascetic achievements. He stressed, rather, obedience to the *hegoumenos*, requiring that a monk receive permission from his superior before embarking on an extraordinary fast.

An ascetic monk sought to gain control over his body and attain *apatheia* or impassibility. Through such rigor a monk might be granted miraculous or prophetic powers; an ascetic way of life became a prerequisite for sanctity, replacing the martyrdom of the early Christian period. In the 12th C. some intellectuals criticized or even ridiculed excessive asceticism; Eustathios of Thessalonike suggested that one etymology for asceticism was *askos*, "wineskin," and the vita of CYRIL PHILEOTES by Nicholas Kataskepenos rejected the immoderate practice of asceticism (A. Kazhdan, *GOrThR* 30 [1985] 482–86).

LIT. M. Viller, K. Rahner, *Ascese und Mystik in der Väterzeit* (Freiburg im Breisgau 1939). K.S. Frank, *Askese und Mönchtum in der alten Kirche* (Darmstadt 1975). J. Hirschberger, *Seele und Leib in der Spätantike* (Wiesbaden 1969). P.R.L. Brown, *The Body and Society* (New York 1989). —A.M.T.

ASEKRETIS (ἀσηκρήτης, an invariable form, from Lat. *a secretis*), in full "asekretis of the court," imperial secretary. The term seems to have appeared in the 6th C.; Prokopios found it necessary to explain its meaning (*SH* 14.4; *Wars* 2.7.15). Many scholars believe that the term originated in the 4th C., since Beronikianos, an AGENS IN REBUS, is called *asekretis* in the acts of the Council of Chalcedon; this term only appears, however, in the 6th-C. translation of Vigilius (A. Kraus, *RQ* 55 [1960] 45). The *asekretis* replaced the REFERENDARI and formed the upper echelon of imperial secretaries positioned higher than imperial NOTARIES. Some *asekretis* were officials of the PRAETORIAN PREFECT. The seals of *asekretis* are known from the 6th/7th C. (Laurent, *Corpus* 2, nos. 9–13). The offices of the *asekretis* were located in the KATHISMA of the Hippodrome (Guilland, *Topographie* 1:185). At the Third Council of Constantinople (680–81), a functionary called *asekretis* held the title of GLORIOSUS, suggesting that he was probably head of the college of *asekretis*—the office later known as PROTASEKRETIS. *Asekretis* disappear from the sources after the 12th C., the term being replaced by GRAMMATIKOS.

LIT. Dölger-Karayannopoulos, *Urkundenlehre* 59–65.

—A.K.

ASEN I (Ἀσάν), otherwise called Belgun (S. Mladenov, *Spisanie na BAN* 45 [1933] 49–66), co-founder (with his older brother PETER OF BULGARIA) of the Second Bulgarian Empire; died Tŭrnovo 1196. Both his names are Turkic; his ethnic affiliation has been much discussed. Byz. and Crusader sources call the brothers Vlachs, but Bulgarian, Cuman, and Rus' origins have been suggested (N.S. Tanašoca, *Revista de istorie* 34 [1981] 1297–1312). As G. Litavrin (*VizVrem* 41 [1980] 102) declares, the brothers were closely connected with local elements in Paristrion. When, ca. 1185–86, according to Niketas Choniates, Peter and Asen requested entry into Byz. military service and a village as reward, they were refused. Exploiting discontent over taxation, they raised a rebellion. Isaac II (ca. 1187) drove them beyond the Danube, where Asen recruited Cumans. With their aid, the brothers reoccupied Bulgaria and ravaged Thessaly; in 1190 they severely defeated Isaac. When (ca. 1192/3) Peter allied himself with the Byz., Asen became the leader of the new state. He conquered Sofia, Melnik, and other strongholds. After a victory at Serres in 1196, Asen was murdered by IVANKO.

LIT. Zlatarski, *Ist.* 2:410–83, 3:59–108. Ph. Malingoudis, "Die Nachrichten des Niketas Choniates über die Entstehung der zweiten bulgarischen Staates," *Byzantina* 10 (1980) 73–88. Wolff, *Latin Empire*, pt. III (1949), 180–84. I. Božilov, *Familijata na Asenevci (1186–1460): Genealogija i sopografija* (Sofia 1985). —C.M.B., A.K.

ASHLAR, cut stone masonry. Used throughout the Byz. period, ashlar was esp. characteristic of the architecture of Syria-Palestine, much of Asia Minor, Armenia, and Georgia. In Constantinople, this type of masonry was used particularly for foundations and piers that carried heavy loads, such as those supporting the dome of Hagia Sophia. Bands of ashlar alternate with bands of BRICK in the city walls of Constantinople, a technique found occasionally in later buildings such as the *parekklesion* of the CHORA MONASTERY. In cloisonné technique (see BRICKWORK TECHNIQUES AND PATTERNS), individual ashlar blocks are framed with bricks on all four sides.

LIT. J.B. Ward-Perkins in *Great Palace*, 2nd Report 52–104. E. Reusche, "Polychromes Sichtmauerwerk byzantinischer und von Byzanz beeinflusster Bauten Südosteuropas" (Ph.D. diss., Univ. of Cologne, 1971) 7–64. —M.J.

ASHMUNEIN. See HERMOPOLIS MAGNA.

ASHOT. See AŠOT.

ASIA MINOR, or Anatolia, the peninsula that forms the westernmost extension of Asia. It stretches from the Aegean to the Euphrates River and Antitaurus Mountains, a maximum distance of about 1,200 km, and from the Black Sea to the Mediterranean, about 600 km. Its topography is determined by its mountain ranges. In the east they rise in sheer peaks. In the center they occupy the north and south regions of the peninsula, surrounding the relatively arid central plateau, and in the west break up into parallel chains separated by the broad and fertile plains of the Aegean region. The configuration of mountains and plains has influenced patterns of settlement and communication. Wealth and population have historically been concentrated in the western coastal plains, which support extensive agriculture of the Mediterranean type and are well connected by natural LAND ROUTES that also lead into the interior; the region has many good harbors.

The broken country between the Aegean and the plateau contained many sites strategically located on roads, while habitation on the plateau was scattered along the routes that followed the edges of the central steppe. The adjacent parts of CAPPADOCIA contained several populous valleys, but settlement diminished in the mountainous country to the east, where arable land is confined to narrow and often isolated valleys. The relatively unpopulated mountainous regions, which occupy much of the country, were valuable for their pastures and mineral deposits, as well as for defense of the routes that passed through them.

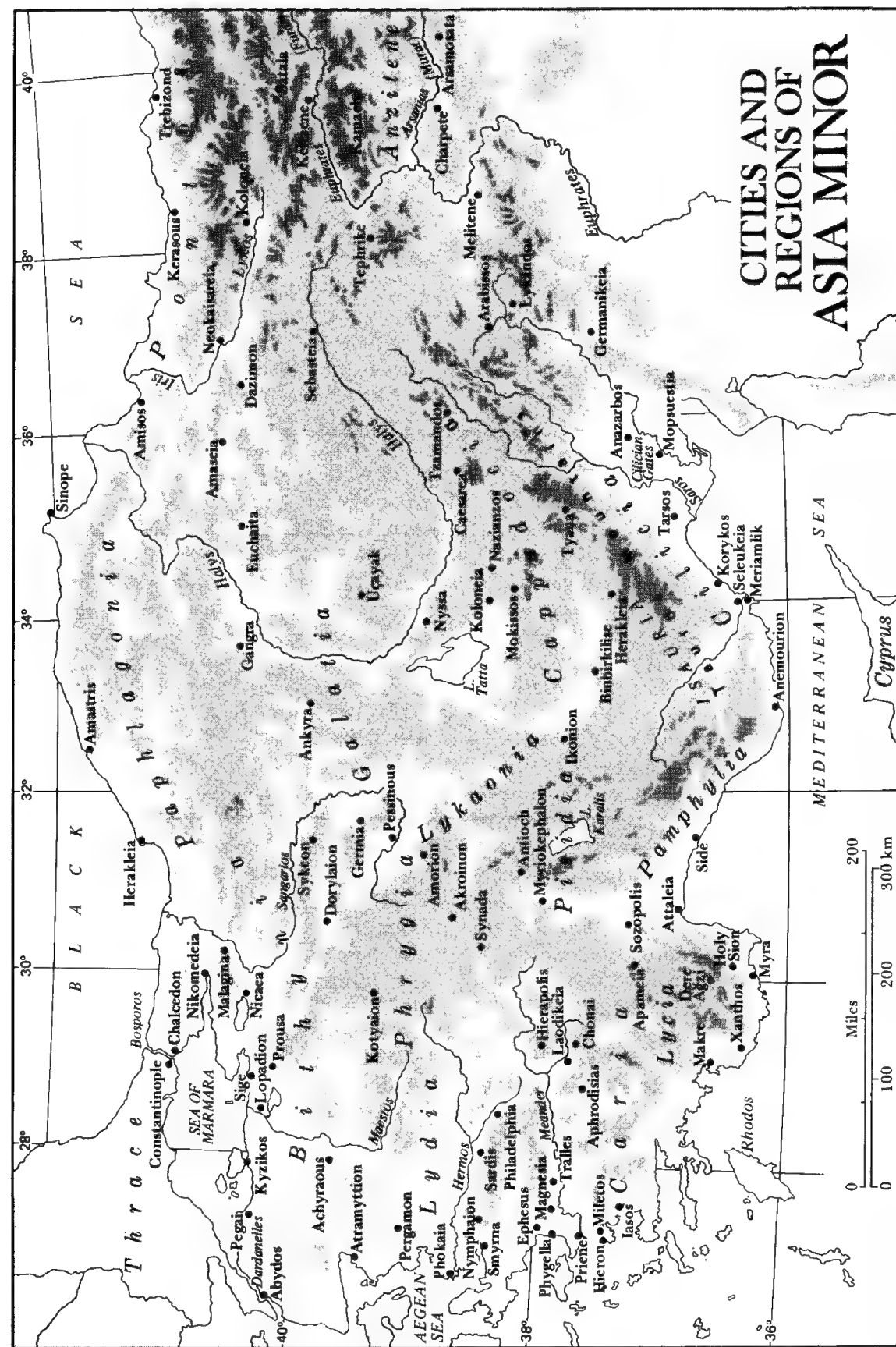
Asia Minor prospered in late antiquity, when it was divided into two dioceses and 24 provinces. Urban life flourished in the coastal regions and along the roads leading to the frontier; villages enjoyed the benefits of a long period of peace. The population was largely Christian by the 4th C. and thoroughly hellenized by the 6th C. Asia Minor was, however, the home of numerous HERESIES. Peace was rarely interrupted: the revolts of PROKOPIOS and TRIBIGILD in the 4th C., like the irruptions of the Huns in the 5th–6th C., passed rapidly; the revolts of ISAUARIANS in the 5th C. were a more persistent source of trouble. The reign of Justinian I brought extensive construction of buildings and roads, but the financial de-

mands of his wars drained local resources. Large areas, from PISIDIA to PONTOS, were afflicted by endemic brigandage and revolt, provoking administrative reforms whose failure was usually due to corruption. The PLAGUE of 542 reduced the population, but some cities and the southern coastal region continued to prosper.

The 7th C. brought fundamental change aggravated by Persian attacks that devastated the country, provoking the ruin of the network of cities upon which social and economic life had been based (C.Foss, *EHR* 90 [1975] 721–47). The Persians were immediately followed by the Arabs, who failed to achieve any permanent conquest of the peninsula but, through their incessant attacks over two centuries, precluded any possibility of recovery. The loss of Syria, Palestine, and Egypt to the Arabs meant that Asia Minor became the heartland of the medieval empire and its main bulwark against threats from the east. In order to survive, therefore, it received an extensive network of FORTIFICATIONS and its administration was militarized in the system of THEMES. Arab raids nevertheless struck through the country, culminating in the sieges of Constantinople from 674 to 678 and 716/17 and the capture of AMORION in 838.

During the 8th C., Asia Minor was a center of Iconoclasm and became ethnically diverse as Slavs were brought in to settle regions devastated by the Arabs or recurrence of the plague. At this time, the army dominated the country; in the 9th C., the themes of Asia Minor had a total force of about 70,000. *Strategoi* and their subordinates ruled provinces and cities; cities were often under the joint administration of a *strategos* and a bishop. Most large ancient cities had disappeared, replaced by smaller fortified towns and castles; eventually, new cities rose to prominence on account of their strategic locations. Most of the population lived in villages, with a fortress for refuge nearby. Some commerce still continued, esp. to serve the need of capital and army; regional FAIRS, often celebrated on the feast day of a saint, provided local stimulus.

Byz. moved on the offensive in the mid-9th C., gradually pushing back the frontier and establishing a peace and security that prevailed to the mid-11th C. Expansion eastward brought significant ethnic and economic change as immigrants from Syria and Armenia settled previously desolate re-



gions and as magnates, whose families played an ever-increasing role in politics, took over extensive tracts of land. Civil wars precipitated by their rivalries caused widespread disturbance in the late 10th C.

The Turks, whose raids began striking into Anatolia in the mid-11th C., brought the next fundamental change, in which the region, previously united, was divided between two or more powers. After the battle of MANTZIKERT in 1071, the Byz. permanently lost control of the east and center; thereafter they were precariously confined to the coastal region, where their position was seriously threatened by the SELJUK Turks. Although the First Crusade pushed the Turks back onto the plateau and allowed Alexios I to mark further gains, no part of the country was free from attack during his reign. John II frequently fought in Asia Minor, consolidating Byz. control by building strategic fortresses and establishing a foothold on the edge of the plateau. Under Manuel I, who restored security to many regions, the frontier was threatened by the immigration of TURKOMAN nomads. In an effort to solve the problem by striking directly at the Seljuks, Manuel met disaster at MYRIOKEPHALON in 1176. In the 1180s and 90s, major frontier forts fell and the Turks advanced westward, helped by the troubles attendant upon the Fourth Crusade.

After the fall of Constantinople in 1204 the Laskarids of the empire of NICAIA established an equilibrium with the Seljuks and secured their territories (the Aegean region and Bithynia) by extensive fortification. The prosperity they brought is reflected in their restoration of towns and foundation of monasteries. The Byz. recapture of Constantinople in 1261 was a disaster for Asia Minor: imperial attention shifted to the west and frontier defenses were neglected just as the weakening of the Seljuk state before Mongol attack left the Turkomans free to move westward. The Byz. position in Asia Minor crumbled rapidly; the southwestern coastal region was lost by 1270, the Meander valley by 1284, and most of the interior by the end of the century. In 1300 Byz. controlled only the northwestern coasts and a few fortresses that were islands surrounded by the Turkomans, who by now were establishing their own independent principalities of AYDIN, MENTESHE, SARUHAN, and KARASI. Despite major campaigns, the Aegean region was lost by 1315, and Bithynia fell to

the OTTOMANS by 1337. Subsequently, Byz. maintained only a few ports until 1360, and afterward only the virtually independent enclave of PHILADELPHIA, whose fall in 1390 marked the end of Byz. Asia Minor.

LIT. Vryonis, *Decline* 1-68. Hendy, *Economy* 21-154. Foss, "Twenty Cities."

ASIDENOS, SABAS, sometimes Sabbas, local ruler in Anatolia (fl. 1204-14). Of unknown origin, Asidenos (Ἀσιδηνός) assumed power at Sampson (ancient Priene) and the lower Meander River valley when the Fourth Crusade conquered Constantinople. Possibly as early as 1205 his territory was added to the Nicene state by THEODORE I LASKARIS. He remained locally powerful, and in 1214 Theodore addressed him as *sympentheros* (relative-in-law) and SEBASTOKRATOR (N. Wilson, J. Darrouzès, *REB* 26 [1968] 14f).

LIT. P. Orgels, "Sabas Asidénos dynaste de Sampsôn," *Byzantion* 10 (1935) 67-80. Savvides, *Byz. in the Near East* 60. -C.M.B.

ASINOU, located in the foothills of the Troodos mountains, Cyprus, site of the Church of the Panagia Phorbiotissa, founded 1105/6, according to dedicatory inscriptions by Nikephoros the *magistros* (died 1115). This small, single-naved church of three barrel-vaulted bays is built of mortared rubble. The plastered exterior was incised in imitation of ashlar and painted with red zigzags. The laterally apsed narthex, partly of ashlar, was added later in the 12th C. Scenes from the Passion in the west end of the nave are well preserved; Christ's Infancy cycle and the donor's portrait in the central bay were repainted in the post-Byz. period. The votive images in the narthex date from the end of the 12th C. and later. The style of the paintings of the first phase of decoration is related to the more refined frescoes of the *parekklesion* of Hagios Chrysostomos near Koutsouendis, donated by Eumathios PHILOKALES. Paintings by the Asinou workshop are also found in Panagia Theotokos at Trikomo, Sts. Ioakeim and Anna at Kalia, and the Panagia Amasgou at Monagri. Also associated stylistically with the frescoes at Asinou are several icons at the monastery of St. CATHERINE at Sinai (K. Weitzmann in *Studies in Memory of D.T. Rice* [Edinburgh 1975] 47-63).

LIT. A. Sacopoulo, *Asinou en 1106, et sa contribution à l'iconographie* (Brussels 1966). D. Winfield, E.J.W. Hawkins, "The Church of Our Lady at Asinou, Cyprus," *DOP* 21 (1967) 261–66. D. Winfield, "Hagios Chrysostomos, Trikomo, Asinou: Byzantine Painters at Work," *Praktika tou protou diethnous Kyprologikou synedriou, Leukosia, 1969* (Nicosia 1972) 285–91. —A.J.W.

AŞIQPAŞAZADE, great-grandson of the poet Aşiq Pasha (died 1333), dervish, *ghazi* warrior, and author of a *Tevarih-i al-i Osman*, a history of the OTTOMAN dynasty from its origins to 1485; born in Elvan Çelebi (near Amasya) 1400, died Istanbul? after 1484. Aşiqpaşazade's *Tevarih* is a fundamental source for early Ottoman history. For events prior to 1420, Aşiqpaşazade depended chiefly on a collection of stories and legends about the Osmanogulları (now lost, but used in the earliest anonymous *TEVARIH-I AL-I OSMAN*, and Uruc Beg), and materials derived from Yahşi Fakih. The subsequent account embodies more of Aşiqpaşazade's experiences and research among contemporaries. Intending his work for a wide audience, Aşiqpaşazade wrote in simple and lively Turkish. In form his *Tevarih* varies from straightforward narrative to poetry to extended dialogue.

Throughout his work Aşiqpaşazade treats Byz. themes as an aspect of the wider Ottoman struggle with the unbelievers. His information about Constantinople, and even major Byz. figures and events, tends to be generalized.

ED. *Die Altosmanische Chronik des Aşikpaşazade*, ed. F. Giese (Leipzig 1929). *Vom Hirtenzelt zur Hohen Pforte*, partial Germ. tr. R.F. Kreutel (Graz 1959).

LIT. Bombaci, *Lett. turca* 347–51. V. Ménage, "The Beginnings of Ottoman Historiography," in Lewis-Holt, *Historians* 174f. H. İnalcık, "The Rise of Ottoman Historiography," in *ibid.* 152–59. —S.W.R.

ASKALON (Ἀσκάλων), on the southern coast of Palestine, was one of the most significant cities of the region, according to Ammianus Marcellinus (Amm. Marc. 14.8.11). The MADABA MOSAIC MAP shows the city plan, but no religious buildings; the remains of a 7th/8th-C. church, fragments of a synagogue, and the city wall are known, however, as well as a late 6th-C. mosaic. Pilgrims were attracted to Askalon by remarkable wells allegedly dug by Abraham and by the tomb of KOSMAS AND DAMIANOS. One of the last Palestinian cities to fall to the Arabs (in 640), Askalon remained in the hands of the Fātimids after the Seljuk occupation

of Palestine. In 1099 the Crusaders won a battle over the Egyptians at Askalon but were unable to take the city until 22 Aug. 1153. Although Saladin took Askalon briefly in 1187, the Crusaders regained control from 1191 to 1247.

LIT. R. Hartmann, B. Lewis, *EI*² 1:710f. Wilkinson, *Pilgrims* 150. Ovadiah, *Corpus* 21f. *EAEHL* 1:121–24, 129. —G.V., A.K., Z.U.M.

ASKIDAS, THEODORE, theologian; died Constantinople, Jan. 588. Askidas (Ἀσκιδᾶς) was *hegoumenos* of the New Lavra in Palestine and from 537 onward metropolitan of Caesarea in Cappadocia. A supporter of the tenets of ORIGEN, Askidas belonged to the sect of so-called *Isochristoi* who taught that in the final *apokatastasis* (restoration) the faithful will attain a complete union with Christ. He was also suspected of supporting Monophysitism. In 543, however, he was forced to sign a condemnation of Origen; he also signed a condemnation of the THREE CHAPTERS. Pope VIGILIUS anathematized him in 551, but in the following year Askidas made peace with the pope. Of his works only a fragment is preserved (in EVAGRIOS SCHOLASTIKOS).

LIT. Beck, *Kirche* 384. G. Ladosci, *DPAC* 2:3376.

—A.K.

ASKLEPIOS, regarded as the son of APOLLO; the major god of healing in ancient Greece. His cult was widespread in the Greek-speaking world; of his numerous healing shrines the most famous were Epidaurus and Cos in Hellenistic times and Pergamon under the Roman Empire. Christianity adopted a belligerent stance toward Asklepios and deliberately promoted the figure of Christ the Physician in opposition to Asklepios the Savior; some temples of Asklepios (e.g., at Epidaurus and Athens) were converted to Christian use. In the 4th C. Julian the Apostate strongly supported the cult of Asklepios and attempted to place it at the center of paganism. Well into the 5th C. the god was actively worshiped by individual Neoplatonists such as PROKLOS, who believed that as a young man he had been healed by Asklepios (Marinos, *Vita Procli* in *I Manuali*, tr. C. Faraggiana di Sarzana [Milan 1985] 314f). Thereafter, when the name of Asklepios had practically been forgotten, the influence of his cult lived on in those Christian shrines where INCUBATION was practiced. Miracle

accounts such as those of Sts. KOSMAS AND DAMIANOS, KYROS AND JOHN, and ARTEMIOS all give evidence of elements that could be called "Asclepian." The name *asklepiadai* continued to be applied to Byz. physicians.

LIT. E.R. Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational* (Berkeley 1951) 110–16. P. Athanassiadi-Fowden, *Julian and Hellenism* (Oxford 1981) 166–68. T. Gregory, "The Survival of Paganism in Christian Greece," *AJPh* 107 (1986) 229–42. —J.D.

ASMATIKE AKOLOUTHIA (ἀκολουθία ἁσματική, lit. "sung office"), the cathedral HOURS of the rite of Constantinople, found in fully developed and unadulterated form in 8th–12th-C. MSS of the EUCHOLOGION (Arranz, "Asmatikos Hesperinos" 109–16). The rite was at first distinct from, but gradually mingled with and was ultimately replaced by, that of the monasteries of Constantinople (see SABAITIC TYPIKA). In Thessalonike, the *asmatike akolouthia* was still in use as late as the 15th C. (Symeon of Thessalonike, PG 155:553D, 624D–625B).

According to the TYPIKON OF THE GREAT CHURCH, which contains the rules for the *asmatike akolouthia*, the office comprised only the hours of ORTHROS and VESPER, with the occasional addition of a *pannychis* or a *paramone* (see VIGIL), and a combined terce-sexst in Lent. But MSS of the *euchologion* include the Little Hours as well.

The *asmatike akolouthia* had no separate book of hours—the HOROLOGION being originally a Palestinian monastic book—but was celebrated from the *euchologion* (for prayers and DIAKONIKA), the *antiphonarium* or Constantinople psalter (for PSALMODY and refrains), and the PROPHETOLOGION (for Old Testament lections). Despite its name, this office had very little hymnody.

LIT. Taft, "Bibl. of Hours" 358–70.

—R.F.T.

ASMATIKON (ἁσματικόν), a music book containing the special CHANTS and refrains for the liturgy and the HOURS, sung by the small group of *psaltai* (SINGERS) at Hagia Sophia in Constantinople. Its repertory is set in a moderately ornate style. Eleven Greek and three Slavic *Asmatika* survive; each varies and none dates from before the 12th C., but there are substantial reasons for supposing that the *Asmatikon* was first compiled at Constantinople during the 11th C. or perhaps

earlier. Nine of the MSS belonged to southern Italian religious houses of the Greek rite; the musical tradition they have adopted dates from 1225 at the latest. The remaining two Byz. MSS represent different, though not wholly dissimilar, melodic traditions. (For the solo items, see PSALTIKON.)

LIT. K. Levy, "A Hymn for Thursday in Holy Week," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 16 (1963) 131–54. Conomos, *Communion* 52–66. —D.E.C.

ASOLIK ("singer") or Stephen (Step'anos) of Tarōn, Armenian historian. Nothing is known of the life of Stephen, save that he came from the province of TARŌN and was appointed by the *katholikos* Sargis (992–1019) to supervise monasteries and churches. Sargis also commissioned Asolik to write a *Universal History* at the beginning of the 11th C. Although book 1 contains lists of biblical kings and rulers of ancient empires, and book 2 names Sasanian, Muslim, and Byz. rulers (down to Basil I), Asolik's interest is primarily Armenia, esp. religious matters and Byz.-Armenian relations. Book 3 is thus a valuable source for the 10th-C. Byz. eastward expansion (from the establishment of the BAGRATID dynasty in 885 until 1003).

ED. *Patmuf'iwn tiezerakan*, ed. S. Malkasean (St. Petersburg 1885). Fr. tr.—books 1–2, E. Dulaurier, *Etienne Açoğh'ig de Daron* (Paris 1883); book 3, F. Macler, *Etienne Asotik de Taron* (Paris 1917).

LIT. M. de Durand, "Citations patristiques chez Etienne de Taron," in *Armeniacae: Mélanges d'études arméniennes* (Venice 1969) 116–24. —R.T.

ASOMATOS (ἄσώματος), incorporeal, term characterizing the intelligible world as opposed to the sensible one. In the strict sense the word could be applied only to God: according to John of Damascus (*Exp.fid.* 26.5, ed. Kotter, *Schriften* 2:75), "only the godhead (*theion*) is really incorporeal and immaterial." John, however, distinguished two types of incorporeality: that of substance or nature, possessed by God only, and that of grace, possessed by ANGELS, DEMONS, and SOULS (*ibid.* 26.53–57, ed. Kotter, 2:77). In contrast, Gregory of Nyssa (PG 44:1165B) classified angels among incorporeal beings: "All rational creatures are divided into incorporeal and corporeal; the angelic [category] is *asomatos*, the other category is mankind."

The Synaxis ton Asomaton, the feast honoring the incorporeal beings, was celebrated 8 Nov. and illustrated from the 11th C. onward (S. Gabelić, *Zograf* 7 [1977] 58–64). The homilies and liturgical poetry accompanying this feast were important sources for illustrated cycles of the angels and ARCHANGELS.

—A.K., N.P.Š.

AŠOT I THE GREAT (Ἀσώτιος), founder of the BAGRATID kingdom of Armenia; died 890. Succeeding his father as commander-in-chief (*spara-pet*) of Armenia after the devastating Muslim punitive expeditions of the mid-9th C., Ašot consolidated the position of his house by expanding his domains at the expense of other feudal families and by dynastic marriages with the principalities of Siwnik' and VASPURAKAN. In 858, his continuation of the generally pro-Arab policy of the earlier Bagratid house earned him the title of Prince of Princes (*batrīq al-batāriqa*) and the suzerainty of the Arab emirates in Armenia. To maintain equilibrium on Armenia's borders, Ašot assured Byz. of his continuing loyalty and encouraged the Armenian *katholikos* Zacharias to correspond with PHOTIOS, although the Council of Širakawan (ca.862) failed to achieve a reunion with the Byz. church. By 884 (rather than 886 as formerly believed), Ašot felt powerful enough to have himself crowned king with a crown sent by the Arab governor in Azerbaijan; recognition by Byz. followed, endowing him with the title of *archon ton archonton*. Although Ašot was the master and arbiter of Armenia and Georgia, where he had his kinsman Adernarse crowned in 888, he continued to pay tribute to the Arabs. His authority over the Armenian magnates derived more from the power of his personality than from any formal base.

LIT. V. Hakobian, "La date de l'avènement d'Ašot, premier roi bagratide," *REArm* n.s. 2 (1965) 273–82. H. Thopdschian, *Die inneren Zustände von Armenien unter Ašot I* (Berlin-Halle 1904). A. Ter-Ghewondyan, *The Arab Emirates in Bagratid Armenia* (Lisbon 1976) 53–60.

—N.G.G.

AŠOT II ERKAT (Iron King), grandson of AŠOT I THE GREAT; third BAGRATID king of Armenia (914/15–928/9). Ašot reestablished Bagratid control over northern Armenia after the defeat and martyrdom of his father, Smbat I. His early success resulted in part from his recognition of Constantinople, where he was invited in 914 (not 921)

and granted the customary title of *archon ton archonton* as well as military support. Patr. NICHOLAS I MYSTIKOS initiated at this time a correspondence with the Armenian *katholikos*, John the Historian. These friendly relations were later compromised by Ašot's increasingly autonomous policy, esp. after the Muslims recognized him as *Šahanšah* ("King of Kings"). As a result, Byz. directed a campaign commanded by John KOURKOUAS against Armenia in 922 and apparently transferred the title of *archon ton archonton* to the rival southern Armenian kingdom of VASPURAKAN, but was not able to check Bagratid consolidation at this time.

LIT. Adontz, *Etudes* 265–83.

—N.G.G.

AŠOT III OŁORMAC' (Merciful), son of Abas I; last BAGRATID king of Armenia to rule over a united kingdom (953–77). His generally prosperous reign was marked by the complete exemption of Armenia from the payment of tribute to the caliphate, by the transfer of the capital to ANI, by close collaboration with the Armenian church (which he supported against Chalcedonian sympathizers and local separatists), and by the assertion of royal authority over the magnates. Ašot was successful in his war against the Caucasian mountaineers and the HAMDANID emirs. Moreover, supported by his vassals, he checked the advance of Emp. John I Tzimiskes at the Armenian border (974), whereupon the emperor declared him his ally and spiritual son (MATTHEW OF EDESSA, ed. Dulaurier 16–24). Ašot's reign saw a great expansion of monasticism with the establishment of the future intellectual centers of Sanahin (966) and Hra'bat (976); his extensive philanthropic foundations earned him the epithet "Merciful." Nevertheless, his grant of KARS (Vanand) to his brother Mušel and of Lori (Tašir, Joraget) to his son Gurgēn divided the realm and ultimately weakened Bagratid control of Armenia.

LIT. Grousset, *Arménie* 478–88, 494–500. A. Ter-Ghewondyan, *The Arab Emirates in Bagratid Armenia* (Lisbon 1976) 93, 95–100, 105f, 130, 136, 142f.

—N.G.G.

ASPAR (Ἀσπαρ), more fully Flavius Ardaburius Aspar, an Alan; consul (434), *patrikios*, and *magister militum*; died Constantinople 471. Together with his father Ardabourios, Aspar suppressed the rebel Ioannes in 425 and secured the throne

for Valentinian III. Aspar led a fleet against the Vandals in 431, fought against the Huns in 441, constructed a large cistern in Constantinople (see under CONSTANTINOPLE, MONUMENTS OF) in 459, and led the inhabitants of the capital in combating a fire in 465. Representing the power of the Germanic soldiery, he dominated the Eastern court and, after the death of MARCIAN, secured the elevation of LEO I in 457; as an Arian, however, he could not hope to gain the throne for himself. Aspar had his son Patrikios crowned as caesar in 469/70, but his influence was undercut by Leo's alliance with ZENO and the Isaurians. Aspar supported the campaign of BASILISKOS against the Vandals, perhaps hoping to see it fail, and by 469 there was open rupture between Aspar and Zeno (A. Kozlov, *ADSV* 20 [1983] 30f). Aspar may have sought the support of RICIMER, but he and his son ARDABOURIOS were captured and executed. Together with other members of Aspar's family, they are represented on a missorium in Florence (Delbrück, *Consulardiptychen*, no.35).

LIT. Bury, *LRE* 1:222–25, 314–20. O. Seeck, *RE* 2 (1896) 607–10. G. Vernadsky, "Flavius Ardabur Aspar," *SüdostF* 6 (1941) 38–73. L. Scott, "Aspar and the Burden of Barbarian Heritage," *BS/EB* 3.2 (1976) 59–69.

—T.E.G., A.C.

ASPARUCH (Ἀσπαρούχ), Bulgar khan (ca.650–ca.700); third son of KUVRAT. Around 660 Asparuch led a BULGAR horde westward, crossing the Dnieper and Dniester before ultimately establishing a fortified camp in the northern part of the Danube delta; its precise location is much disputed (N. Bănescu, *Byzantion* 28 [1958] 433–40). From here the Bulgars raided Byz. territory across the Danube, perhaps exploiting Byz. preoccupation with Arab attacks in the 670s. Constantine IV responded by campaigning personally in 680/1, with disastrous results: the army was routed and the Bulgars crossed the Danube in pursuit, reaching Varna. Renewed attacks on Byz. towns compelled Constantine to recognize the Bulgars' occupation of Byz. land (apparently SCYTHIA MINOR and MOESIA Inferior) and to pay them annual tribute (PAKTON), an agreement likely concluded in 681 but broken in 687/8 by Justinian II. Asparuch also subjected the local Slavic tribes to tribute payments and even resettlements, probably using them as bulwarks against the AVARS to the west and the Byz. to the south. Nothing else is known of Asparuch's rule. A dubious tradition

credits him with founding PLISKA. An 11th-C. Bulgarian source records a legend of his death in battle with the Khazars (I. Dujčev, *BZ* 53 [1960] 207).

LIT. Zlatarski, *Ist.* 1.1:123–62. Stratos, *Byzantium* 4:99–113. Beševliev, *Geschichte* 173–82. V. Gjuzelev, *Forschungen zur Geschichte Bulgariens im Mittelalter* (Vienna 1986) 3–24.

—P.A.H.

ASPER (ἄσπερον) was a Latin word meaning basically "rough" but by extension "fresh" and (of silver) "white," a sense it had already acquired in early Roman imperial times. It first came into common use for a coin in the 12th C., mainly as a qualification of the billon TRACHY (τὸ νόμισμα τραχὺ ἄσπερον "the rough, white nomisma"), which to us is a dirty gray in color but was no doubt issued in a blanced state. It was sometimes also applied to the electrum trachy. In the 14th–15th C. the term was used of various nonconcave silver coins, mainly the small ones also known as DOUKATOPOULOI and their Turkish counterparts (*akşes*, also from a word meaning "white") but occasionally, as at Trebizond, for large silver coins also. There are many contemporary Western parallels to the use of such a name for coins: *blanc*, *witten*, *albus*, etc.

LIT. Hendy, *Coinage* 18, 20f, 31.

—Ph.G.

ASPIETES (Ἀσπιέτης, fem. Ἀσπιετίνα, Ἀσπιέτισσα), an Armenian lineage in Byz. service from at least the late 11th C. (etym. Arm. *aspel*, "rider, knight"). Prokopios (*Wars* 2.3.12) mentions the "great and numerous lineage of the so-called Aspetianoi," but no evidence connects the Byz. Aspietai and 6th-C. Aspetianoi. The first known Aspietes, Alexios I's general, boasted of his royal origin from the Arsacids (An.Komn. 3:58.28–29); he served as governor of Tarsos ca.1107/8 and *stratopedarches* of the Orient. There is no reason to identify Aspietes with Ošin, son of Chetum, prince of Lambron (see correctly J. Laurent in *Mélanges offerts à m. Gustave Schlumberger*, vol. 1 [Paris 1924] 164f). Several Aspietianoi (Michael, Constantine, etc.) were military commanders under Manuel I; (another?) Constantine Aspietes commanded a troop in 1190; Alexios Aspietes, commander in Serres shortly after 1195, was captured by the Bulgarians and proclaimed emperor in Philippopolis after 1204 but was soon seized

and executed by KALOJAN. The chronicle of Magnus Presbyter (MGH SS 17:512), under the year 1189, mentions a Byz. embassy to Saladin, whose members were "Sovestat, Aspion, and old Constantine, a translator from Arabic"; the envoy may have been the *sebastos* Aspietes. The cultural role of the Aspietai is unknown: a monk John Aspiotes corresponded with Michael GLYKAS. Aspietai of the 14th and 15th C. were landowners intermarried with sundry noble families, including Palaio-logoi (PLP, nos. 1567–79), but did not occupy high positions; Maria Choumnaina Aspietissa was the wife of a *megas papias* in 1324.

LIT. Kazhdan, *Arm.* 43–46.

—A.K.

ASPROKASTRON (Ἀσπρόκαστρον, or Maurokastron; Ital. Moncastro; Turk. Akkerman; Rum. Cetatea Albă; Russ. Belgorod Dnestrovskij—four of its names mean "White Fort"; Maurokastron and the corrupted form Moncastro mean "Black Fort"), city and port situated at the mouth of the Dniester, close to the site of ancient Tyras. It was probably a late Roman or early Byz. fortress but passed out of imperial control in the 7th–9th C. The information on "Maurokastron" in the 10th C. given by the TOPARCHA GOTHICUS is entirely fictitious. In the 13th C. Asprokastron belonged to the Polovzian khanate (see CUMANS). From ca. 1290 Asprokastron was frequented by Genoese ships that loaded grain and wax. For some years in the early 14th C. it was in Bulgarian hands, but by midcentury it had become a Genoese colony. From 1410 Asprokastron was subject to the princes of Moldavia, and in 1437 Venice opened commercial relations with the city. In the 15th C. it was a regular point of embarkation for travelers between Constantinople and central Europe, including Emp. JOHN VIII PALAIOLOGOS. After 1453 MEHMED II brought colonists from Asprokastron to settle in Constantinople. For a time after 1457 Stephen the Great, Prince of Moldavia, resided there, but in 1485 Sultan Bayezid II captured Asprokastron and CHILIA.

LIT. N. Iorga, *Studii istorice asupra Chilie și Cetății-Albe* (Bucharest 1899) 1–137. G.I. Brătianu, *Recherches sur Vicina et Cetatea Albă* (Bucharest 1935) 99–126. Balard, *Romanie génoise* 1:143–50. N. Bănescu, "Maurocastrum—Moncastro—Cetatea-Albă," *BSHAcRoum* 21 (1939) 20–31. —R.B.

ASSARION (ἄσάριον, from early Lat. *assarius*), used in the New Testament for the smallest coin

in circulation (Mt 10:29: "Are not two sparrows sold for an assarion?"). It is used by Nicholas RHABDAS (in P. Tannery, *Mémoires scientifiques* 4 [Toulouse-Paris 1920] 158) in formulating a mathematical problem that has a contemporary setting—the author was writing in 1341—and it had apparently been revived as the name of the flat copper coin of approximately 2 g introduced under Andronikos II (1282–1328). Assaria were struck in great quantities during the first half of the 14th C.

LIT. Grierson, *Byz. Coins* 278.

—Ph.G.

ASSEMBLIES. In addition to the SENATE, Byz. was familiar with other forms of assemblies with claims to political power. The most organized were the church COUNCILS (H. Gelzer, *Ausgewählte kleine Schriften* [Leipzig 1907] 142–55). Provincial assemblies of the late Roman Empire consisted of *honorati* (former imperial officials) and CURIALES; in contrast to the members of ancient assemblies, these were not elected and there was no representation in proportion to population (J. Larsen, *ClPhil* 29 [1934] 209–20). Despite Leo VI's abolition of municipal *boulai*, they continued to exist in provincial towns from the 11th to the 15th C., although they tended to be assemblages of local nobles rather than regular representations of constituencies.

Throughout the centuries Constantinople witnessed two kinds of assemblies: those convoked by usurpers or demagogues in protest against unpopular measures (which had no legal basis or regular organization) and those convened by the state in cases of emergency (for confiscation of church property in 1094, to raise funds to meet the demands of Henry VI in 1197, to discuss the imperial response to the Bulgarian tsar in 1341, etc.). Assemblies were esp. active during the CIVIL WAR OF 1341–47 (Weiss, *Kantakuzenos* 74–76). The assemblies were called *ekklesiai*, *syllogoi*, or *syneleuseis*; even though they were not representative of the electorate, they could include people outside the bureaucratic and ecclesiastical nobility. The assemblies or parliaments that functioned in the Crusader states (J. Colson, *REB* 12 [1954] 114–27) may have influenced Byz. assemblies.

LIT. C.N. Tsirpanlis, "Byzantine Parliaments and Representative Assemblies from 1081 to 1351," *Byzantion* 43 (1973–74) 432–81. C.P. Kyrris, "Representative Assemblies

and Taxation in the Byzantine Empire between 1204 and 1341," *XIIe Congrès International des sciences historiques* 31 (Paris 1966) 43–54. —A.K.

ASSES. See BEASTS OF BURDEN.

ASTERIOS OF AMASEIA, Cappadocian churchman and writer, overshadowed by his more famous contemporaries, the CAPPADOCIAN FATHERS; born between 330 and 335, died between 420 and 425 (according to Datema, *infra* [1970] xxiv). Asterios (Ἀστέριος) was perhaps a lawyer before his appointment to the see of Amaseia in Pontos, sometime between 380 and 390. Of his oeuvre 16 homilies survive, and Photios (*Bibl.*, cod. 271) lists four more. Some of these speeches have survived in Latin, Georgian, and Church Slavonic translations. Two homilies are of particular interest to modern scholars, the fourth (delivered 1 Jan. 400), which systematically refutes LIBANIOS's defense of the pagan New Year feast, and the eleventh, which contains an *ekphrasis* of a painting of some scenes from the vita of St. EUPHEMIA OF CHALCEDON (W. Speyer, *JbAChr* 14 [1971] 39–47). The latter oration is a landmark of Byz. art criticism and is also informative about Asterios's tastes in classical literature, notably for the writings of Demosthenes. The eleventh homily was translated into Latin by ANASTASIUS BIBLIOTHECARIUS and was cited *in toto* during the Second Council of Nicaea, 787, to justify the veneration of icons.

ED. *Homilies I–XIV*, ed. C. Datema (Leiden 1970). C. Datema, "Les homélies XV et XVI d'Astérios d'Amasée," *Sacris erudiri* 23 (1978–79) 63–93. Eng. tr. of *Hom.* 11—Mango, *Art* 37–39.

LIT. M. Bauer, *Asterios, Bischof von Amaseia: Sein Leben und seine Werke* (Würzburg 1911). W. Speyer, *RAC* supp. 4 (1986) 626–39. V. Vasey, "The Social Ideas of Asterios of Amaseia," *Augustinianum* 26 (1986) 413–36. —B.B.

ASTERIOS SOPHISTES, rhetorician; died after 341. He was a pupil of LUCIAN OF ANTIOCH and a supporter of Arianism. Photios (*Quaest. Amph.* 312, ed. L. Westerink, 6.1 [1987] 112f) distinguishes him from the Orthodox ASTERIOS OF AMASEIA. He wrote the *Syntagmatarion* (ed. Bardy, *infra*), an exposé of Arian views (preserved in fragmentary quotations in ATHANASIOS of Alexandria), and homilies on Psalms and on Easter that have survived in CATENAE often under the

names of Asterios of Amaseia or John Chrysostom. Asterios was probably a Jew who had converted to Christianity, and his works show some knowledge of Rabbinic teaching. His homilies are important as a source for the study of Jewish-Christian relations in the early 4th C.: Asterios views the Jews as an incarnation of evil and warns Christians against Jewish penetration into the church.

ED. G. Bardy, *Recherches sur saint Lucien d'Antioche et son école* (Paris 1936) 341–57. M. Richard, *Asterii Sophistae commentariorum in Psalmos quae supersunt* (Oslo 1956).

LIT. E. Skard, *Index Asterianus* (Oslo 1962). H. Auf der Maur, *Die Osterhomilien des Asterios Sophistes* (Trier 1967). G. Gelsi, *Kirche, Synagoge und Taufe in den Psalmenhomilien des Asterios Sophistes* (Vienna 1978). —A.K.

ASTERISKOS. See PATEN AND ASTERISKOS.

ASTRAMPSYCHOS, a Persian magus of the 4th C. B.C. (Diogenes Laertius, 1.2). Various works of the Byz. era were ascribed to him, the most important being a dream book written in accentual trimeters, datable between the 6th and 9th C. (S.M. Oberhelman, *Byzantion* 50 [1980] 489). This treatise formed the basis for later dream books falsely ascribed to Patr. Nikephoros I, Patr. Germanos I or II (the attribution is unclear), Gregory of Nazianzos, and Athanasios of Alexandria (the last two are replicas of the Nikephorean dream book). Other works assigned to Astrampsychos deal with oracles (A.J. Hoogendijk, W. Clarysse, *Kleio* 11 [1981] 54–97; G.M. Browne, *The Papyri of the Sortes Astrampsychi* [Meisenheim am Glan 1974]); geomancy (P. Tannery, *REGr* 11 [1898] 96–105); love charms (P. Lond. I 122); healing of asses (SOUDA, s.v. Astrampsychos); and astronomy (E. Riess, *RE* 2 [1896] 1796f).

ED. *Sortes Astrampsychi*, vol. 1, ed. G.M. Browne (Leipzig 1983).

LIT. G.M. Browne, "The Origin and Date of the *Sortes Astrampsychi*," *ICS* 1 (1976) 53–58. —S.M.O.

ASTRAPAS, JOHN. See MICHAEL (ASTRAPAS) AND EUTYCHIOS.

ASTROLABE (ἀστρολάβος), an astronomical instrument used to measure altitudes of the stars and to tell time. PTOLEMY described the principles of the astrolabe in his *Projection of the Surface of a*

Sphere, a work known in Constantinople only in the early Byz. period. Other Greek treatises on the astrolabe include works by THEON and John PHILOPONOS, and the description by SYNESIOS of his gift of a pseudo-astrolabe to Paionios. In the 12th C. John KAMATEROS described its uses in *ASTROLOGY* (*Introduction* 2153–2281). In the Palaiologan period there was particular interest in the astrolabe, as evidenced by the translation by Gregory CHIONIADIS of a Persian treatise, two works by Nikephoros GREGORAS, and finally a section (1.11–21) of the *Three Books* of Theodore MELITENIOTES. There exist as well several anonymous treatises on the construction and/or use of astrolabes, one of which may be by BARLAAM OF CALABRIA. At an unknown date Leontios the Mechanic wrote a treatise on constructing a celestial globe.

The only surviving Byz. astrolabe is one made in 1062 for the *protospatharios* and *hypatos* Sergios, “of the race of the Persians” (*Splendeur de Byz.* 176), whose 14 stars are all found among the 19 in a list of stars for the rete of an astrolabe whose right ascensions are computed for 908 (Florence, Laur. 38, 34, fols. 143v–144r). The large number of treatises on the construction and use of astrolabes written in the Palaiologan period and the several references to observations made with them indicate that many more Byz. astrolabes must once have existed. (See also ASTRONOMY.)

LIT. D.J. Price in *A History of Technology*, ed. C. Singer et al., vol. 3 (Oxford 1957) 582–619. O.M. Dalton, “The Byzantine Astrolabe at Brescia,” *ProcBrAc* 12 (1926) 133–46. —D.P.

ASTROLOGY, a “science” of making predictions concerning the future or interpretation of the past based on the positions of the planets relative to each other, to the signs of the zodiac and their subdivisions, and to the 12 astrological places, and on the positions of the zodiacal signs relative to those places. The basic forms of astrology are: (1) genethliology, in which the positions at the moment of a person’s birth or of his computed conception are the determining factors, dependent on which are various forms of continuous horoscopy including transits, prorogations, and anniversary HOROSCOPES (these permit updatings of the predictions made from the base horoscope); (2) catarchic astrology, in which the most favorable moment for commencing an enterprise is

chosen in accordance with astrological rules, the main subordinate parts of which are iatromathematics (the application of astrology to medicine) and military astrology; (3) interrogational astrology, in which the horoscope of the moment at which a query is put to the astrologer is interpreted to provide its answer; and (4) political astrology, in which predictions of the future events within a nation or among several, or reconstructions of their histories, are based on various cycles as well as on horoscopes cast for significant times.

In antiquity only the first three types appear in texts; political astrology was developed in Sasanian Iran and early Islam and transmitted to Byz. between 800 and 1000 with other Arabic works. Byz. astrological literature, then, falls into three periods: summaries and compendia of classical astrology in the 4th–7th C., the translations from the Arabic in the 10th–11th C. (some translations were made later), and the compilation of vast compendia and the editing of earlier texts in the 11th–14th C.

The earliest known Byz. astrological authors were Pancharios, whose iatromathematical *Epitome Concerning Bed-Ilnesses* was probably composed in the early 4th C., and Maximos, who wrote a poem on catarchic astrology, *On Beginnings*, in the 4th or 5th C. The second edition of the *Introduction* of PAUL OF ALEXANDRIA was apparently issued in 378. It is a work on genethliology in the tradition of Antiochos of Athens (fl. before 300) and PORPHYRY. Part of a work by Paul’s contemporary, the so-called “Anonymous of 379,” is preserved in the late 14th-C. compendium ascribed falsely to a certain Palchos (al-Balkhī).

In ca.415 HEPHAISTION OF THEBES wrote an *Astrological Effects* based on PTOLEMY and Dorotheos of Sidon (1st/2nd C.) for its genethliology and primarily on Dorotheos for its catarchic astrology. Also in the 5th C. the *Anthologies* of Vettius Valens (2nd C.), another text on genethliology, was edited and expanded, while probably in the same century was written the *Treatment* of Ptolemy’s *Astrological Effects* attributed to Proklos. Circa 500 Julian of Laodikeia wrote a work on catarchic (including military) astrology, of which several chapters are preserved in RHETORIOS OF EGYPT, who also includes in his collection a large number of 5th- and early 6th-C. horoscopes. Both the *On Omens* and *On the Months* of JOHN LYDOS

contain some astrological material. The only other extant 6th-C. work on astrology is the commentary of OLYMPIODOROS on Paul of Alexandria, based on a course of lectures given at Alexandria in 564.

In the early 7th C. Rhetorios of Egypt compiled the richest surviving collection of classical and early Byz. astrological texts. It is primarily devoted to genethliology but contains some material on catarchic astrology. After Rhetorios there was a gap in the astrological tradition in Byz. until the end of the 8th C., although in Arab-controlled Syria THEOPHILOS OF EDESSA wrote in Greek on genethliology, catarchic and interrogational astrology, and astrological history; he used not only such sources as Petosiris, Ptolemy, Hephaistion, and Rhetorios, but also Islamic and Indian material. In 775 an astrologer pretending to be STEPHEN OF ALEXANDRIA wrote a “prediction” of the course of history of the caliphs based on the horoscope of the beginning of the year (1 Sept. 621) of the Hijra. The author is probably Stephen the Philosopher, who studied in Persia and wrote a defense of astrology, *On the Mathematical Art*, in the late 8th or early 9th C.

In the 9th C. LEO THE MATHEMATICIAN wrote a few trivial pieces on genethliology, and from the 10th C. survive a number of horoscopes cast by astrologers such as Demophilos. These astrologers, and probably others, were responsible for the first minuscule MSS of the older astrological literature, of which the surviving examples are the 9th-C. Florence, Laur. 28, 27, and the 10th-C. Laur. 28, 34 and Vat. gr. 1453. Demophilos was also the editor and compiler of astrological collections; he evidently made substantial revisions in the texts of Porphyry’s *Introduction* and of Rhetorios.

Shortly before the year 1000 began the extensive Greek translations of Arabic astrological works by such authors as Abū Ma’shar and his pupil Shādhān; the *Kitāb al-Thamara* (*Karpos* or *Fruit*) ascribed to Ptolemy with its commentary by Aḥmad ibn Yūsuf; and an enormous compendium ascribed to Aḥmad the Persian and entitled *Introduction to and Foundation of Astrology*. Excerpts from most of these translations begin to appear in 11th- and 12th-C. compendia preserved in MSS such as Paris, B.N. gr. 2506; Vat. gr. 1056; and Vienna, ÖNB phil. gr. 115. Some translations served as the basis of translations into Latin in the 13th C.

The Byz. church took a firm stance against astrology. The astrological concept that human fate is determined by the position of stars at man’s birth contradicts the idea of FREE WILL and introduces necessity—*ananke* or *heimarmene*—in place of Providence. The decisive role of stars in human life and in the forecast of political events appeared to the church fathers (including JOHN OF DAMASCUS) as a reminder of the pagan identification of gods with celestial bodies. The church fathers, however, had to face an exegetic problem, since Holy Scripture itself dealt with celestial phenomena in their capacity to influence or predict earthly events of great importance, e.g., the appearance of a star (interpreted sometimes as a comet) to the Magi. Astrology seems to have been rejected by the patristic authorities, but in the 12th C. the discussion was revived and often acquired a political significance.

Manuel I was a promoter of astrological interests, and it was in the court milieu of the 12th C. that the astrological poetry of John KAMATEROS and Theodore PRODRAMOS originated. In the 1180s Byz. astrologers were involved in active correspondence with their Arab and Western colleagues predicting disaster on the basis of the impending conjunction of planets on 16 Sept. 1186. Niketas CHONIATES ridiculed the extraordinary efforts designed to preserve the palace during the expected calamity. Manuel’s pro-astrological position prompted both disguised and overt criticism: while earlier in the century Anna Komnene restricted herself to a general disapproval of astrological views, Michael GLYKAS directly attacked Manuel and was subsequently thrown into prison and blinded.

During the Latin occupation of Constantinople (1204–61) little of an astrological nature seems to have been composed in Greek, except for the translation made by Alexios of Constantinople in 1245 of an Arabic version of the *Apocalypse* of Daniel, a work on celestial omens. In the Palaiologan period, however, the study of astrology revived with vigor. A dialogue entitled *Hermippos*, which offers a Christian defense of astrology, was composed in the early 14th C., probably by John Katrones (*PLP*, no.11551). But the most important Palaiologan astrologers were John ABRAMIOS and his pupil Eleutherios Zebelenos, also called Elias. Between 1370 and 1400 they revised many of the major classical and early Byz. astrological

treatises—Ptolemy, Hephaistion, Olympiodoros, and the beginning of Rhetorios—and the Greek translations of Shādhān and of Aḥmad the Persian. Eleutherios was apparently responsible for the vast compilation of Greek and Arabic astrology which he falsely attributed to Palchos. The labors of these scholars have served to obscure and pervert the true history of ancient and Byz. astrology, although they did preserve many fragments that would have otherwise been lost. Their work was to some extent carried on in the 15th C. by men like John CHORTASMENOS and ISIDORE OF KIEV.

ED. *Catalogus Codicum Astrologorum Graecorum*, 12 vols. in 20 pts. (Brussels 1898–1936).

LIT. D. Pingree, *The Yavanajātaka of Sphujidhvaja*, vol. 2 (Cambridge, Mass.–London 1978) 421–45. U. Riedinger, *Die Heilige Schrift im Kampf der griechischen Kirche gegen die Astrologie* (Innsbruck 1956). H.G. Beck, *Vorsehung und Vorherbestimmung in der theologischen Literatur der Byzantiner* (Rome 1937) 65–84. —D.P., A.K.

ASTRONOMY in Byz. began with commentaries on PTOLEMY. In the 11th C. this activity was supplemented by an infusion of short texts based on Arabic astronomy. Finally, in the Palaiologan period, two contrasting schools developed, one based on the Ptolemaic tradition and the other on Islamic astronomy presented in translations either from Persian and Arabic or from Latin.

From the 4th to the early 7th C. were produced the commentaries on the *Almagest* by PAPPOS and THEON, the summary of that work in the *Outline* of PROKLOS, and the introduction to it by EUTOKIOS; the two commentaries of the *Handy Tables* by Theon and that by STEPHEN OF ALEXANDRIA; and a large number of scholia connected with both of these works of Ptolemy. There was also collected together, perhaps already in the 4th C., a group of early treatises on spherics by Autolykos, EUCLID, and Theodosios, which formed a sort of corpus throughout the Byz. period. Other signs of astronomical activity in this period include the observations made by Heliodoros and Ammonios between 475 and 510; perhaps the planetary tables based on Babylonian goal-year periods that al-Zarqālī in the late 11th C. associated with Ammonios's name; and some papyrus fragments of *ephemerides* (tables of true longitudes of the sun, moon, and planets) based on the *Handy Tables*. In this early period elementary astronomical knowl-

edge was necessary for the church—both for its practical needs such as establishing the CALENDAR, esp. the date of EASTER, and for outlining the image and the history of the cosmos. GEORGE OF PISIDIA in his *Hexaemeron* was able to draw upon a good astronomical textbook (G. Bianchi, *Aevum* 40 [1966] 35–42).

The study of astronomy lapsed in Byz. after Stephen's commentary on the *Handy Tables* of ca.620 but continued to flourish outside the empire in Egypt, Syria, and Armenia. Its restoration in Constantinople in the 9th C. is attested to by the brief discussion of Greek and Islamic tables given by Stephen the Philosopher, probably in ca.800, and by the career of LEO THE MATHEMATICIAN. Further witness to the revival of interest in astronomy is the production of a number of deluxe MSS with astronomical contents during the 8th–9th C.; Vat. gr. 1291, which has a sun-table accurate only for 826–35, was dated by I. Spatharakis (*BZ* 71 [1978] 41–47) to the reign of Theophilos, but redated by D. Wright (*BZ* 78 [1985] 355–62) to ca.753, on a palaeographical basis. It was brought up to date until 866 and was in use possibly as late as the 12th C. A primitive text on computing the longitudes of the planets based on Vettius Valens (I 18) was written in 906 and was still being studied in the Palaiologan period (*Vettii Valentis Antiocheni Anthologiarum libri novem*, ed. D. Pingree [Leipzig 1986] 398–406). In addition an elementary *Quadrivium* with instructions and examples for using the *Handy Tables* was produced in 1007/8.

In the 11th C. Islamic astronomy began to be familiar to the Byz., as can be seen from some translations of Arabic star catalogs; from the writings of Symeon SETH (which may include the scholium of 1032 to the *Prolegomena to the Almagest*); and from an anonymous astronomical treatise written between 1072 and 1088 (A. Jones, *An Eleventh-Century Manual of Arabo-Byzantine Astronomy* [Amsterdam 1987]). From the 12th C., however, nothing survives. From the 13th C. survive mainly uninspired texts by Nikephoros BLEM-MYDES, George AKROPOLITES, George PACHYMERES, and John PEDIASIMOS.

In the early Palaiologan period, however, a knowledge of Ptolemaic astronomy was restored by Manuel BRYENNIO, Theodore METOCHITES, and Nikephoros GREGORAS and was continued into the later 14th C. by Nicholas KABASILAS and

Isaac ARGYROS, and into the 15th by John CHORTASMENOS and BESSARION. The interpenetration of theology, celestial mechanics, geography, and harmony is clear in the early 14th-C. miniatures inserted into Venice, Bib. Marc. gr. 516. Furlan (*Marciana* 4:40–48) related many of these diagrams to the thought of Manuel Bryennios and Pachymeres. Followers of the so-called Islamic school included Gregory CHIONIADIS, who by 1300 had translated into Greek a number of Persian and Arabic astronomical tables; this tradition was followed by George CHRYSOKOKKES and several anonymous treatises of the later 14th C. One work that encompasses both Ptolemaic and Islamic astronomy is the *Three Books* written by Theodore MELITENIOTES in ca.1361; also drawing upon both traditions were the pupils of John ABRAMIOS. Other Byz. discussions of Persian astronomy were composed on Cyprus in ca.1347 and on Rhodes in ca.1393.

The Latin texts translated into Greek include the *Toledan Tables* prepared on Cyprus in the 1330s, perhaps by George LAPITHES, and again by Demetrios CHRYSOLORAS with an epoch of 1377; and the tables of Jacob ben David Yom-tob by Mark EUGENIKOS in 1444. Immanuel ben Jacob Bonfils's *Seven Wings* was translated from Hebrew by Michael Chrysokokkes in 1435.

Classical Greek astronomical texts mention a number of observational instruments: meridional and equinoctial armillaries, a plinth, an armillary sphere, a parallactic instrument, and a diopter are all described in the *Almagest* of Ptolemy. The Byz. also knew about the construction of these instruments through commentaries on the *Almagest* by Pappos and Theon, and through the summary of it in Proklos's *Outline*. Ptolemy also described the principles of the two main time-keeping devices, the ASTROLABE and the SUNDIAL, in other treatises.

ED. *Corpus des astronomes byzantins*, ed. A. Tihon (Amsterdam 1983–).

LIT. A. Tihon, "L'astronomie byzantine (du Ve au XVe siècle)," *Byzantion* 51 (1981) 603–24. —D.P., A.C.

ASYLUM (ἀσυλία), the refuge given by the church to all Orthodox Christians seeking protection from the threat of imprisonment or physical harm. Sources refer to asylum as the "privilege" of the church; it was evidently established by custom. The earliest mention, in canon 7 of Serdica (a.342/3) (Rhalles-Potles, *Syntagma* 3:248–52), takes it for

granted, and there are no ecclesiastical laws establishing it, only civil legislation from the late 4th C. onward, acknowledging and regulating it. In 431 (*Cod.Theod.* IX 45.4) the boundaries of ecclesiastical sanctuary were extended from the nave and ALTAR to include the entire precinct of the church building and severe sanctions were introduced against the transgressors of the rights of refugees (J. Herrmann in *Beiträge zur Rechtsgeschichte, Gedächtnisschrift für Hermann Conrad* [Paderborn 1979] 271–82). In many cases, nevertheless, fugitives (e.g., political) were forcefully dragged from the church. The church punished such violations by the imposition of EPITIMIA and even EXCOMMUNICATION (cf. vita of TARASIOS, ed. Heikel, 407.11–37, 408.1–18).

Although Justinian I excluded from asylum the perpetrators of the crimes of RAPE, ROBBERY, ADULTERY, and MURDER (novs. 17.7 and 37), a significant change occurred in the 10th C. with the novel of CONSTANTINE VII, which allowed murderers the protection of asylum. By the 12th C. HAGIA SOPHIA in Constantinople had become famous as a place of asylum, esp. for killers (Nik.Chon. 342.9–15). It had a tribunal for such cases, headed by the PROTEKTIKOS, and certain parts of the church were known as the "Refuge" (R.J. Macrides, *Speculum* 63 [1988] 509–38). The right of asylum for murderers was again abolished by Manuel I (R.J. Macrides, "Justice" 190–204). In 1343 John V prescribed that those who sought protection in Hagia Sophia should head for a special room without disturbing the divine service (*Reg* 5, no.2886). Although there is less evidence for it, Hagia Sophia appears also to have offered protection to insolvent debtors (MM 2:448f, a.1400).

LIT. E. Herman, "Zum Asylrecht im byzantinischen Reich," *OrChrP* 1 (1935) 204–38. P.T.D. de Martin, *Le droit d'asile* (Paris 1939). G. Crifó, *Libertà e uguaglianza in Roma antica* (Rome 1984) 71–89. —A.P., R.J.M.

ATALANTA. See MELEAGER.

ATHANASIOS, archbishop of Alexandria, theologian, philosopher, and saint; born Alexandria 295, died Alexandria 2 May 373; feastdays 18 Jan., 2 May. After a fierce struggle (L. Barnard, *OrChrP* 41 [1975] 344–52), Athanasios was elected archbishop of Alexandria on 8 June 328. He

succeeded ALEXANDER, whom he had served as secretary and accompanied to the Council of Nicaea in 325. Continuing Arian influence at the imperial court caused Athanasios to be deposed and exiled five times (335, 339, 356, 362, 365); his removal in 362 was due to his refusal to be maneuvered by Emp. JULIAN into fomenting Christian infighting. Two early tracts (ca.318), *Against the Hellenes* and the *Incarnation of the Logos*, attack pagan mythology and defend the Christian faith against Jewish and pagan criticism, respectively. His major work was the refutation of ARIANISM in four books: the authenticity of the final volume has long been suspect, and recently C. Kannengiesser (*Athanasios d'Alexandrie évêque et écrivain* [Paris 1983]) tried to attribute the third book to APOLLINARIS.

The focal point of Athanasian theology is the concept of salvation, which Athanasios understood as the deification of man: "All are named sons and gods both on earth and in heaven." This deification is possible because the incarnate Logos who assumed human flesh was—in contradiction to Arian dogma—the genuine God, of the same nature as the Father. "He was not a man who later became God, but God who later became man in order to deify us" (PG 26:92C–93A). Athanasios explains the mystery of the generation of the Son-Logos by the Father by using the metaphor of the sun, which is constantly emitting its rays. Athanasios, however, did not elaborate a refined terminology to describe the TRINITY, nor did he draw a strict line between nature and hypostasis, nor between HOMOUSIOS and plain "likeness" (*homios*). Athanasios acknowledged the consubstantiality of the Holy Spirit.

The fragments of his biblical exegesis show some allegorizing tendencies. His 39th *Festal Letter* (367) contains an important list of Old and New Testament books, with distinctions between genuine and apocryphal works. His *Life of St. ANTONY THE GREAT*, a landmark in Christian literature and model for later hagiography, is a valuable source for early monasticism as well as for Egyptian social history and popular beliefs, esp. demonology.

Representation in Art. Athanasios was included in almost every painted group of CHURCH FATHERS as a balding white-haired bishop with a somewhat squared beard. His funeral is mentioned in the *Homilies* of GREGORY OF NAZIANZOS, and there are numerous representations of this scene in illustrated MSS of these *Homilies*; the scene takes the

form of a funeral around the bier, attended by bishops and other clergy (Galavaris, *Liturgical Homilies* 49f). He is often paired with his fellow citizen CYRIL of Alexandria, whose feast is celebrated the same day.

ED. PG 25–28. *Athanasius Werke*, ed. H.G. Opitz, W. Schneemelcher, M. Tetz, 3 vols. (Berlin 1934–38). *Athanasios: The Life of Antony and the Letter to Marcellinus*, tr. R.C. Gregg (New York–Ramsey–Toronto 1980). *Athanasios: Contra gentes and De incarnatione*, ed. R. Thomson (Oxford 1971), with Eng. tr.

LIT. F.L. Cross, *The Study of St. Athanasius* (Oxford 1945). *Politique et théologie chez Athanasios d'Alexandrie*, ed. C. Kannengiesser (Paris 1974). M. Tetz, "Zur Biographie des Athanasios von Alexandrien," *ZKirkh* 90 (1979) 304–38. H.A. Drake, "Athanasios' First Exile," *GRBS* 27 (1986) 193–204. J. Myslivec, *LCI* 5:268–72. —B.B., A.K., N.P.S.

ATHANASIOS I, patriarch of Constantinople (Oct. 1289–Oct. 1293; June 1303–Sept. 1309) and saint; born Adrianople ca.1235, died Constantinople ca.1315; feastday 28 Oct. From his youth Athanasios was an ascetic monk who moved frequently from one monastery to another: he resided in turn on the holy mountains of Athos, Auxentios, Latros, Galesios, and Ganos, and made a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. Soon after 1282 Andronikos II installed him in a monastery on the Xerolophos hill in Constantinople and eventually made him patriarch. Athanasios was deposed from his first patriarchate because of his unpopular insistence on strict monastic discipline and the requirement that bishops reside in their sees. After ten years in retirement, he returned to the patriarchal throne but was again deposed to bring an end to the ARSENITE schism.

His letters and sermons reveal a rigid and fervently pious individual who hoped to check the Turkish advance by urging repentance on emperor and people alike. Under his guidance the synod issued a new law (*neara*) in 1304 (*RegPatr*, fasc. 4, no.1607), confirmed by the emperor in 1306 (*Reg* 4, no.2295), which was designed to rectify injustices and raise moral standards; it covered such topics as inheritance, opening hours of taverns and bath houses, prostitution, and adultery. Athanasios sought to alleviate the sufferings of the poor and personally supervised distributions of food and clothing. He also organized a commission to control the supply and price of grain in Constantinople. At times he had considerable influence on the emperor; nonetheless his petitions were frequently ignored. After

his death his popularity led to the development of a local cult at his tomb where numerous miracles were attested. His sanctity was recognized sometime before 1368. Two vitae are preserved, both by Palamite authors, Joseph KALOTHEOTOS and THEOKTISTOS THE STOUDITE (*BHG* 194, 194c).

ED. *The Correspondence of Athanasios I*, ed. A.-M.M. Talbot (Washington, D.C., 1975), with Eng. tr.

LIT. *RegPatr*, fasc. 4, nos. 1549–60, 1589–1780, App. 1–12. J. Boojamra, *Church Reform in the Late Byzantine Empire* (Thessalonike 1982). A.-M.M. Talbot, *Faith Healing in Late Byzantium* (Brookline, Mass., 1983). —A.M.T.

ATHANASIOS II, Melkite patriarch of Alexandria (ca.1275–ca.1315). He was a former Sinaite monk who, because of the Mamlūk occupation of Egypt, spent most of his tenure in exile. In 1275 or 1276 Athanasios went to Constantinople, where Michael VIII and his son Andronikos (II) granted him monasteries, to provide him with both a residence and income. He rapidly became involved in ecclesiastical controversies and found himself in opposition to his contemporary patriarchs of Constantinople, GREGORY II and esp. ATHANASIOS I, who confiscated Athanasios's monasteries and forced him into exile on Rhodes ca.1289. Athanasios returned to Constantinople during the interval between the two patriarchates of Athanasios I (1293–1303). In 1294 he was entrusted with an embassy to Cilician Armenia that was aborted when pirates attacked his ship. Athanasios opposed the reinstatement of Athanasios I and by 1305 was again compelled to leave the capital. After a series of narrow escapes in Greece, he presumably made his way to the *metochion* of Sinai on Crete. The place and date of his death are unknown.

Athanasios was bilingual in Greek and Arabic and a cultured bibliophile who acquired several MSS in Constantinople for the see of Alexandria. His most notable acquisition was the 5th-C. Codex Alexandrinus (London, B.L. Royal 1.D.v–viii).

LIT. A. Failler, "Le séjour d'Athanasios II d'Alexandrie à Constantinople," *REB* 35 (1977) 43–71. *PLP*, no.413. T.C. Skeat, *The Codex Sinaiticus and the Codex Alexandrinus* (London 1955; rp. 1963) 31–33. —A.M.T.

ATHANASIOS OF ATHOS, founder of the Great LAVRA; saint; born Trebizond between 925 and 930, died Mt. Athos 5 July ca.1001. Baptized Abraamios, he began a career as a teacher in Constantinople but resigned and left the capital

for the Bithynian monastery of Kyminas, in which he lived ca.952–58 together with Michael MALEINOS. He then moved to Mt. ATHOS, where in 962/3, with the support of Emp. Nikephoros II Phokas, he founded the Lavra. Athanasios was closely connected with aristocratic families and was Nikephoros's private counselor. He effected a radical change in Athonite MONASTICISM, from scattered hermitages to large monasteries. With imperial support (the Lavra was granted SOLENNIA and lands), Athanasios initiated large-scale construction; he even died while supervising the construction of a church. He also introduced new time-saving devices (e.g., a *mechane* driven by oxen to prepare dough) and composed Rules for the monks (*typikon*, *diatyposis*, and *hypotyposis*).

Two Lives of Athanasios were written soon after his death: one by a certain Athanasios of the monastery of Panagios in Constantinople, another on Athos; the problem of their interdependence is not yet solved (A. Kazhdan, *Byzantion* 53 [1983] 538–44). The theme of both Lives is Athanasios's thwarted desire to escape earthly glory; he was unable to conceal his educated background under the disguise of illiterate simplicity, nor was his flight from growing popularity successful. The Constantinopolitan Life of Athanasios contains important evidence concerning the painter PANTOLEON.

Representation in Art. Portraits of the saint are found primarily in works associated with Athos: in manuscripts of the saint's vita and in churches under the influence of the Holy Mountain. He is depicted as an elderly man in monastic habit with balding head and a long white two-pointed beard.

SOURCES. *Vitae duae antiquae Sancti Athanasii Athonitae*, ed. J. Noret (Turnhout 1982).

LIT. *BHG* 187–88. P. Lemerle in *Lavra* 1:13–48. D. Papachryssanthou in *Prot.* 69–102. J. Noret, "La vie la plus ancienne d'Athanasios l'Athonite confrontée à d'autres vies de saints," *AB* 103 (1985) 243–52. G. Galavaris, "The Portraits of St. Athanasios of Athos," *BS/EB* 5 (1978) 96–124. U. Knoen, *LCI* 5:267f. —A.K., N.P.S.

ATHANASIOS OF METEORA, saint; baptismal name Andronikos; born Neopatras 1305, died Meteora 20 Apr. 1383. Born to a noble family, Athanasios was orphaned at an early age and entrusted to the care of his paternal uncle. He eagerly pursued both secular and religious studies in Thessalonike and Constantinople, where he met GREGORY SINAITES, ISIDORE (I) BOUCHEIRAS,

and Gregory AKINDYNOS. After a period on Crete as a hesychast, he became a monk on Mt. ATHOS in 1335 and took the name Antony (later changed to Athanasios). After a Turkish attack on Athos, Athanasios left the Holy Mountain ca. 1340 with his spiritual master, a hesychast named Gregory. The two sought refuge and tranquillity among the rocky spires of the METEORA in Thessaly. For years Athanasios lived in solitude; eventually he settled on a pinnacle called Platylithos ("broad rock"), which he named Meteoron ("suspended in midair"). Here he established a cenobitic community of 14 monks for whom he drafted a short rule (vita, 251f) and built a church dedicated to the Theotokos (later reconstructed and rededicated to the Metamorphosis). His anonymous Life (BHG 195) was written sometime after 1388 by a monk who had lived on Athos and had known Athanasios briefly at Meteora.

SOURCE. N.A. Bees, "Symbole eis ten historian ton monon ton Meteoron," *Byzantis* 1 (1909) 237-70.

LIT. PLP, no. 359. Nicol, *Meteora* 73-76, 88-105. D.M. Nicol, "A Layman's Ministry in the Byzantine Church: The Life of Athanasios of the Great Meteoron," *SChH* 26 (1989) 141-54. —A.M.T.

ATHANATOI (ἀθάνατοι, "immortals"), a TAGMA of noble youth. Created by John I Tzimiskes in 970 (Leo Diac. 107.11-12), they were armed and preceded the emperor on campaign (132.17-18). They camped, together with the HETAIREIA, next to the emperor's tent (Dennis, *Military Treatises* 250.100). The 10th-C. TAKTIKON of Escorial first mentions the *domestikos* of the *athanatoi*. John I's *athanatoi* probably did not endure; they are not mentioned again until the end of the 11th C. when, according to Nikephoros Bryennios (Bryen. 265-67), NIKEPHORITZES revived the corps of *athanatoi* and supplied them with armor, shields, helmets, and spears. Some chrysobulls of the end of the 11th C. (e.g., *Lavra* 1, no. 48.28) place the *athanatoi* together with the ethnic contingents, but S. Kyriakides (*Makedonika* 2 [1953] 722-24) strongly insists on their autochthonous origin. There is no evidence that the *athanatoi* survived the 12th C.

LIT. Ahrweiler, "Administration" 27f. Oikonomides, "Evolution" 143. —A.K.

ATHENA, in Greek mythology, daughter of ZEUS, virgin goddess of wisdom, and eponymous patron of Athens. Myths about Athena, drawn from the

standard classical curriculum of Byz. education, continued to furnish literary material down to the time of TZETZES, who reproduced them in his *Histories*. The *Iliad* passage (5.837-39) describing Athena's chariot creaking under her weight was often discussed by Christian apologists, who were concerned to reject the old embodiment of virginity and its power in Athena in favor of the new figure of the Virgin Mary. They ridiculed Homer's description: a weightless deity could not have caused that phenomenon (*Eust. Comm. Il.* 2:213.5-7). A 12th-C. historian (Nik.Chon. 158.70-72) used the same Homeric image to describe Manuel I's bringing of an icon of the Virgin into Constantinople on a chariot: in the triumphal procession, the vehicle did not creak under the true Virgin. In Gnosticism, on the other hand, the figure of Athena was used positively to represent the divine SOPHIA.

An antique bronze statue of Athena, 30 feet high, stood in the Forum of Constantine in Constantinople until just before 1204, when the mob, interpreting the hand's gesture as inviting the Latin army, tore it down (Nik.Chon. 558f). In Byz. art Athena appears in depictions of the Judgment of Paris (J. Trilling, *The Roman Heritage* [Washington, D.C., 1982] 46, no. 25; H. Zaloscer, *Die Kunst im christlichen Ägypten* [Vienna 1974] pl. 48). Clad as a Byz. empress, she is shown born from Zeus's head in illustrations of the scholia of pseudo-NONNOS OF PANOPOLIS on the homilies of GREGORY OF NAZIANZOS. George Gemistos PLETHON addressed a hymn to Athena in his *Laws*, hailing her as the power presiding over form (*eidōs*) and impelled movement (*kinesis gignomene*), who rejects the superfluous (Alexandre, *Pléthon* 210).

The Byz. TZETZES (*Historiae*, 1.176-77, 5.671-72) and Kosmas the Hymnographer (PG 38: 487.27-28) were also acquainted with the ancient myth that Athena, though a virgin, had borne to Hephaistos a son called Erichthonios: how the perpetuation of this legend is related to the contrast between Athena and the Virgin Mary is unclear.

LIT. W. Kraus, *RAC* 1:88of. Weitzmann, *Gr. Myth.* 50-52. —L.S.B. MacC., A.C.

ATHENAIS-EUDOKIA, wife of Theodosios II, augusta (from 2 Jan. 423); born Athens ca. 400, died Jerusalem 20 Oct. 460. The daughter of

Leontios, a pagan philosopher in Athens, Athenais (Ἀθηναίς) came to Constantinople where she was baptized, taking the Christian name Eudokia. She soon attracted the attention of powers at court, possibly those in opposition to PULCHERIA, the emperor's sister. Athenais married Theodosios on 7 June 421 and bore him three children. The oldest, Licinia Eudoxia (born 422), was to become the wife of VALENTINIAN III. In these years Athenais enjoyed considerable power and may have been the center of a faction of "traditionalists"—men such as her uncle Asklepiodotos and the prefect KYROS—who urged policies of religious moderation and supported classical culture. Athenais was, however, gradually eclipsed by Pulcheria, who gained increasing control over her brother. In 438 Athenais departed with MELANIA THE YOUNGER for the Holy Land, where she encountered Cyril of Alexandria and Barsauma. She returned to Constantinople the next year and reached the height of her power. By 443, however, she again fell from favor as a result of allegations of adultery. She went to Jerusalem in voluntary exile, but apparently retained her imperial title. She sided with anti-Chalcedonian monks in Jerusalem in 452. Although she was ultimately reconciled to Chalcedon, she was nonetheless revered in Monophysite tradition (H. Drake, *GRBS* 20 [1979] 381-92). Athenais was highly educated and obviously independent-minded; some fragments of her poetry survive. Her story was romantically enhanced by later Byz. tradition.

ED. *Eudociae Augustae, Procli Lycii, Claudiani carminum graecorum reliquiae*, ed. A. Ludwich (Leipzig 1897) 11-79.

LIT. Holum, *Theodosian Empresses* 112-224. Al. Cameron, "The Empress and the Poet: Paganism and Politics at the Court of Theodosius II," *YCS* 27 (1982) 217-89. F. Gregorovius, *Athenais, Geschichte einer byzantinischen Kaiserin* (Leipzig 1892). A. Pignani, "Il modello omerico e la fonte biblica nel centone di Eudocia imperatrice," *Koinonia* 9 (1983) 35-41. —T.E.G.

ATHENS (Ἀθήναι), city in central Greece, in late antiquity part of the province of Achaia, listed by Hierokles as the "metropolis of ATTICA." Sacked by the Heruli in 267 and ALARIC in 396, the city lost much of its ancient splendor and was surrounded by a fortification embracing only a fraction of its former area: at the end of the 4th C. Synesios of Cyrene described Athens in disparaging terms, as a place famous only for its production of honey. From the 4th to early 6th C.,

however, Athens maintained its place as an academic center and home of NEOPLATONISM, centered in the revived ACADEMY OF ATHENS and independent philosophical schools; among the students there were BASIL THE GREAT of Caesarea, GREGORY OF NAZIANZOS, and the future emperor JULIAN. Paganism apparently remained strong in Athens in the late Roman period, and Christian symbols did not become common on lamps until the early 5th C. (A. Frantz, *DOP* 19 [1965] 187-205). The empress ATHENAIS-EUDOKIA, an Athenian, was noted for her learning. The effect of Justinian I's closing of the Schools of Athens in 529 remains controversial (Al. Cameron, *Literature*, pt. XIII [1965], 7-29).

The city was apparently sacked by the Slavs in 582 but remained in Byz. hands; in the 7th C. there was some political recovery, highlighted by the visit of Constans II in 662/3. From the late 7th C. Athens was part of the theme of HELLAS. The city was threatened by Arab pirates but more peaceful relations are suggested by the probable existence of an Arab mosque (G. Miles, *Hesperia* 25 [1956] 329-44). It is usually assumed that during the Iconoclast crisis Athens supported icon worship; at any rate, Empress Irene, born in Athens, played a decisive role in the restoration of the cult of icons. In the early 9th C. another woman from Athens, Theophano, a relative of Irene, married the future emperor Staurakios (Theoph. 483.18). In 1018 Basil II visited Athens and gave thanks in the Church of the Virgin in the Parthenon for his victory over the Bulgarians. The letters of Michael CHONIATES, who was metropolitan of Athens 1182-1204, complain of the poverty of the city, the ignorance of the inhabitants, and the rapacity of imperial officials (J. Herrin, *DOP* 29 [1976] 253-84).

In 1204 the city withstood a siege by Leo SCOUROS, but by the end of the year it fell to Boniface of Montferrat, who appointed Guy de la Roche as the first duke of Athens. The duchy of Athens controlled all of central Greece and had interests in the Peloponnesos and as far north as BOUDONITZA; the dukes, however, had their primary residence at THEBES. In 1311 the city came under the control of the CATALAN GRAND COMPANY, who surrendered it to Nerio I ACCIAJUOLI in 1385 (K.M. Setton, *The Catalan Domination of Athens 1311-1388* [London 1975]). In 1394 it passed briefly to Venice and then to Antonio Acciajuoli

ED. *Archives de l'Athos*, ed. P. Lemerle, N. Oikonomides, J. Lefort et al. (Paris 1937-). (See entries on individual monasteries for editions of specific volumes.)

LIT. M. Manoussakas, "Hellenika cheirographa kai engrapha tou Hagiou Orous," *EEBS* 32 (1963) 391-419.

-A.K., A.C.

ATHOS, MOUNT, also called the HOLY MOUNTAIN (*Hagion Oros*), from the late 10th C. the most important center of Eastern Orthodox MONASTICISM. Athos ("Ἄθως") is the name given to the northernmost projection of the CHALKIDIKE peninsula, 45 km long, 5-10 km wide, as well as to the peak (2,033 m) that dominates this rocky finger of land. It is linked to the mainland by a narrow isthmus 2 km in width. The peninsula has forests, meadows for pasturage, and small plots of land suitable for vineyards, orchards, olive groves, and gardens.

Athos was virtually deserted when monks first began to settle there, probably in the late 8th or early 9th C.; according to the 10th-C. historian GENESIOS (58.22), in 843 Athos was already a major monastic community, but his evidence must be treated with caution. The theories that the earliest monks of Athos were refugees from the Arab conquests of the eastern provinces of Byz., or Iconoclast emperors, have now lost favor. The first arrivals seem to have come from nearby regions, and to have been attracted by the unsullied solitude of the peninsula. Monasticism developed slowly on the Holy Mountain, however, because of its isolation, its rugged terrain, and the danger from Arab pirates. The early monks lived as solitary hermits or in small groups; the pioneers on Athos included Peter the Athonite (D. Papachryssanthou, *AB* 92 [1974] 19-61)—a semilegendary figure—and EUTHYMIOUS THE YOUNGER, who arrived in 859. The first cenobitic monastery in the vicinity of Athos was KOLOBOU, founded near HIERISSOS sometime before 883. A fragmentary *sigillion* of Basil I (*Prot.*, no. 1, a.883) is the earliest preserved imperial act concerning the Holy Mountain; it protected the Athonite monks from the intrusion of local shepherds.

The date of the first appearance of cenobitic monasticism on Athos proper is impossible to ascertain, but by the mid-10th C. some *koinobia* (e.g., XEROPOTAMOU) are attested. In 963 ATHANASIOS OF ATHOS, with the support of Nikephoros

II Phokas, founded the Great LAVRA, which would soon hold first place in the Athonite hierarchy, a position it would maintain in perpetuity. By the end of the 10th C. many of the most important Athonite monasteries (e.g., IVERON, HILANDAR, ESPHIGMENOU, PANTELEEMON, VATOPEDI, XENOPHONTOS, and possibly ZOGRAPHOU) had been founded; by 1001 46 monasteries were in existence (Papachryssanthou in *Prot.* 86-93).

Monks from non-Greek lands began to come to the Holy Mountain in the 10th C.: the Georgian monastery of Iveron was established in 979/80, soon followed by the Italian monastery of the Amalfitans (see AMALFI). Orthodox Armenians (Chalcedonians) were numerous at Esphigmenou. In the 12th C. the peninsula began to attract more Slavic monks: Panteleemon was taken over by monks from Rus', and Hilandar was restored as a Serbian monastery. In the 13th C. Zographou came to be inhabited primarily by Bulgarian monks.

The organization of Athos in the 10th C. was relatively simple: the monks attended three annual assemblies at the PROTATON in KARYES and elected a PROTOS who represented the community in its relations with ecclesiastical and secular authorities. By the end of the 10th C. (?) this assem-

bly was replaced by an irregular "council" that attracted on the average 15 participants, but occasionally as many as 40. The larger monasteries became independent of the Protaton, with the *hegoumenos* of the Great Lavra acquiring a more prestigious position in the local hierarchy than the *protos*.

In the 10th and 11th C. Athos attracted considerable imperial attention. Romanos I Lekapenos initiated an annual stipend (*roga*) for the Athonite monks and ordered the demarcation of a frontier boundary, probably in 941/2 (D. Papachryssanthou in *Prot.* 55). The rapid growth of the Lavra under the patronage of Nikephoros Phokas prompted the resentment of many Athonite monks, esp. the anchorites who feared for their way of life. John I Tzimiskes' issuance of a *typikon* for Athos, the TRAGOS, between 970 and 972, attempted a compromise, recognizing the rights of *hegoumenoi*, *kelliotai* (the spiritual leaders of anchoritic groups), and solitary hermits to attend the assemblies at Karyes. Both Nikephoros II and John I envisaged Athos as a stronghold of "poor monasticism," but under Basil II some monasteries began to acquire lands beyond the boundaries of the Holy Mountain and were gradually transformed into great landowners. Cenobitism became predominant, to the detriment of hermitages. In the 11th-12th C. new monasteries continued to be founded (KASTAMONITOU, DOCHEIARIOU, KOUTLOUMOUSIOU), and the older ones expanded their possessions. Economic activities on Athos increased, such as the sale of wood from Athonite forests and surplus agricultural products (fruits, vegetables, wine) cultivated on monastic estates. Many monasteries owned boats for the transport of these goods and the importation of necessary provisions; these boats often were granted exemptions from customs duties. Despite John I's prohibition of the presence of eunuchs, beardless youths, women, and even female animals on the peninsula, in the 11th C. substantial groups of VLACH shepherds settled with their families on Athos and supplied the monks with dairy products. The "Vlach question" caused such a scandal that ca. 1100 Alexios I was forced to expel the herdsmen from Athos.

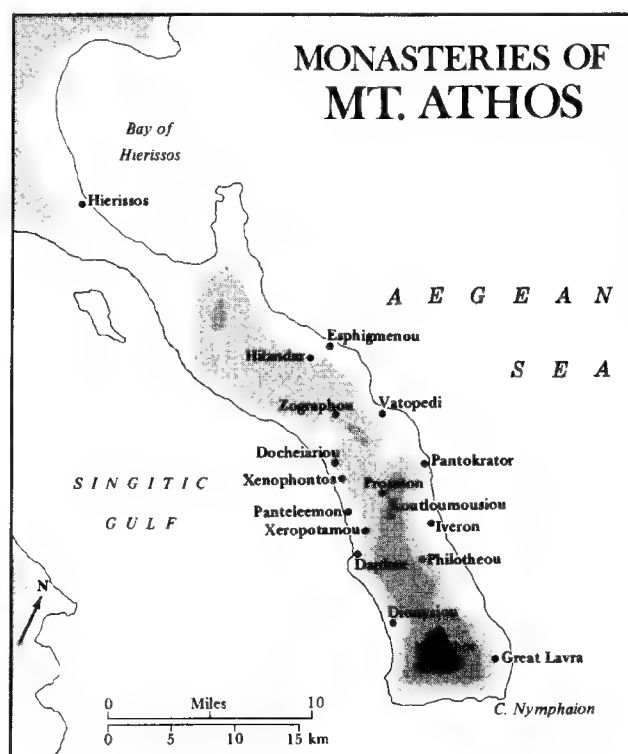
Constantine IX Monomachos's chrysobull of 1045 sheds light on the administrative development of Athos. The independence of individual

koinobia increased; Lavra, Vatopedi, and Iveron were the top-ranking monasteries, taking precedence over the central administration of the *protos*. The growth of landownership incited conflicts among monasteries over estates as well as clashes with local landowners, esp. in Hierissos; with the Cumans who had settled in southern Macedonia; and with imperial functionaries. On the other hand, the patriarchate tried to establish its jurisdiction (at least partial) over Athos, which had been considered as subordinate only to the emperor.

The fall of Constantinople to the Fourth Crusade in 1204 and the establishment of the Latin Empire led to a period of difficulty for Athos, as Macedonia was troubled by the Latin occupation, the rising power of the Bulgarians, and rivalry between the empire of Nicaea and Epiros. Athos came under the rule of the Frankish Kingdom of Thessalonike from 1204 to 1224, and the monasteries lost some of their properties outside the peninsula, which they sought to recover after the Greek reconquest of Constantinople in 1261. The reign of Michael VIII Palaiologos was, however, extremely unpopular on Athos, because of the persecution of monks who refused to accept the Union of Lyons of 1274 (G. Rouillard, *REB* 1 [1943] 73-84; J. Koder, *JÖB* 18 [1969] 79-88).

In the early 14th C. Athos suffered from the raids of the CATALAN GRAND COMPANY, but then enjoyed a period of prosperity during which several new monasteries were founded (Gregoriou, DIONYSIOU, PANTOKRATOR, Simopetra). Documents recording various privileges conferred by the emperors on Athonite monasteries (a practice which goes back to the 9th C.) are esp. copious from the first half of the 14th C. Whereas the privileges granted by the government in the 10th C. were primarily SOLEMNIA (stipends from the state treasury) and the chrysobulls of the 11th C. mostly established monastic *exkousseia* (immunity from taxes), the documents of the 14th C. were first of all donations of lands and *paroikoi*.

The properties of Athos took the form of fields, vineyards, pastures, mills, fishponds, entire villages, urban rental properties, and workshops. These possessions were concentrated in Macedonia (including Thessalonike), esp. on the Chalkidike peninsula and in the Strymon valley, but extended to Thrace, Thasos, Lemnos, Serbia, and



Wallachia. The bulk of the acts of Athos (see ATHOS, ACTS OF) concern these estates, and include *praktika*, charters of sale, exchange, and donation, in addition to imperial chrysobulls confirming the monasteries' titles to their property and guaranteeing fiscal immunity. All ranks of people, from humble peasant to emperor, were anxious to make pious donations to Athonite monasteries; in addition to the emperors at Constantinople, the benefactors of Athos included the Grand Komnenoi of Trebizond, the rulers of Serbia and Bulgaria, and *voivodes* of Wallachia.

In the 14th C. IDIORRHYTHMIC MONASTICISM developed on Athos, and the *koinobion* declined. By mid-century Turkish pirates were attacking the peninsula, forcing some of the monks to flee to PARORIA or to METEORA. The Ottoman threat led to government restriction on the growth of monastic properties and the confiscation of some Athonite estates in the second half of the 14th C.; thus, after the Turkish victory at Marica in 1371 half of the *metochia* belonging to Athos were transformed into *pronoiai* and transferred to soldiers. This policy was continued in the 15th C. (Ostrogorsky, *Féodalité* 161–76). After briefly occupying Athos in 1387 and from 1393 to 1403, the Ottomans established permanent control over the Holy Mountain in 1430. The Turks recognized the autonomy of Athos in return for the payment of annual tribute, but the monasteries lost their immunities and their estates in Thrace and Macedonia.

Attitudes toward the intellectual life were varied. *Kelliotai* and hermits, who placed an emphasis on spirituality and asceticism, had little use for books. As N. Oikonomides (*DOP* 42 [1988] 167–78) has shown, many of the Athonite monks came from a rustic background and were illiterate. Nonetheless in the *koinobia*, founded on the Stoudite model, there was more emphasis on intellectual pursuits, esp. from the 13th C. onward. The monasteries amassed important collections of MSS (B. Fonkić, *PSb* 17 [80] [1967] 167–75), some produced in their own scriptoria (e.g., at Philotheou, Hilandar, and Iveron). Among Athonite monks could be found composers (John KOUKOUZELES), hagiographers (Joseph KALOTHEOS), theologians (Gregory PALAMAS), and ecclesiastical writers (THEOLEPTOS of Philadelphia). With its international assemblage of monks, cultural interchange was inevitable: Hilandar, Zographou, Pan-

telemon, and Iveron became centers for the transmission of Byz. religious literature to Serbia, Bulgaria, Russia, and Georgia, respectively.

As the Holy Mountain par excellence from the 10th C. onward, Athos attracted Byz. monks for six centuries. Many holy men, whose custom it was to wander from one monastery or HOLY MOUNTAIN to another, spent time on Athos before moving on, thus reducing the cultural isolation of the Athonite monasteries. Because of its geographical proximity, Thessalonike, rather than Constantinople, had the closest links with the Holy Mountain. For some monks, like Palamas, a hegoumenate on Athos was the springboard to a bishopric; for others it might lead to the patriarchate of Constantinople as it did for NIPHON, KALLISTOS, and PHILOTHEOS KOKKINOS (R. Guiland, *EEBS* 32 [1963] 50–59).

It was one of the wandering holy men, GREGORY SINAITES, who introduced to Athos in the 14th C. the "Jesus prayer," which was adopted by a small number of monks. From this new method of prayer developed a form of mystical spirituality, a renewed emphasis on HESYCHASM that was championed by Palamas (J. Meyendorff, *DOP* 42 [1988] 157–65). After many vicissitudes PALAMISM spread all over the Byz. world and was eventually declared Orthodox by the local council of Constantinople of 1351 (see under CONSTANTINOPLE, COUNCILS OF).

LIT. *Prot.* 3–164. *Le millénaire du Mont Athos 963–1963*, 2 vols. (Chevetogne 1963–64). C. Cavarnos, *The Holy Mountain* (Belmont, Mass. 1973). I.P. Mamalakes, *To hagion Oros (Athos) dia mesou ton aionon* (Thessalonike 1971) 1–222. S. Lampros, *Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts on Mount Athos*, 2 vols. (Cambridge 1895–1900). —A.M.T., A.K.

Art and Architecture of Athos. Little survives of the 10th–12th-C. architecture of the Holy Mountain except for the principal churches of a few monasteries and portions of the perimeter walls. The earliest Athonite churches generally had an inscribed-cross plan with a central dome, triconch apse, a double narthex, and lateral chapels to the west (P.M. Mylonas, *Thesaurismata* 2 [1963] supp., 18–48). Instituted at the Lavra, this scheme was adopted at Iveron and Vatopedi and remained essentially unchanged until the double narthex was replaced by a unified rectangular space (sometimes called a *lite*) for singers at Hilandar. This scheme, in turn, was widely adopted, for example, at Koutloumousiou ca.1400. The

14th C. saw an expansion of the older monasteries, the addition of towers (PYRGOI) and other fortifications, and the creation of new institutions that tended to follow the established "Athonite type." Most of the chapels and living and service quarters now to be seen on Athos date from the 15th C. or later.

In the churches mosaic decoration survives only at Vatopedi and Xenophontos (now detached and kept in the "new *katholikon*"). The oldest preserved frescoes are at the *kellion* of Rhabdouchou (P. Mylonas in 14 *CEB*, vol. 2B [Bucharest 1971] 552–54); frescoes of 1312 survive at Vatopedi but are much overpainted. The well-preserved program at the Protaton is of similar date. Thereafter, however, with the exception of fragments in the monastery of St. Paul, almost no wall painting survives from the period between the mid-14th and the early 16th C.

From the 10th C. onward, Athonite monasteries received gifts of liturgical silver, crosses, textiles, sometimes richly covered books, and esp. icons (of which the Lavra has 3,000, mostly post-Byz.), which form the nuclei of their treasures today. A few objects are the donations of generous rulers and other patrons from the period before 1453 but, like the physical fabric of the monasteries, the vast majority of the treasures date well after the foundation of the institutions that now house them. Despite the arguments of V.N. Lazarev (*DChAE* 4 [1964] 117–43), there is little evidence for resident ateliers of mural painters on Athos in the Byz. period; A. Xyngopoulos (*CorsiRav* 11 [1964] 419–30) suggested that at least in the 14th C. fresco painters came from Thessalonike and possibly Constantinople. The name or epithet *zographos* of a 10th-C. monk (see ZOGRAPHO) suggests, however, that some artists took up residence; a 14th-C. workshop that made ICON FRAMES has also been hypothesized. Certainly masons were called in from the outside world in the 10th C. (*Prot.*, no.7.141–42). Many of the illuminated MSS in the monasteries' libraries reached Athos long after their creation elsewhere, just as many books with Athonite provenances are today to be found in libraries and museums outside the Holy Mountain.

LIT. M. Restle, *RBK* 1:389–421. G. Millet, *Monuments de l'Athos. 1. Les peintures* (Paris 1927). S.N. Pelekanides et al., *The Treasures of Mount Athos. Illuminated Manuscripts*, 3 vols. (Athens 1973–79). K. Weitzmann, *Aus den Bibliotheken des*

Athos (Hamburg 1963). E. Voordeckers, "L'art au Mont-Athos," in *Splendeur de Byz.* 262–74. —A.C.

ATRAMYTTION (Ἀτραμύτιον, l'Andremite of the Crusaders, now Edremit), city on the north-west coast of Asia Minor. Although obscure in late antiquity, Atramyttion was an important naval base when the Opsikian fleet stopped there during its revolt in 714, seized Theodosios (III), a native tax collector of Atramyttion, and made him emperor. Atramyttion was the northernmost city of the THRAKESION theme; in the 10th C., it was a *tourma* of SAMOS. The Turkish pirate TZACHAS completely destroyed Atramyttion ca.1090; Eumathios PHILOKALES rebuilt and repopulated it in 1109. It became a base for defense against Italian and Turkish attacks. Manuel I made it a center of NEOKASTRA; by 1185 it was the headquarters of a separate theme (D. Zakythenos, *EEBS* 19 [1949] 8). Plundered by the Genoese in 1197, it was briefly seized by the Latins in 1205 and ruled by them in 1213–24. In 1268, the Venetians had a concession in Atramyttion, but dangers from the Turks made the Genoese of Phokaia take control of it in 1304. It fell to the Turks of KARASI before 1334. Atramyttion was a suffragan bishopric of Ephesos; its site contains no significant remains.

LIT. Ahrweiler, *Mer* 223f, 289f, 349.

—C.F.

ATRIKLINES (ἀτρικλίνης), courtier in charge of imperial banquets. The term is of Latin origin, from *triclinium*, dining hall, but it has often been distorted as *artoklines*, from Greek *artos*, bread. In his *Kletorologion*, PHILOTHEOS, who was himself *atriklines*, describes his function as maintaining order at banquets by positioning dignitaries according to their titles and offices (Oikonomides, *Listes* 83.15–24). This presupposed a clear knowledge of titulature. Although Philotheos was titled *protospatharios*, the *atriklines* held a relatively modest place in the hierarchy. The *atriklines* was mentioned in the mid-9th-C. TAKTIKON of Uspenskiij; the seal of the imperial *atriklines* Smaragdus (Zacos, *Seals* 1, no.1606B) is dated in the 8th C. Some seals of *atriklinai* belong to the 11th C.; thereafter the fate of this functionary is unknown.

LIT. Oikonomides, *Listes* 27–29. Seibt, *Bleisiegel* 145–47, 183. —A.K.

ATRIUM (αὐλή, αἶθριον) an open court directly preceding a church, usually enclosed by four colonnaded porticoes (a *quadriporticus*) or, in churches possessing a narthex, by the narthex and three porticoes. Occasionally, as in Constantine I's church at MAMRE, simple wall enclosures replaced the porticoes. The form of the atrium was probably derived from that of the peristyle courtyards that often preceded Roman buildings. The conventional term *atrium* was apparently derived from the Greek *aithrion*, meaning an area under the open sky, rather than from the Latin *atrium*, the main room of an Italic house. The open court is also called a *louter*, a term derived from the ritual ablutions of hands and feet at the *kantharos*, or fountain, located therein. The atrium was not a requisite feature of church architecture in any period, though it was common in many regions in the 4th–6th C. When present, atriums served not only as places for washing but also for the separation of catechumens and for starting entrance ceremonies, as local customs dictated. Churches with atriums are extremely rare after the 6th C., perhaps because of changes in the entrance rite. The atrium reappears in the 9th C. in two notable examples in Constantinople, the Pharos (?) in the GREAT PALACE and the NEA EKKLESIA as well as in the 11th-C. Church of St. George of MANGANA.

LIT. C. Delvoye, "Études d'architecture paléochrétienne et byzantine," *Byzantion* 32 (1962) 261–91. Idem, *RBK* 1:421–40. D. Pallas, "Archaiologika-leitourgika," *EEBS* 20 (1950) 279–89. C. Strube, *Die westliche Eingangsseite der Kirchen von Konstantinopel in justinianischer Zeit* (Wiesbaden 1973). —M.J.

ATROA (Ἀτρώα), a plain at the foot of the Anatolian Mt. OLYMPOS, 7 km southwest of Prousa, where several monastic communities existed in the 9th and 10th C. Its most famous monastery was St. Zacharias, founded ca.800 by the hermit Paul and his disciple, Peter of Atroa. It served as the mother house for several smaller nearby monasteries. Paul was the first *hegoumenos* of St. Zacharias; upon his death in 805 he was succeeded by Peter. During the Iconoclastic persecution of Leo V and Theophilos the monks temporarily disbanded, to live in scattered hermitages on Mt. Olympos. In 821, when Peter was criticized by a group of bishops and superiors, he was defended

by THEODORE OF STOUDIOS, then in exile from Constantinople. After Peter's death on 1 Jan. 837, he was succeeded by his brother Paul and then his nephew James. Paul transferred Peter's remains from a chapel of St. Nicholas to a cave near St. Zacharias; many miracles reportedly occurred at this tomb. The monastery survived until at least the 10th C. when the future St. LOUKAS THE STYLITE spent three years there.

SOURCES. V. Laurent, *La vie merveilleuse de Saint Pierre d'Atroa (d. 837)* (Brussels 1956). Idem, *La Vita Retractata et les miracles posthumes de Saint Pierre d'Atroa* (Brussels 1958).

LIT. B. Menthon, *Une terre de légendes: L'Olympe de Bithynie* (Paris 1935) 49f, 88–121. Janin, *Églises centres* 135f, 140, 151, 184. —A.M.T.

ATTALEIA (Ἀττάλεια, mod. Antalya), city and bishopric of Pamphylia. Although inscriptions and remains indicate some prosperity in late antiquity, Attaleia became most important in the 9th–11th C. as a naval and military center. A special force of MARDAITES under a *katepano* attested in the 10th C. may have been installed in Attaleia as early as 689. Attaleia was apparently capital of the KIBYRRHAIOTAI theme; it was certainly a main base of the Byz. navy and a major entrepôt for trade with Cyprus and the Levant. According to IBN HAWQAL (10th C.), Attaleia was the center for collecting taxes on goods brought by trade or piracy from Muslim lands; the revenue from this amounted to 300 pounds of gold. He also states that the city was directly subject to the emperor and paid no taxes. Attaleia was a base of the imperial post that connected it with Constantinople in eight days by land and 15 by sea (Vasiliev, *Byz. Arabes* 2.2:414–19). Powerful Roman walls, rebuilt and extended by Leo VI, kept Attaleia from capture by the Arabs; it maintained its ancient size throughout the Byz. period. By the 11th C., Attaleia had a substantial Jewish community. Attaleia survived the turmoil after the battle of Mantzikert in 1071, remaining a center of imperial and Venetian trade, but by 1148 it was a Byz. island in territory overrun by the Turks. It was taken by the Italian Aldobrandini family ca.1204 and by the Seljuks in 1207. Attaleia, a suffragan bishopric of Perge, was elevated to a metropolis by Alexios I. Attaleia preserves the circuit of its walls, much of them Byz., and a large Justinianic cruciform church with a central tower, later transformed into a basilica.

LIT. K. Lanckoronski, *Städte Pamphyliens und Pisidiens*, vol. 1 (Vienna 1890) 7–32. M. Ballance, "Cumanin Cam'i at Antalya," *BSR* 23 (1955) 99–114. Ahrweiler, *Mer* 82f, 108, 187. —C.F.

ATTALEIATES, MICHAEL, historian; born Constantinople or Attaleia between ca.1020 and 1030, died after 1085 (according to Gautier, after 1079). A man of modest origins, Attaleiates (Ἀτταλειάτης) had a brilliant career: a senator and judge, he had the title of *proedros*; he also acquired properties both in Constantinople and Rhaidestos which he described in his *Diataxis* of 1077. Lemerle (*infra* 111) estimates Attaleiates' properties at approximately 150 LITRAE. In the *Diataxis* Attaleiates incorporated the history of his acquisitions into his autobiography, established rules for the monastery of Christ Panoiktirmon in Constantinople and the XENODOCHEION (in Rhaidestos), which he founded, and listed icons and liturgical objects belonging to the monastery. In 1073/4 Attaleiates issued a legal textbook, introduced by a survey of the development of Roman law from the Republic to the BASILIKA.

His major work is the *History*, encompassing the period 1034–79/80. Written primarily on the basis of firsthand observations, the book is less personal than the contemporary *Chronography* of PSELLOS, although in some cases Attaleiates describes his own role in events. The *History* is a rhetorical panegyric of NIKEPHOROS III: Attaleiates not only ascribed to him conventional imperial virtues, but emphasized his noble origin and military prowess—qualities absent from earlier MIRRORS OF PRINCES. At the same time Attaleiates demonstrated an unusual interest in the fate of cities and in urban movements and stressed the links between his hero and urban populations. According to E.Th. Tsolakis (*Byzantina* 2 [1970] 258), the final version of the *History* was completed after Nikephoros's deposition in 1081, and thus is not the work of a sycophant, but a sincere expression of political views. Less talented than Psellos in exposing the clash of human passions, Attaleiates sought the causes of events. Also an acute observer of nature, he described the ELEPHANT and giraffe with naturalistic details.

ED. *Historia*, eds. W. Brunet de Presle, I. Bekker (Bonn 1853). Fr. tr. of chs. 1–34 by H. Grégoire, *Byzantion* 28 (1958) 325–62. P. Gautier, "La Diataxis de Michel Atta-

liate," *REB* 39 (1981) 5–143, with Fr. tr. Zepos, *Jus* 7:409–97.

LIT. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:382–89, 2:465. Kazhdan-Franklin, *Studies* 23–86. Lemerle, *Cinq études* 65–112. E.Th. Tsolakis, "Aus dem Leben des Michael Attaleiates (seine Heimatstadt, sein Geburts- und Todesjahr)," *BZ* 58 (1965) 3–10. —A.K.

ATTICA (Ἀττική), the territory of ATHENS. In late antiquity there is evidence of considerable prosperity, and settlements existed at many places: early Christian basilicas have been discovered at Brauron, Glyphada, Anabysos, Koubaras, and Kalamos, among other sites. The silver mines at Laurion and Thorikos were apparently worked again and caves, such as that at Bari, were inhabited. G. Fowden (*JHS* 108 [1988] 48–59) suggests that increased production of silver was only partly responsible for this phenomenon, since pagans may have fled to more remote areas, and mountain passes were utilized in response to the barbarian danger. Along with the rest of the empire, Attica suffered from barbarian invasions in the late 6th through the 8th C.; although Attica certainly remained in Byz. hands, most of the settlements seem to have been abandoned: none of the Early Christian basilicas survived into later times.

Prosperity returned beginning in the 9th C., and many churches date to the 11th through 13th C.; most of these are simple cross-in-square structures, such as the *katholikon* at KAISARIANE. Several fresco programs of the 13th C. survive (e.g., N. Coumbaraki-Pansélinou, *Saint-Pierre de Kalyvia-Kouvvara et la chapelle de la Vierge à Mérenta* [Thessalonike 1976]); the former has a portrait of Michael CHONIATES. Porto Rapti on the east coast seems to have developed as a major port. After the Fourth Crusade a series of towers was constructed, linking Athens with the hinterland of Attica and the east coast. The soil of Attica is rather poor and, as in antiquity, the area specialized in the production of honey, olives, and wine.

LIT. Ch. Bouras, A. Kaloyeropoulou, R. Andreadi, *Churches of Attica*² (Athens 1970). D. Pallas, "He Palaiochristianike Notioanatolike Attike," in *Praktika B' Epistemonikes Synanteses ND Attikes* (Kalyvia 1986) 43–80. —T.E.G.

ATTICISM, the use in literature of an archaizing and artificial form of Greek, based on imitation of the language of Athenian writers of the 5th–

4th C. B.C. Perpetuated by teachers of rhetoric and codified in LEXIKA and textbooks, Atticism dominated the literature of the Roman Empire. Addressing an educated pagan public, Christian apologists such as CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA naturally used the Atticizing literary Greek their readers knew and accepted. As Christianity spread among the urban upper classes, Atticizing Greek, rather than New Testament KOINE, became the normal ecclesiastical language esp. of the 4th- and 5th-C. church fathers. For the Byz., the works of these church fathers became models of language and style no less worthy of imitation than those of the writers of classical Athens. Every Byz. revival of education and culture was accompanied by a reassertion of Atticism, often marked more by the avoidance of features of the spoken language than by imitation of ancient models; Homer, Gregory of Nazianzos, and George of Pisidia were as "Attic" as Demosthenes. Throughout the Byz. period EDUCATION perpetuated and institutionalized a distinction between spoken and literary Greek, which later widened and hindered the development of an expressive VERNACULAR literature. Thus PHOTIOS praised the simplicity of New Testament language but did not practice it himself. SYMEON METAPHRASTES rewrote in inflated language and style some early saints' Lives composed in a relatively popular language. Nikephoros CHOUMNOS declared that literary excellence required the imitation of classical and patristic models. While rhetoric, history, and theology were the domain of Atticism, technical writing, ascetic writing, and chronicles such as those of John MALALAS and THEOPHANES THE CONFESSOR were often couched in simpler language.

LIT. W. Schmid, *Der Atticismus*, 5 vols. (Stuttgart 1887–89). E. Norden, *Die antike Kunstprosa vom VI. Jahrhundert v. Chr. bis in die Zeit der Renaissance* (Leipzig-Berlin 1915; rp. Stuttgart 1958) 251–99, 392–407, 512–72. Browning, "Language." G. Böhlig, "Das Verhältnis von Volkssprache und Reinsprache im griechischen Mittelalter," in *Aus der byzantinistischen Arbeit der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik*, ed. J. Irmscher (Berlin 1957) 1:1–13. Eadem, *Untersuchungen zum rhetorischen Sprachgebrauch der Byzantiner* (Berlin 1956). C.A. Trypanis, *Ho Attikismos kai to glossiko mas zetema* (Athens 1984). —R.B.

ATTIKOS, bishop of Constantinople (Mar. 406–10 Oct. 425); born Sebasteia in Armenia, died Constantinople. After taking the monastic habit at an early age, Attikos joined the PNEUMATOMA-

CHOI; he recanted their teaching when he moved to Constantinople and became priest there. Poorly educated, he was not popular as a preacher (Sozom. *HE* 8.27.5–6). This was probably one of the reasons for his hatred of JOHN CHRYSOSTOM: Attikos was Chrysostom's major accuser at the Synod of the Oak (403), and even after Chrysostom's death Attikos was slow and reluctant to restore his name to the diptychs. More politician than theologian, Attikos left little in writing (Bardenhewer, *Literatur* 3:361f), but he did much to strengthen the position of the bishop of the capital: Attikos was on good terms with the court, dedicated to Empress PULCHERIA and her sisters a now-lost tract entitled *On Faith and Virginity*, and received from Theodosios II a personal privilege prohibiting the election of a bishop in the neighboring area without notifying the bishop of Constantinople (Sokr. *HE* 7:28). Attikos was active in fighting heresies (e.g., MESSALIANISM and PELAGIANISM) and gained the support of Pope Celestine and approval of Pope LEO I. Cyril of Alexandria was more cautious but found in Attikos an ally in his anti-Nestorianism (PG 77:97B). The traditional assertion, however, that Cyril quoted Attikos as using the term *theotokos* in a homily (PG 76:1213BC) is wrong; the term appears in the next quotation, from a certain bishop Antiochos.

ED. M. Brière, "Une homélie inédite d'Atticus, patriarche de Constantinople (406–425)," *ROC* 29 (1933–34) 160–86. M. Geerard, A. Van Roey, "Les fragments grecs et syriaques de la lettre 'Ad Eupsychium' d'Atticus de Constantinople (406–425)," in *Corona gratiarum. Miscellanea Eligio Dekkers*, vol. 1 (Bruges–The Hague 1975) 69–81.

LIT. *RegPatr*, fasc. 1, nos. 35–48. C. Verschaffel, *DTC* 1.2 (1937) 222of. A. Bigelmair, *LThK* 1:1016f. —A.K.

ATILIA (Ἀτίλιας), ruler (*dominus* in Jordanes) of the Huns (434–53). He was the son of Munduch and successor of his uncle Rua (Rugila). At first he ruled with his older brother Bleda, but assassinated him in 445. The center of his realm was in the basin of the Tissa and Timoš rivers, tributaries of the Danube; various peoples such as the Gepids, Goths, and Alans were under his power. Attila led several attacks against the northern Balkans, urging the emperors in Constantinople to sign peace treaties. In 434/5 (B. Croke, *GRBS* 18 [1977] 355–58) or after Feb. 438, he concluded a favorable treaty at Horreum Margi calling for an annual tribute of 350 (or 700?) pounds of gold. In 442 he reached Thrace; the

embassy of Nomos achieved a peace that lasted to 447 (B. Croke, *BS* 42 [1981] 159–70). In 447 the Huns advanced as far as the Chersonese and Thermopylae; when peace was arranged the tribute was increased to 6,000 pounds of gold. When Attila seized the territory from Pannonia to Novae, an embassy led by Anatolios and Nomos demanded and achieved the withdrawal of the Huns from this area. In 450 Marcian refused to pay tribute; surprisingly, however, Attila turned his attention westward, demanding marriage with Justa Grata Honoria (Valentinian III's sister) and a substantial portion of the Western Empire. His invasion of Gaul ended in defeat at the CATALAUNIAN FIELDS in 451. The following year Attila attacked Italy, capturing Aquileia, Milan, and other cities. He retreated after negotiations with Pope LEO I, probably fearing an attack of the Eastern army. He died of a hemorrhage in his camp on the night of his wedding with a Gothic woman named Ildico.

Jordanes describes Attila as a short man, broad-chested, with a large head, small eyes, and sparse beard. It has been debated whether Attila was only a cruel plunderer (O. Maenchen-Helfen, *BZ* 61 [1968] 270–76) or the founder of a new barbarian imperium, a forerunner of medieval steppe-states (G. Wirth, *BZ* 60 [1967] 41–69).

LIT. O. Maenchen-Helfen, *The World of the Huns* (Berkeley 1973). E.A. Thompson, *A History of Attila and the Huns* (Oxford 1948). Idem, "The Foreign Policies of Theodosius II and Marcian," *Hermathena* 76 (1950) 58–75. —T.E.G.

ATUMANO, SIMON, Greek humanist and Catholic prelate; born Constantinople early 14th C., died between 1383 and 1387. Born to an Orthodox Greek mother and Turkish father, his name, Atumano (Ἀτουμάνος), is probably derived from "Ottoman." He became a monk at the Stoudios monastery and in 1348 was named as successor to BARLAAM in the see of Gerace (Calabria). He converted to Catholicism and was Latin archbishop of Thebes from 1366 until his death. He made periodic trips to the West and taught Greek at the papal court in Avignon. After the conquest of Thebes by the NAVARRESE COMPANY in 1379, Atumano retired to Rome, where he taught Greek, Latin, and Hebrew.

His knowledge of Hebrew, unusual at the time, enabled him to prepare a trilingual version of the Old Testament dedicated to Pope Urban VI (1378–

89). He also translated into Latin Plutarch's *On the Control of Anger*, composed a poem on JOHN VI KANTAKOUZENOS, and wrote scholia on Euripides.

LIT. G. Fedalto, *Simone Atumano monaco di Studio, arcivescovo latino di Tebe, secolo XIV* (Brescia 1968). G. Mercati, *Se la versione dall'ebraico del Codice veneto greco VII sia di Simone Atumano, arcivescovo di Tebe* (Rome 1916). K.M. Setton, "The Archbishop Simon Atumano and the Fall of Thebes to the Navarrese in 1379," *BNJbb* 18 (1945–9/60) 105–22. *PLP*, no. 1648. —A.M.T.

AUDIENCE (δοχή, προέλευσις, δέξιμον), a ceremonial encounter between the EMPEROR and others. Its staging and locale varied over time and according to participants, but always used splendid setting and ceremony to maximize the impact of the emperor's self-manifestation. *De ceremoniis* suggests three main kinds of public audiences: relatively low-key daily or Sunday audiences (*De cer.*, bk.2, chs. 1–2, ed. Reiske 518–25); an audience of the factions (*De cer.*, bk.1., chs. 62–64, 66, ed. Vogt 2:88–101, 105–09); and, the most grandiose, audiences of foreign ambassadors (e.g., *De cer.*, bk.1, ch.89; bk.2, ch.15, ed. Reiske 404.1–408.4, 566–98). Typically, the emperor sat on a raised throne that was surmounted by a baldachin (*kiborion*, *kamelaukion*) and separated from the rest of the room by a curtain (*velum*, *velon*, *kortina*); porphyry disks (*omphaloi*) in the floor might guide participants' movements. Silence reigned during the audience and an official often spoke for the emperor. Participants were admitted in series, called *vela*, according to precedence, and performed PROSKYNESIS as they approached the emperor through the midst of AUTOMATA and ranks of guards and officials chanting acclamations; their hands were covered to prevent profanation of the emperor.

Despite rigid etiquette, the audience ceremonial was sometimes disturbed (e.g., *Vita Euthym.* 107.22–26), sometimes modified as an imperial favor (e.g., *XII panegyrici* 3 (11) 28.1–4, ed. R.A.B. Mynors [Oxford 1964] 141.9–22). Suppliants sought private audiences, esp. with the EMPRESS. The audience served as a framework for other ceremonies, such as promotions (e.g., *De cer.*, bk.1, chs. 43–59, ed. Vogt 2:26–83) or reconciliation with defectors (*De cer.*, bk.2, ch.37, ed. Reiske, 634f). Audiences granted by Byz. officials and elite followed a similar but less splendid pattern; they presumably explain the numerous audience rooms

identified by archaeologists in elite residences of the 4th–6th C.

LIT. D.F. Beljaev, "Ežednevnye i voskresnye priemy vizantijskich carej i prazdničnye vychody ich v chram sv. Sofii v IX–X v.," *Byzantina* 2 (St. Petersburg 1893) 1–308. Treitinger, *Kaiseridee* 52–101. —M.McC.

AUGOUSTALIOS (αὐγουστάλιος, Lat. *augustalis*), from the 2nd half of the 4th C. the title of the prefect of Egypt (K.J. Neumann, *RE* 2 [1896] 2361). The term reappears at the end of the 10th C. but its meaning is unclear; in the *TAKTIKON* of Escorial (of 971–75) the title is placed between the *epi ton deeseon* and *thesmophylax*. A letter of Nikephoros OURANOS is addressed "To the *protospatharios* Pothos, the former *augoustalios*" (Darrouzès, *Epistoliers* 222, no.11). A late 12th-C. (?) text is directed to a certain Katasampas as "*diktator* and *archistrategos* of our school of fish and of other sea animals, the *doux* and *augoustalios*" (S. Lampros, *NE* 7 [1910] 356.25–27), although the use of the term here may be ironic. Oikonomides suggests that the Latin *augustalis-augoustalios* could be translated into Greek as SEBASTOPHOROS.

LIT. Oikonomides, *Listes* 309. Ahrweiler, "Administration" 52, n.6. —A.K.

AUGUSTA. See EMPRESS.

AUGUSTAION, enclosed open space in Constantinople, situated south of HAGIA SOPHIA. Probably carved out of a preexisting agora called the TETRASTOON, the Augustaion is ascribed to Constantine I, who is said to have placed in it a statue of his mother Helena on a column (Hesychius in Preger, *Scriptores* 17). Remodeled in 459 (*Chron. Pasch.* 593.4) and again by Justinian I, the Augustaion served not as a public forum but as a courtyard of restricted access. It survived as an open space until the end of the empire.

Monuments. Several sculptural and architectural monuments were prominent features of the Augustaion.

1. *Justinian's column* was surmounted by his equestrian statue. The shaft of the column was of brick, reveted with brass plaques. The bronze statue appears to have been remodeled from one of Theodosios I or II. It represented the emperor wearing a *TOUPHA*, raising his right arm and holding an orb in his left hand (Prokopios, *Buildings*

1:2.11–12). The statue, delineated in a 15th-C. drawing emanating from the circle of CYRIACUS OF ANCONA and now at the University Library, Budapest, was removed by Mehmed II. P. Gyllius (1544–50) saw and measured parts of it in the grounds of the Seraglio before they were melted down (*De topographia Constantinopoleos* [Lyons 1561; rp. Athens 1967] bk.2, ch.17). The column itself was toppled ca.1515.

2. *Statues of three barbarian kings offering tribute* stood in front of Justinian's column and probably formed part of the same triumphal ensemble. These are known only from the accounts of Russian pilgrims (Majeska, *Russian Travelers* 134–37, 184f, 240).

3. *The Senate House* was situated on the east side of the Augustaion. Built by either Constantine I or Julian, damaged by fire in 404, and burnt down in 532, it was rebuilt by Justinian I with a porch of six huge marble columns (Prokopios, *Buildings* 1:10.6–9). (See SENATE HOUSE.)

LIT. Guiland, *Topographie* 2:40–54. Mango, *Brazen House* 42–47, 56–60, 174–79. P.W. Lehmann, "Theodosios or Justinian?" *ArtB* 41 (1959) 39–57, rev. C. Mango, *ibid.*, 351–58. —C.M.

AUGUSTINE, more fully Aurelius Augustinus, Latin theologian, bishop of Hippo Regius in Africa (from ca.396), and saint; born Tagaste, Numidia, 13 Nov. 354, died Hippo 28 Aug. 430. The son of a Christian mother and a pagan father, Augustine experienced a remarkable spiritual odyssey before converting to Christianity in 387. His major works were the *Confessions*, a sort of autobiography, and the *City of God* (*De civitate Dei*), contemplations on human conditions and goals, written after the sack of Rome by ALARIC in 410. The desire for SALVATION is at the center of Augustine's theology. Even though he wrote on subjects important in Byz. theology (MANICHAISM, ARIANISM), his major concerns were in other directions: for him the ideas of SIN, FREE WILL (in his polemics against PELAGIANISM), and REDEMPTION stood in the forefront, while the Eastern church was involved in the Trinitarian and Christological controversies. Augustine's command of Greek was shaky, but he probably knew some works of contemporary Greek theologians, for example, Theodore of Mopsuestia (J. McWilliam Dewart, *Augustinian Studies* 10 [1979] 113–32). His anti-Pelagian stand was known in the East,

but in 415 Palestinian bishops (at the synods of Jerusalem and Diospolis) disapproved of his views.

Certain of Augustine's statements were included in Byz. FLORILEGIA, and it is possible that Maximos the Confessor used him, without, however, mentioning his name (G.C. Berthold, *StP* 17.1 [1982] 14–17). Photios refers to Augustine, but the patriarch's knowledge of him was vague. Only in the 13th–14th C. did interest in Augustine arise, when Maximos PLANOUDIS, the KYDONES brothers, and Manuel KALEKAS translated and studied his authentic and spurious works.

ED. H. Hunger, *Prochoros Kydones, Übersetzung von acht Briefen des Hl. Augustinus* (Vienna 1984).

LIT. P. Brown, *Augustine of Hippo* (Berkeley 1967). M. Rackl, "Die griechische Augustinus-Übersetzungen," in *Miscellanea F. Ehrle*, vol. 1 (Rome 1924) 1–38. B. Altaner, "Augustinus in der griechischen Kirche bis auf Photius," *HistJb* 71 (1952) 37–76. D.Z. Niketas, "He parousia tou Augoustinou sten Anatolike Ekklesia," *Kleronomia* 14 (1982) 7–26. E. Pagels, "The Politics of Paradise: Augustine's Exegesis of Genesis 1–3 versus that of John Chrysostom," *HThR* 78 (1985) 67–99. V. Laurent, "Une effigie inédite de Saint Augustin sur le sceau du duc byzantin de Numidie Pierre," *Cahiers de Byrsa* 2 (1952) 87–93. —A.K., T.E.G.

AURELIUS VICTOR, SEXTUS, Latin historian; born Africa ca.320, died after 389. By his own account Aurelius was a man of poor rural stock who advanced by his literary skill. He was sufficiently in the public eye (perhaps a lawyer or civil servant) to catch the attention of JULIAN when that emperor captured Sirmium in 361, and Julian appointed him governor of Pannonia Secunda. Perhaps briefly in eclipse after Julian's death, he came back as *iudex sacrarum cognitionum* under Theodosios I, who made him urban prefect of Rome in 389. AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS, perhaps a friend, commends (21.10.6) his sobriety (more political than alcoholic).

Aurelius wrote a *Breviary* of Roman history from Augustus to the year 360, generally known as the *Caesares* or *Liber de Caesaribus*. Biographical in approach, it is conventional in opinions, moralizing in tone, and stylistically an uneasy amalgam of Sallustian brevity and the bureaucratism of his own age. Apparently a pagan, he was sensibly reticent on contemporary religious issues. His book may have enjoyed some currency into the 6th C., being mentioned by JOHN LYDOS (*De magistratibus* 3.7), albeit the latter's reference to it as a history of the civil wars suggests no deep knowledge.

Aurelius's work is to be distinguished from the *Epitome de Caesaribus*, which ends in 395.

ED. *Liber de Caesaribus*, ed. F. Pichlmayr, R. Gruendel (Leipzig 1966). *Livre des Césars*, ed. P. Dufraigne (Paris 1975), with Fr. tr.

LIT. H.W. Bird, *Sextus Aurelius Victor: A Historiographical Study* (Liverpool 1984). Den Boer, *Historians* 19–113. R.J. Penella, "A Lowly Born Historian of the Late Roman Empire: Some Observations on Aurelius Victor and his *De Caesaribus*," *Thought* 55 (1980) 122–31. C.G. Starr, "Aurelius Victor: Historian of Empire," *AHR* 61 (1955–56) 574–86. —B.B.

AUSTRIA, from 976 an eastern borderland, or *Ostmark*, of the German kingdom. In 1148, as part of an effort to maintain alliance with CONRAD III, Manuel I married his niece Theodora to Henry II of Babenberg (1141–77), Conrad's half-brother and the first duke of Austria. Walter von der Vogelweide praised her wedding. Theodora died in Vienna on 3 Jan. 1183. Two more Austrian dukes took Byz. princesses as their wives: Leopold VI (1198–1230) married Theodora, granddaughter of Alexios III Angelos, and the last Babenberg, Frederick II (1230–46), married Sophia, daughter of Theodore I Laskaris.

Rudolf IV of Habsburg was the first Austrian duke to be crowned Roman emperor (as Rudolf I, in 1273), but it was only later, with Frederick V Habsburg (as Holy Roman Emperor, Frederick III, 1443–93), that imperial ideology was clearly linked with Austria (*Austriae est imperare orbi universo*), a claim enhanced by the fall of Constantinople in 1453, making Frederick the sole emperor. The Austrian Habsburgs' claim to the Byz. imperial legacy was manifest in Frederick's wife, Eleanor, who offered to change her name to Helen and tried unsuccessfully to have her son Maximilian I named Constantine. The search for imperial legitimacy continued into the 15th C. with the emergence of legends linking the Habsburgs with the family of Julius Caesar and later with the Merovingians and ancient Trojans. The latter theory of descent contributed to an interest in Greek antiquity and ultimately to the cultural and political inheritance of Byz.

LIT. K.J. Heilig, "Byzantinische Einflüsse auf Österreich im XII. und XIII. Jahrhundert," *Reichspost* (Vienna), no.311, 11 Nov. 1935, 17f. Idem, "Ostrome und das Deutsche Reich um die Mitte des 12. Jahrhunderts," in T. Meyer, *Kaisertum und Herzogsgewalt im Zeitalter Friedrich I.* (Leipzig 1944; new ed. 1973) 1–272. P. Enepekides, "Byzantinische Prinzessinnen im Hause der Babenberger und die byzantinischen

Einflüsse in den österreichischen Ländern des 12. und 13. Jahrhunderts," 9 *CEB*, vol. 2 (Thessalonike 1956) 368–74. A. Wandruszka, *The House of Hapsburg* (London 1964) 14–23. —R.B.H.

AUTHOR. The self-perception of the Byz. author ranged from cloaking himself in complete anonymity to devoting profound attention to his own personality, the difference being determined by both genre and epoch. The author does not appear at all in such genres as rhetorical exercises, romance, and epic, whereas historiography, epistolography, poetry, epideictic oratory, and even sermons permitted more opportunity for overt self-expression. In hagiography, the author sometimes presents himself through the topos of *MOD-ESTY*; at other times he appears as the hero's relative or disciple. The author-disciple assumes an esp. elaborate role in the vita of BASIL THE YOUNGER; in some saints' lives, however, like that of ANDREW THE FOOL, the author-disciple is a fictitious figure introduced to give the impression of a truthful and authoritative account.

In the late Roman period the author often revealed himself, at least in the *PROOIMION*, or in autobiographical pieces (cf. GREGORY OF NAZIANZOS), but in the 7th–9th C. the trend toward anonymity prevailed. In the 11th–15th C. the individuality of the author became more apparent: epistolography flourished, and certain historical works (Psellos, Niketas Choniates, John Kantakouzenos) came close to the genre of AUTOBIOGRAPHY; in poetry, personal references are evident in Prodomos and Tzetzes, and some centuries later in Sachlikes. In poetry, as in hagiography, real personality is often mixed with *CLICHÉS*: thus the topos of the author's imprisonment (e.g., Glykas, Della Porta) or poverty is frequent. The "ego" of the verses of Ptochoprodomos (a young monk, a henpecked husband) is obviously different from that of the actual author. The author's self-expression takes various forms, from direct defense of his views (as in Gregoras) to a clever apology disguised as objectivity and sincerity (Kantakouzenos).

LIT. A. Kazhdan, "Der Mensch in der byzantinischen Literatur," *JÖB* 28 (1979) 11–13. Ševčenko, *Soc. & Intell.*, pt. II (1961), 169–86. I. Čičurov, "K probleme avtorskogo samosoznaniia vizantijskich istorikov IV–IX vv.," *Antičnost' i Vizantiia* (Moscow 1975) 203–17. —A.K.

AUTOBIOGRAPHY as a genre reached its peak in the 4th and 5th C. Its representatives both secular (LIBANIOS, SYNESIOS) and ecclesiastical (GREGORY OF NAZIANZOS) combined conventional rhetoric and playful exercises with a trend toward revelation of the psyche of the AUTHOR, his sufferings, and his search for the righteous path; the latter tendency toward sincere confession found an extreme expression in AUGUSTINE. Autobiography could be used (e.g., by NESTORIOS) for the purpose of self-defense. After this early peak, autobiography disappeared for a long period. It was revived in the 11th C. in the guise of historiography or even of extraliterary writing: Christodoulos of Patmos and Attaleiates prefaced their *typika* with autobiographical introductions. Attaleiates also dedicated some passages of his *History* to his own role; PSELLOS was even more self-oriented and made himself play a leading role in the history of his time as described in his memoirs. As a separate genre autobiography was produced by Nikephoros BASILAKES and further developed in the 13th and 14th C. by Nikephoros BLEM- MYDES, GREGORY II OF CYPRUS, Theodore METOCHITES, Demetrios KYDONES, etc. (I. Ševčenko in *La civiltà bizantina del XII al XV secolo* [Rome 1982] 116). MICHAEL VIII PALAIOLOGOS prefaced a *ty-pikon* with his autobiography. The most sophisticated Byz. memoirs, verging on autobiography, were those of JOHN VI KANTAKOUZENOS: written in the third person, they are an apology for his political failure, cloaked in the disguise of objectivity and sincerity. Even though autobiographies may include some hagiographical elements (e.g., in Blemmydes), they have a different function, emphasizing not the modesty of the author-hero, but his talent, knowledge, and political significance at the court.

LIT. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:165–70. G. Misch, *Geschichte der Biographie*, vol. 1.2 (Bern 1950) 551–704; 3.2 (Frankfurt am Main 1962) 749–903. J. Irmscher, "Autobiographien in der byzantinischen Literatur," *Studia byzantina* 2 (Berlin 1973) 3–11. N. Austin, "Autobiography and History: Some Later Roman Historians and their Veracity," in Croke-Emmett, *Historians* 54–65. —A.K.

AUTOCEPHALOUS (αὐτοκέφαλος), the term used in Byz. canon law and in the NOTITIAE EPISCOPATUUM to designate each diocese possessing the right to elect its own primate or *kephale*,

"head." These dioceses were completely self-governing, that is, independent of the five ancient PATRIARCHATES. The practice and the term itself were already established by the 6th C. (cf. THEODORE LECTOR 121.21). As BALSAMON emphasizes, before the patriarchal centralization of the 4th C. all provincial primates or METROPOLITANS were, in fact, autocephalous and were ordained by their own synods (PG 137:317D). Autocephaly was determined either by an ecumenical council (431, Cyprus), imperial decision (10th C., Bulgaria) or, as in the case of Georgia, by a disposition of the mother-church in the 8th C. (Balsamon, PG 137:320A). The autocephalic churches of Cyprus and Bulgaria followed the five patriarchates in order of rank (cf. *Hieroclis Synecdemus et Notitiae Graecae Episcopatum. Accedunt Nili Doxapatrui Notitia Patriarchatum et Locorum Nomina Immutata*, ed. G. Parthey [Berlin 1866] 284–86). The primate usually carried the title of metropolitan, ARCHBISHOP, or, occasionally, patriarch.

Apart from its primary meaning, the term was also used to define a distinct group of bishops without suffragans ("autocephalous archbishops") whose immediate superior was the patriarch (Laurent, *Corpus* 5.1, nos. 817–70). These bishops were not subject to any metropolitan, although in terms of precedence they followed the metropolitans.

LIT. A.D. Kyriakos, "Das System der autokephalen, selbständigen orthodoxen Kirchen," *Revue internationale de théologie* 10 (1902) 99–115, 273–86. F. Heiler, *Urkirche und Ostkirche* (Munich 1937) 153–78. Laurent, *Corpus* 5.2, nos. 1478–1510. —A.P.

AUTOKRATOR (αὐτοκράτωρ), official Greek translation of *imperator*, or emperor, until 629; used alongside BASILEUS and other titles thereafter. The Greek term *autokrator* lacked the Latin's military connotations, emphasizing rather autonomous power and monarchy. Christians had used the Roman monarchy to argue monotheism's superiority over polytheism, but after Constantine I's conversion monotheism buttressed the legitimacy of monarchy, which was already advocated by Hellenistic political philosophy and justified by analogies with the animal kingdom, for example, the "king" bee (F. Dvornik, *Early Christian and Byzantine Political Philosophy*, vol. 2 [Washington 1966] 611–723). The title *autokrator* appears on coins from 912, in CHRYSOBULLS from the 11th

C., and in contemporary legends to miniature paintings depicting emperors. Outside of *intitulationes* and ACCLAMATIONS, the term developed a specialized meaning no later than the early 9th C. that, like *megas basileus* (cf. P. Schreiner, *Byzantina* 3 [1971] 173–92), distinguished the main emperor from co-emperors. Thus, *autokratoria* referred to the anniversary ceremonies of an emperor's assumption of actual power as opposed to his CORONATION (e.g., Oikonomides, *Listes* 225.10–11; *De cer.*, bk. 2, ch. 33, ed. Reiske 632.4–11). The Palaiologoi extended the use of the title to mark one of several co-emperors as designated heir (cf. pseudo-Kod. 252.24–253.3).

LIT. Dölger, *Diplomatik* 102–51.

—M.McC.

AUTOMATA, devices powered by compressed air from bellows or by water, were displayed in the MAGNAURA and testified to in the 10th C. by Constantine VII and Liutprand of Cremona. Their existence in the 9th C. is surrounded with legends: they are said to have been constructed during the reign of Theophilos (Glykas names LEO THE MATHEMATICIAN as their engineer) and then destroyed by Michael III, who was in need of money (presumably they were melted down to extract their precious metals). The Magnaura automata included the throne of Solomon, which could be lifted high in the air; mechanical singing birds, perched in a gold tree, that fluttered their wings; and roaring golden lions. Writers in CHINA report on a gold human figure that marked the hours by striking BELLS. Mechanical singing birds are also mentioned in romances (e.g., the *Achilleis*). The origin of the automata is unclear: Grabar (*Fin Ant.* 1:286) argued that the machines at Theophilos's court were imported from Baghdad, but related contrivances, such as ORGANS and GREEK FIRE, suggest that automata may have been native inventions based ultimately on the work of Heron of Alexandria.

LIT. R. Hammerstein, *Macht und Klang* (Bern 1986) 43–58. G. Brett, "The Automata in the Byzantine Throne of Solomon," *Speculum* 29 (1954) 477–87. —A.C., A.K.

AUTOREIANOS (Ἀντωρειανός, fem. Ἀντωρειανή), a family of state and church officials. The etymology of the name is unclear; it may be of Western origin. Autoreianoι are known from

the 1080s onward as judges (Michael in 1094 and perhaps 1082—see Gautier, "Blachernes" 258; John in 1196—see *Lavra* 1, nos. 67.2, 68.2) and notaries (Theodosios in 1088—*Patmou Engrapha* 1, no. 48A.205). One family member became patriarch as MICHAEL IV, another as ARSENIOS. Circa 1302–07 Phokas Autoreianos, *grammatikos*, served as *doux* of Thrakesion (Ahrweiler, "Smyrne" 151–54). They were apparently a family of intellectuals: Theodosios Autoreianos (mid-12th C.) corresponded with John TZETZES; the future patriarch Michael was a friend of EUSTATHIOS OF THESSALONIKE and Michael CHONIATES; and some Autoreianoï were among the correspondents of Nikephoros CHOUMNOS and Maximos PLANOUEDES.

LIT. *PLP*, nos. 1691–96.

—A.K.

AUTOURGION (αὐτούργιον, lit. "operated without assistance"), a property producing maximum revenue, *euprosodon* (Zonaras in Rhalles-Potles, *Syntagma* 2:593.19–20). Balsamon (ibid. 595.4–7) includes in this category salt pans, olive groves, vineyards, meadowland, water mills, brickyards, etc. The term is infrequent in later acts, in which it also refers to vineyards, *vivaria*, *aulakia* (canals? cf. *Lavra* 2, no. 104.177–79), and water mills (no. 112.24). *Autourgia* are usually contrasted with peasants' allotments and juxtaposed with such items of income as fairs, taxes, tolls, etc. (Zepos, *Jus* 1:382.22–25). Such capital-intensive assets could be exploited as DEMESNE property and thus did not need to be rented out to peasants; they were conceived as the most valuable part of the estate. The term *autourgion* was also applied to any property that earned a profit.

LIT. N. Svoronos, "Les privilèges de l'église à l'époque des Comnènes," *TM* 1 (1965) 329, n.22. Dölger, *Beiträge* 151. F.I. Uspenskij, "Mnenija i postanovlenija konstantinopol'skich pomestnykh soborov," *IRAİK* 5 (1900) 42–45. N.B. Tomadakes, "Byzantine engeios horologia," *Athina* 75 (1974–75) 69–72.

—M.B.

AUXENTIOS (Ἀὐξέντιος), saint; born Syria ca. 420, died Bithynia 14 Feb. ca. 470. He came to Constantinople during the reign of Theodosios II and served as a soldier of the fourth *schola*. Circa 442 he resigned and left for Mt. Oxeia to live in solitude. His Life states that Emp. Marcian invited Auxentios to the Council of Chalcedon in 451, but the council acts do not mention him. During his second stay in Constantinople, Auxentios was

closely connected with the ROUPHINIANAI monastery. Suspected of disagreeing with the decisions of the Council of Chalcedon, he cleared himself before Marcian. He left Constantinople again, for a cave on Mt. Skopa in Bithynia, where he lived as a hermit. A monastery that took the Saint's name was later founded on this mountain (see AUXENTIOS, MOUNT). A noble lady Eleuthera (Stephanis in Psellos), the chambermaid of Empress PULCHERIA, urged Auxentios to support the foundation of a nunnery in a nearby *proasteion*, Gyreta; Auxentios was buried in its chapel. Auxentios is said to have compiled "pleasant and useful troparia of two or three stanzas with plain and artless melody" (PG 114:1416A). His Life is known from the collection of SYMEON METAPHRASTES; this late version was reworked by PSELLOS, who emphasized Auxentios's role as imperial councilor and courageous market reformer and noted that he suffered from depression; Psellos also ascribed to Auxentios some features of his own biography (A. Kazhdan, *Byzantion* 53 [1983] 546–56).

Representation in Art. In the MENOLOGION OF BASIL II (p.399), Auxentios appears as an orant monk; in the THEODORE PSALTER (fols. 38v, 96v) he appears once as a bishop bearing witness before Christ to the defeat of two armed men by an angel and once as a monk bearing witness to the defeat of two demons.

SOURCES. PG 114:1377–1436. P.-P. Joannou, *Démonologie populaire—démonologie critique au XI^e siècle* (Wiesbaden 1971) 64–132. *Vie de st. Auxence*, ed. L. Clugnet [= *BHO* 6] (Paris 1904) 3–14.

LIT. *BHG* 199–203c.

—A.K., N.P.Š.

AUXENTIOS, MOUNT, a HOLY MOUNTAIN dotted with hermitages and monasteries, present-day Kayışdağ, located near Constantinople, 12 km southeast of Chalcedon. Called Skopa or Skopos in antiquity, the mountain took its name from the 5th-C. Syrian St. AUXENTIOS, who spent the last 20 years of his life in a cave near the summit. Both men and women flocked to the mountain to live as solitaries under Auxentios's spiritual leadership. Circa 460 a certain Eleuthera built the convent of Trichinarea (sometimes called Trichinaraiai) at the base of the mountain for 70 of these pious women. It survived until at least the end of the 12th C.

No male monastery was built until the 8th C., when STEPHEN THE YOUNGER constructed a com-

plex for about 20 monks. Shortly thereafter he and his companions were exiled and the monastery destroyed during the Iconoclastic persecution of Constantine V. Sources of the 11th–13th C. report a number of monasteries under different names, including St. Stephen, Holy Apostles, the Archangel Michael, and the Holy Five (five Armenian martyrs of the early 4th C.), where Maximos PLANOUEDES was *hegoumenos*. Some of these names may refer to the same institution, restored with a new dedication. The monastery of the Archangel Michael was renovated by Michael VIII, who composed a *typikon* limiting the number of monks to 40.

SOURCE. Dmitrievskij, *Opisanie* 1:769–94.

LIT. L. Clugnet, J. Pargoire, *Vie de saint Auxence: Mont Saint-Auxence* (Paris 1904). Janin, *Églises centres* 43–50. Beck, *Kirche* 208, 687, 692, 696.

—A.M.T.

AUXILIARY DISCIPLINES (from Lat. *auxilium*, "help, assistance"), designation of certain branches of knowledge that apply general and concrete approaches (methodology and technique) to the analysis (primarily the external analysis) of historical sources. Traditionally, auxiliary disciplines include PALAEOGRAPHY, EPIGRAPHY, PAPYROLOGY, DIPLOMATICS, NUMISMATICS, SIGILLOGRAPHY, METROLOGY, PROSOPOGRAPHY, CHRONOLOGY, genealogy, historical geography, TOPONYMICS, and heraldry. Source analysis (Germ. *Quellenkunde*) can also be described as an auxiliary discipline. The analysis of archaeological objects, elaborated in recent decades, requires the application of various scientific disciplines, such as geology, palaeobotany and palaeozoology, archaeometry, aerial photography, dendrochronology, physics, etc. Statistics employed for analysis of mass data has emerged as an auxiliary discipline as well. All of these disciplines have methods of their own, but their common goal is to provide the scholar with means of control and categorization of source material, of discarding false "information," of placing historical events within the framework of space and time. From the use of auxiliary disciplines we must distinguish the application of interdisciplinary methodology, for example, the utilization of literary and archaeological evidence to resolve common problems.

LIT. L.F. Genicot, *Introduction aux sciences auxiliaires traditionnelles de l'histoire de l'art* (Louvain-la-Neuve 1984).

—T.E.G., A.K.

AVARS ("Ἀβάραι), a nomadic people that appeared in the mid-6th C. in the steppe north of the Black Sea. Their previous history can be established only hypothetically, on the basis of identifications in Chinese and Byz. sources. Their language is thought to be Altaic.

The first Avar embassy appeared in Constantinople in 558. Justinian I concluded an alliance with the Avars and used them to alleviate the pressure of Pontic barbarians on the Byz. frontier. The Avars were able to control both COTRIGURS and ANTAE, but they then invaded SCYTHIA MINOR and occupied PANNONIA after having destroyed the GEPIDS. The growth of Avar power created frictions in their relations with Byz.; under the command of BAIAN, the Avars, acting in alliance with the Slavs, conquered a part of the northern Balkans, including SIRMUM (582). The emperor Maurice's attempts to stop the Avars were unsuccessful; in 626 their offensive reached its peak when, together with the Persians, they besieged Constantinople. Thereafter, the first signs of disintegration of the Avar confederation (khaganate) became visible: the Croats and Serbs joined Emp. Herakleios in his struggle against the Avars and ca. 635 KUV RAT acquired independence from the Avars. We know nothing about the Avars from 680 to 780. At the end of the 8th C., they reappeared in the West but were defeated by Charlemagne. In 805 Krum subjugated a group of Avars; survivors of the group were mentioned for the last time ca. 950.

The Avars were mounted warriors and used the iron STIRRUP, saber, long lance, and reflex-bow that gave them tactical advantages in battle. Excavated Avar hoards contain luxurious objects of Byz. origin as well as Avar arms and complex belt sets that must have indicated the social status of their owners. Familiarity of the Avars with the forms of Byz. metalwork and jewelry is suggested by the objects in the MALAJA PEREŠČEPINA and other treasures. By the end of the 7th C. wealthy tombs disappear; luxurious booty is replaced by ordinary bronze and bone objects. The Avars became more sedentary, but they remained pagan.

LIT. S. Szádeczky-Kardoss, *Avarica* (Szeged 1986). A. Kollautz, H. Miyakawa, *Geschichte und Kultur eines völkerwanderungszeitlichen Nomadenvolkes*, vols. 1–2 (Klagenfurt 1970). A. Avenarius, *Die Awaren in Europa* (Bratislava 1974). Idem, "Die Konsolidierung des Awarenkhaganates und

Byzanz im 7. Jahrhundert," *Byzantina* 13.2 (1985-86) 1019-32. F. Daim, "The Avars," *Archaeology* 37.2 (1984) 33-39. W. Pohl, *Die Awaren* (Munich 1988). —A.K., A.C.

AVLON (Αὐλὼν, lit. "a hollow between hills," Ital. Valona), a harbor in Epiros mentioned in the *Tabula Peutingeriana* and the Cosmographer of Ravenna. It was known during the late Roman period as a "polis on the Ionian gulf" (Prokopios, *Wars* 5.4.21) connected with Italy and as a bishopric (first mentioned in 458). It played an important role during the wars against the Normans in the 1080s, and at the end of the 11th C. the Venetians obtained trading privileges there, probably as a reward for their assistance in the anti-Norman war. It was assigned to the Venetians after 1204 but recovered by Michael I Komnenos Doukas of Epiros. In 1259 Michael II of Epiros surrendered Avlon to Manfred of Sicily who appointed Philip Chinardo to administer the area; in 1273 the Angevins established their power in Valona, but after 1284 the Byz. managed to occupy it. Valona, called *civitas imperatoris Graecorum* in Latin documents, served as a center of trade with Dubrovnik and Venice. The Angevins claimed Avlon until ca. 1332, when the Albanians attacked it; in 1345/6 it fell to Stefan Uroš IV Dušan. After his death it formed a part of the dominions of the Serbian family of Balša; by 21 July 1418 it was in Turkish hands. Avlon should be distinguished from other centers of the same name, such as a suffragan bishopric of Athens (*TIB* 1:130f) or a valley in Palestine.

LIT. W. Miller, "Valona," *JHS* 37 (1917) 184-94. W. Tomaschek, *RE* 2 (1896) 2414f. —A.K.

AVRAAMIJ OF SMOLENSK, saint; fl. early 13th C.; feastday 21 Aug. Avraamij was a popular and controversial preacher and painter of icons on eschatological themes. The vita by his pupil Efrem presents Avraamij as a learned and ascetic monk—physically "a likeness of St. Basil"—who attracted a large lay following and aroused the hostility of the SMOLENSK clergy. Accused of heresy, of using secret or forbidden books (*g(o)lubinnyja knigy*), of prophesy, and of taking others' (spiritual?) children, he was acquitted by the secular authorities and eventually made peace with his bishop. Avraamij's rhetoric and images, as reported by Efrem, as well as an extant sermon titled *On the Celestial Powers* sometimes attributed to Avraamij,

concentrate on two topics: the fate of the soul after death, esp. its passage through the "customs houses" (*mytarstva, teloniai*) as described in the Life of BASIL THE YOUNGER, and the Last Judgment, for whose depiction Avraamij was inspired by EPHREM THE SYRIAN. Historians have tried, with little success, to specify Avraamij's alleged "heretical" interests, linking his enigmatic and perhaps imaginary *g(o)lubinnyja knigy* with both the BOGOMILS (G. Fedotov, *Pravoslavnaia mysl'* 2 [1930] 127-47) and the 14th-C. *strigol'niki* (B. Rybakov, *SovArch* [1964] no. 2, 179-87).

ED. "Slovo o nebesnykh silach," ed. S.P. Ševyrev, *Izvestija Imperatorskoj AN po otdeleniju russkogo jazyka i slovesnosti* 9.3 (1860) 182-92.

SOURCE. *Žitija prepodobnago Avraamija Smolenskago*, ed. S.P. Rozanov (St. Petersburg 1912; rp. Munich 1970).

LIT. Fedotov, *Mind* 1:158-75. Podskalsky, *Rus'* 101-03, 139-42, 238-40. —S.C.F.

‘AWĀŠIM AND THUGHŪR, the Muslim regions and their defenses and fortifications along the Syrian-Anatolian border of Byz. from the time of ‘UMAR to the late 10th C. The ‘Awāšim were the inner regions of the frontier zone; the outer ones were the Thughūr. They included towns located at entrances to the Taurus Mountains or intersections of roads. The ‘Awāšim became a distinct entity after caliph Hārūn al-Rashid separated the area in 786 from the *jund* ("military district") of Qinnasrīn (Chalkis) as the *jund al-‘Awāšim*. Hieropolis and Antioch were the major centers of the ‘Awāšim. The Thughūr were divided into Syrian and Mesopotamian sections. The former included passes between Syria and Cilicia and such towns as Adana, Tarsos, Mopsuestia, and Germanikeia (Maraş). East of it lay the Mesopotamian portion, of which Melitene was the most important town.

These districts witnessed heavy fighting since they were bases for Muslim raids into Byz. As the ‘ABBĀSID CALIPHATE weakened, the ‘Awāšim and Thughūr had to rely more on themselves and nearby Muslim leaders in their unsuccessful struggle against Byz.

LIT. M. Canard, *EF* 1:761f. Honigmann, *Ostgrenze* 42, 72. —W.E.K.

AXIOMATIKOS (ἀξιωματικός), a term that in the late Roman Empire had a vague meaning of military officer, as opposed to a recruit (Makarios of Egypt, PG 34:832B). According to the *Chroni-*

con Paschale (*Chron.Pasch.* 579.1), Empress Atheneais-Eudokia promoted her brothers to the rank of *axiomatikos*. Malalas (Malal. 382.17) employs the word in a more specific sense when he speaks of an *axiomatikos* of Caesarea. In the 9th C. the word reappears in the *Kletorologion* of PHILOTHEOS where it designates some subaltern officers of the DOMESTIKOS TON SCHOLON. The *De ceremoniis* employs this term in its general sense—a person having an *axioma*, a post or title.

LIT. Guiland, *Institutions* 1:161.

—A.K.

AXIOPOLIS (Ἀξίου πόλις; in Prokopios, Axiopa; mod. Cernavodă in Rumania), a Roman port on the Danube and a fortress. A stone wall approximately 50 km long connected Axiopolis with TOMIS on the Black Sea. The fortress and wall were reconstructed under Constantine I. In addition to fortifications, Christian inscriptions of the late 3rd-6th C. in Greek and Latin, naming some officials (e.g., *dux* and *comes*), as well as ceramics through the late 6th C. have been found in excavations at Axiopolis. The city then disappears. In the 10th C. a new fort was built, south of the Roman stronghold; among the remains are ordinary ceramics of the 10th-11th C. and an inscription (ca. 9th-10th C.) with the Slavic name Vojislav, possibly of Kriusa. The last mention of the fort seems to be in al-Idrīsī.

LIT. I. Barnea, "Date noi despre Axiopolis," *SCIV* 11 (1960) 69-80. G. Tocilescu, "Fouilles d'Axiopolis," in *Festschrift zu Otto Hirschfelds sechzigsten Geburtstage* (Berlin 1903) 354-59. Popescu, *InscrGrec* 203-10. —A.K.

AXOUCH (Ἀξούχ, Ἀξούχος), a Byz. noble family of "Persian" (Turkish?) origin. The founder of the family, John Axouch, a captive of the Crusaders in 1097, became a servant at the court of Alexios I Komnenos and a playmate of John (II), the heir apparent. John II gave Axouch the title of *sebastos* and appointed him *megas domestikos* (or *domestikos* of the West and East); he died ca. 1150 and was eulogized by Nikephoros BASILAKES. Axouch's daughter Eudokia married Stephen Komnenos; his son Alexios took as his wife Maria, daughter of Alexios Komnenos, the oldest son of John II. Alexios Axouch, a *protostrator*, commanded several military expeditions—to Italy in 1158, Cilicia in 1165, and perhaps Hungary in 1166. One of the wealthiest magnates, he lost the favor of Manuel I ca. 1167 and was confined in a

monastery. Alexios was criticized by contemporaries (Kinn. 267.13-16) for decorating one of his suburban houses with pictures of the campaigns of Kilic Arslan II, sultan of Konya, rather than those of the emperor as was customary (see HISTORY PAINTING). Alexios left two sons, one of whom, John KOMNENOS or John the Fat, fomented a riot against Alexios III on 31 July 1200 but was murdered in the struggle. The Axouch family is not attested in the Palaiologan period.

LIT. K.M. Mekios, *Ho megas domestikos tou Byzantiou Ioannes Axouchos kai protostrator hyios autou Alexios* (Athens 1932).

—A.K., A.C.

AXUM or Aksum (Ἀξωμ), the kingdom that takes its name from its capital city located in the northern highlands of modern ETHIOPIA. Although Byz. considered Axum part of its sphere of influence, the Axumite rulers viewed themselves the equals of the Byz. emperors and maintained their independence. Its chief port, ADULIS on the Red Sea, served as both a way station on the trade route to India and a conduit for goods from the east African interior. The kingdom officially converted to Christianity in the mid-4th C. and was a suffragan of the archbishop of Alexandria. Aramaic-speaking monks were instrumental in the spread of a distinctively Semitic Christianity. Axum's ties with Byz. were closest during the Himyarite Wars in South Arabia (517-37), esp. in 525 when Emp. Kālēb 'Ella 'Ašbehā (ELESBOAM) conquered South Arabia at the behest of Justin I, who supplied ships but not troops. Justin's desire to block Persian designs on South Arabia was ultimately thwarted when the Persians occupied the region in 599. Following the Arab conquests, Axum was cut off from Byz. and eventually lost its ports on the Red Sea to the Arabs. By the 8th C., Axum was in decline.

LIT. Y.M. Kobishchanov, *Axum* (University Park, Pa., 1979). F. Aufray, "The Civilization of Aksum from the first to the seventh Century," and T. Mekouria, "Christian Aksum," in *UNESCO General History of Africa*, vol. 2 (Berkeley 1981), 362-80, 401-22. —D.W.J.

AYDIN (Ἀϊδίνης), a Turkish emirate in Anatolia that emerged in the late 13th C. from the break-up of the SELJUK sultanate of RŪM. It was most probably named after its founder, Aydin, about whom very little is known. It occupied the territories around the river Kaystros; its main ports were EPHEsus (Theologos) and SMYRNA, its capital

being Pyrgion. The emirate became powerful during the time of UMUR BEG (died 1348). His fleet repeatedly raided the Aegean islands, the Morea, Negroponte, and the littoral from Thessaly up to Constantinople, finally reducing the lords of these territories to the status of tribute-paying vassals. Umur provoked two Crusades organized against Aydin in 1334 and in 1344, the latter known as the Crusade of Smyrna. He was a devoted ally of John VI Kantakouzenos during the Byz. CIVIL WAR OF 1341–47. Western merchants frequented the territories of Aydin and purchased large quantities of agricultural produce (mainly cereals), livestock and related items from the nomads (cattle, horses, skins, cheese, etc.), and slaves. Consuls from Venice, Genoa, Rhodes, and Cyprus were established in Theologos. Aydin was annexed to the Ottoman state temporarily from 1390 to 1402 and permanently after Murad II defeated the rebel lord of Smyrna, Junayd (1424).

LIT. H. Akin, *Aydin oğulları tarihi hakkında bir araştırma*² (Ankara 1968). P. Lemerle, *L'émirat d'Aydin, Byzance et l'Occident* (Paris 1957). Idem, "Philadelphie et l'émirat d'Aydin," in *Philadelphie et autres études* (Paris 1984) 55–67. Zachariadou, *Menteshe & Aydin*. K.A. Žukov, *Egejskie emiraty v XIV–XV vv.* (Moscow 1988). —E.A.Z.

AYYŪBIDS, a Muslim dynasty that dominated Egypt, Syria and Palestine, Upper Mesopotamia, and the Yemen from the late 12th to the mid-13th C. They originated from a Kurdish tribe that lived near Duin in Armenia. Two brothers, Ayyūb and Shīrkūh, served ZANGĪ and NŪR AL-DĪN as governors and generals. After Shīrkūh conquered Egypt, he was proclaimed the vizier in 1169 but died almost immediately. He was succeeded by Ayyūb's son SALADIN, the actual founder of the dynasty, who defeated the Crusaders in 1187 and recovered Jerusalem for the Muslims. He engaged in diplomatic negotiations with the Byz. rulers Andronikos I Komnenos and Isaac II Angelos.

After Saladin's death in 1193, his vast domain was divided between his three sons, brothers, and other relations; nonetheless his immediate successors al-ʿĀdil (died 1218) and the latter's eldest son al-Kāmil (died 1238) were able to maintain the family unity that was required to withstand constant warfare with the Crusader states: in 1218–19 the Franks besieged Damietta and in 1227

FREDERICK II disembarked at Acre leading a new Crusade. During the week of 11–18 Feb. 1229 al-Kāmil was forced to sign a treaty with Frederick yielding to the Franks the control of Jerusalem, on condition that its fortifications would not be rebuilt and freedom of religion would be preserved in the city. Ayyūbid relations with the SELJUK rulers of Asia Minor were hostile: the expedition of united Ayyūbid forces against them in 1233 turned into a disaster, and in 1241 the Seljuks took Amida from the successors of al-Kāmil. The subsequent decentralization of power, the Turkish and Mongol pressure on the north-east border, and the new Crusade of Louis IX (his flotilla captured Damietta in 1249) weakened Ayyūbid Egypt, and in 1250 MAMLŪK rule was established there. The northern Ayyūbids remained in power longer, but in 1258 the Mamlūks took Baghdad and in 1260 they conquered Aleppo (Berroia) and Damascus.

The Ayyūbids supported commercial relations with the cities of Italy, southern France, and Catalonia; Egypt sold to Europe products imported from India but prevented the Westerners from entering the Red Sea. Regular trade connections with the Franks contributed to the penetration of Christian motifs in Ayyūbid minor arts.

LIT. C. Cahen, *EI*² 1:796–807. R.S. Humphreys, *From Saladin to the Mongols* (Albany 1977). H.L. Gottschalk, *Al-Malik al-Kāmil von Egypten und seine Zeit* (Wiesbaden 1958). E. Baer, *Ayyubid Metalwork with Christian Images* (Leiden 1988). —A.K.

AZDĪ, AL-, more fully, Abū Ismāʿīl Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh, al-Azdī, Arab historian; fl. ca. 800–10. On al-Azdī's life, our only source is his history, *The Conquest of Syria*. Clearly he was a narrator of Azdite and other Yemenite tribal accounts, gathering his information primarily from northern Syria, esp. Hims. His *floruit* can be ascertained from the archaism of his narratives and the death dates of the later authorities transmitting his work.

The Conquest of Syria is the earliest extant account of the Arab conquest. Proceeding from the summons to the tribes by Abū Bakr until the siege of Caesarea Maritima, it views these events as divinely ordained to reward Arab faith and punish Greek polytheism and misrule. Beneath this overarching doctrinal theme, the work is extraordinarily informative. Azdī reveals a sophisticated knowledge of developments on the Byz. side and

esp. of the activities and attitudes of the Christian and pagan populations in Syria. He deals with townsmen, peasants, and Bedouins as distinct groups; his account is unique for its detail on the shifting loyalties and complex maneuvering that characterized the conquest period.

ED. *The Fotooh al-Shām, Being an Account of the Muslim Conquests in Syria*, ed. W.N. Lees (Calcutta 1854), with Eng. summary.

LIT. Caetani, *Islam* 2:1209–11; 3:54f, 67–70, 205–10, 312, 404f, 439f, 578–83, 599f. A.D. al-ʿUmari, *Dirāsāt taʾrikhiyya* (Medina 1983) 67–79. L.I. Conrad, "Al-Azdī's History of the Arab Conquests in Bilād al-Shām," *Proceedings of the Second Symposium on the History of Bilād al-Shām*, ed. M.ʿA. Bakhit, vol. 1 (Amman 1987) 28–62. —L.I.C.

AZOV SEA (Μαιῶτις), an extension of the north-eastern part of the BLACK SEA, reached via the straits of the Cimmerian BOSPOROS. Trade routes went from the Sea of Azov north to Rus' via the Don (Tanais) River and eastward to China. The Azov Sea was located in an area important for its salt and naphtha, and associated in Byz. convention with Cimmerians, SARMATIANS, and Tauroscythians (see, e.g., TZETZES, *Hist.* 12:835–36). PROKOPIOS (*Wars* 8:4.7–7.12) asserts that the peoples of the Azov region were a continual threat to the borders of the empire. The northern Azov region was controlled in the 7th C. by Great Bulgaria (Theoph. 356.20–357.11) and in the 8th–10th C. by the KHAZARS (who built there the fortress of SARKEL). The peoples of the area (including ZICHIA) in the 10th C. are described by Constantine VII (*De adm. imp.* 42, 53). The possession of TMUTOROKAN by the Rus' lasted at least until the end of the 11th C., though both a Rus' and a Byz. administrative presence in the Azov region (e.g., in RHOSIA) is postulated even for the late 12th C. From the mid-13th C. the MONGOLS dominated the area, while the trade routes between the Azov Sea and Constantinople came under the control of the Genoese from their settlement at TANA. IGNATIY OF SMOLENSK describes

the route in detail, while Nikephoros Gregoras (Greg. 3:199.11–12) confirms its use for travel to and from Moscow. —S.C.F.

AZYMES (ἄζυμα "without yeast, leaven"), unleavened BREAD used by the Armenian and Latin churches in the eucharistic sacrifice based on the tradition that such bread was used at the Last Supper, at which Jesus instituted the EUCHARIST. The Byz. used leavened bread. Controversy on the issue occurred first between Greeks and Monophysite Armenians. Invited in 591 by Emp. Maurice to participate in a council of union, the Armenian *katholikos* Moses II uttered a famous rebuttal: "I shall not cross the Azat River to eat the baked bread of the Greeks" (*Narratio de rebus Armeniae*, ed. G. Garitte [Louvain 1952] 226f). Between Greeks and Latins, controversy began on this subject only in the 11th C. Responding to Greek criticism of the Latin practice, in 1054 Cardinal HUMBERT excommunicated Patr. Michael I Keroularios and his followers as "prozymite heretics." The Greek theologian Niketas STETHATOS responded.

Arguments used in the abundant Byz. polemical literature on the subject refer to the New Testament accounts of the Last Supper, which all describe the bread used by Jesus as *artos*—the standard Greek term for leavened bread—and not *azymon*. This historical argument, however, was less popular among the Greeks than references to the symbolic meaning of "leaven" ("The Kingdom of God is like unto leaven," Mt 13:33), and also to a Christological argument: leaven gives "life" to bread, just as the soul gives life to the body. Consequently, Armenians and Latins were seen as denying the existence in Christ of a human soul, and therefore, shared the heresy of APOLLINARIS of Laodikeia.

LIT. J.H. Erickson, "Leavened and Unleavened: Some Theological Implications of the Schism of 1054," *SVThQ* 14 (1970) 155–76. M.H. Smith III, *And Taking Bread . . . Cerularius and the Azyme Controversy of 1054* (Paris 1978). —J.M.

B

BAALBEK. See HELIOPOLIS.

BABYLAS (Βαβύλας), saint; died Antioch ca. 250; feastday 4 Sept. Eusebios of Caesarea (Eusebios, *HE* 6.39.4) mentions in passing that Babylas died under Decius (249–51) in a prison in Antioch. The story was subsequently developed; Leontios of Antioch (died 357/8) says that Decius murdered Babylas because he forbade Emp. Philip the Arab (244–49) to enter the church; John Chrysostom (PG 50:533–72), in two polemical sermons against Julian, praises Babylas's resistance to an emperor, but his information about Babylas is vague. Unlike Eusebios, Chrysostom stresses that Babylas was murdered. Hagiographical texts transfer Babylas's martyrdom to the reign of Numerianus (283–84) and sometimes provide Babylas with companions in martyrdom: a Greek text associates three children with him, while a Georgian legend describes a certain Basil of Epiphaneia, who was executed for his support of Babylas. Another stage in the development of the legend was the creation of St. Babylas of Nikomedeia, who was venerated on the same day.

Representation in Art. Miniatures illustrating the vita of Babylas written by SYMEON METAPHRASTES depict the saint as an elderly bishop, and often show him being beheaded along with his little disciples. One of these MSS includes a cycle of four scenes showing him sitting in prison with his disciples, and being interrogated, scourged, and beheaded (London, B.L. Add. 11870, fol. 52r).

SOURCES. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, ed., *PPSb* 19.3 (1907) 75–84. PG 114:967–82.

LIT. *BHG* 205a–208, 2053–54. P. Peeters, "La passion de S. Basile d'Épiphanie," *AB* 48 (1930) 302–23.

—A.K., N.P.Š.

BACKGROUND, the farthest surface of an image, behind its chief objects of contemplation, was sometimes enlivened with architectural constructions and/or LANDSCAPE. These elements are, however, usually uninhabited and treated ever more frequently as independent elements and conven-

tional tokens of cities, mountains, etc., inserted behind figures. Buildings read as backcloths dropped behind a scene rather than as enclosures for the event depicted: in the *MENOLOGION OF BASIL II*, for example, such sets often open out in inverse PERSPECTIVE. Likewise, portions of structures facing different directions are placed in the same plane. While this remains generally true, in 10th- and early 14th-C. art attempts were made, sometimes with success, to integrate figures into the setting so that the factitious distinction between the protagonists' zone of operation and their background tends to disappear. Progressively from the 6th C. onward, settings are replaced with a blue or shimmering gold screen that denies SPACE and depth, supernaturally focusing all attention on the main figures. —A.C.

BAČKOVO. See PETRITZOS MONASTERY.

BADOER, GIACOMO, Venetian merchant who operated in Constantinople in 1436–40. His account books, kept in double-entry form, are one of the few sources to describe Constantinopolitan commerce in this period. Badoer's books show that this merchant, whose activities were of medium size, had an annual turnover of merchandise valued at approximately 126,000 hyperpyra. They reveal Constantinople as an active trade center functioning primarily as an entrepôt. They illuminate the flow of merchandise (raw materials, wax to the West, silk cloth from the West), the activities of Byz. bankers, and the participation of Byz. merchants in trade. This was large in terms of the number of merchants and sea captains, but small in terms of capital engaged; it is seen also to have been a deficit trade with Western merchants. The account books show that the Byz. who traded with Badoer were engaged primarily in retail trade and were only tangentially concerned with foreign trade. The source has also been used to extrapolate the value of total Venetian trade in Constantinople, the importance of

Genoese merchants (seen as paramount), and the types of ships used to transport merchandise.

ED. U. Dorini, T. Bertelè, *Il Libro dei Conti di Giacomo Badoer* (Venice 1956).

LIT. M.M. Šitkov, "Konstantinopol' i venecianskaja trgovlja v pervoj polovine XV v. po dannym knigi ščetov Džakomo Badoera," *VizVrem* 30 (1969) 48–62. T. Bertelè, "Il giro d'affari di Giacomo Badoer: precisazioni e deduzioni," 11 *CEB* (Munich 1960) 48–57. —A.L.

BAGHDAD (Βαγδά, Εἰρηνόπολις), capital of the caliphate for most of the 'ABBĀSID dynasty. The name *Baghdad* was Persian; officially it was called Dār al-Salām ("City of Peace"). Caliph al-Manṣūr founded Baghdad as a circular city on a modestly inhabited site. He intended it as a camp for his troops from Khurāsān, using ruins from the nearby abandoned Sasanian capital of Ctesiphon. Baghdad's great prosperity lasted from 775 to 833. The 'Abbāsid court briefly transferred its residence to Samarra from 836 to 892, when Caliph al-Mu'tamid returned to Baghdad. It remained the capital until the Mongols terminated the dynasty there in 1258.

The replacement of Damascus by Baghdad as the capital benefited Byz. by moving the center of Islamic power further from the borders of the Byz. Empire. The same move also made the Islamic capital more secure. Byz. embassies to 'Abbāsid caliphs visited Baghdad and became means for cultural influences and some goods to cross otherwise closed frontiers. Such embassies to the Islamic capital were esp. notable in the 9th and 10th C.

LIT. J. Lassner, *The Topography of Baghdad in the Early Middle Ages* (Detroit 1970). A.A. Duri, *EF* 1:894–908. —W.E.K.

BAGRATIDS (Πακρατωνής; Arm. Bagratuni; Georg. Bagrationi), Armenian feudal family that gave royal dynasties to ARMENIA, GEORGIA, and Caucasian ALBANIA. The origin of the Bagratids was probably Iranian, but a late tradition, known even to Constantine VII (*De adm. imp.* 45.1–8), traces them back to the Old Testament King David and to the Virgin Mary. The original Bagratid domain lay in Sper in northwestern Armenia. Their hereditary office was that of "coronant" (*t'agadir*) of the ARSACID kings and perhaps of commander-of-the-cavalry (*aspet*), although the latter may be a family name rather than a title,

since Prokopios (*Wars* 2.3.12–18) refers to them as *Aspetianoi*.

The power of the Bagratids grew in the 7th–8th C. when they served Byz., the Persians, and esp. the caliphate. Benefiting from the elimination of rival houses, the Bagratids extended their domains into central and southern Armenia (TARŌN) and acquired the hereditary title Prince of Princes by the 9th C. In 884, AŠOT I THE GREAT was crowned king with the agreement of both the caliphate and Byz. The Bagratids ruled over Armenia until 1045, a senior branch residing at ANI, where the ruler styled himself King of Kings, and junior ones at KARS (Vanand) from 961 onward and at Lori (Tašir, Joraget) from 972(?) onward. Nevertheless they did not hold the Arsacid capital of DUIN and their control of Armenia was challenged by the establishment of a separate kingdom of VASPUKAN in 908. By the mid-11th C., Bagratid power had dwindled so far that Byz. annexed their kingdoms, except for Lori, which survived into the 13th C.

Secondary branches of the Bagratid house settled in Iberia and TAYK'/TAO early in the 9th C. Ašot the Great (813–30) was named Prince of Iberia by the caliph and *kouropalates* by Byz., and in 888 Adarnarse IV was crowned king. The Georgian branch prospered as that in Armenia declined. Tayk' reached its apogee under DAVID OF TAYK'/TAO at the end of the 10th C. In 1008, Bagrat III united ABCHASIA and Georgia to form a single kingdom, which reached its zenith under DAVID II/IV THE RESTORER and Queen T'AMARA, who supported the empire of TREBIZOND and ruled Armenia through her ZAK'ARID viceroys. The Mongol invasions of the 1230s abruptly halted Bagratid prosperity, but the Bagratids continued to rule over a reduced and divided Georgia.

LIT. Toumanoff, *Caucasian Hist.*, esp. 306–54. Idem, "The Bagratids of Iberia from the Eighth to the Eleventh Century," *Muséon* 74 (1961) 5–42, 233–316. L. Movsésian, "Histoire des rois Kurikian de Lori," *REArm* 7 (1927) 209–66. H. Bartikyan, "La conquête de l'Arménie par l'Empire byzantin," *REArm* n.s. 8 (1971) 327–40. R. Suny, *The Making of the Georgian Nation* (Bloomington-Stamford 1988) 29–59. —N.G.G.

BAHĀ' AL-DĪN, also called Ibn Shaddād, Arab historian, educator, jurist, and authority on Islamic traditions (*hadīth*); born Mosul 1145, died Aleppo 1235. In July 1188, Bahā' al-Dīn joined

the staff of SALADIN to serve as the "judge of the army" and "judge of Jerusalem." In this capacity he accompanied Saladin everywhere on his travels and campaigns, including the bitter fight against the Third Crusade. After Saladin died (1193), Bahā' al-Dīn remained active in Egyptian and Syrian politics.

Bahā' al-Dīn wrote several works, among them a treatise on the Holy War (*jihād*), dedicated to Saladin. The most important is his biography of Saladin, which, with the works by 'IMĀD AL-DĪN, constitutes the most authentic source for Saladin's life. Whereas for the account of the years prior to his entering Saladin's service Bahā' al-Dīn depended on trustworthy friends, for the subsequent period he relied on his own observations. Although his work mainly concerns Saladin's military and political accomplishments, the book contains important documents illustrating the relations of the Sultan, the Crusaders, and the Byz. In addition to brief references to Byz. participation in the 1169 attack against Damietta (Wilson, *infra* 57) and to Muslim capture of a ship that "came from Constantinople" to Acre on 12 June 1190 (p.182), Bahā' al-Dīn treats diplomatic exchanges between ISAAC II and Saladin, some of them affecting religious practices of the Greeks in Jerusalem and of the Muslims in Constantinople (pp. 198–201, 334f). He also quotes the Arabic translation of an Armenian letter from Katholikos Basil on the impact of Frederick Barbarossa's Crusade on the Byz. Empire (pp. 185–89).

ED. *Ṣirat Ṣalāh al-Dīn*, ed. Gamal El-Dīn El-Shayyāl (Cairo 1964). *The Life of Saladin*, tr. C.W. Wilson [= PPTS 13] (London 1897; rp. New York 1971).

LIT. Gamal El-Din El-Shayyāl, *EF* 3:933f. M.H.M. Ahmad in Lewis-Holt, *Historians*, 87f. —A.S.E.

BAHNASA. See OXYRHYNCHUS.

BAIAN (Βαϊανός), Avar khan (ca.562–582/4) who led his people to the lower Danube by 562. Perhaps it was Baian who in 558 sent envoys to Constantinople to conclude an alliance: THEOPHANES THE CONFESSOR (232.6–10) gives no name. Menander Protector is the only historian to name Baian while recounting the attempts of the Avars to cross the Danube and seize Sirmium. Even though the negotiations of Baian's ambassador Targitaj brought no result, emperors tried to use

the Avars against the Gepids and Slavs. Finally, with the help of Greek engineers, Baian built a bridge over the Sava, besieged Sirmium, and impelled the Byz. to yield the starving city in 582. Kollautz and Miyakawa's statement (*infra* 249) that in 586 Baian beleaguered Thessalonike is mistaken; even more erroneous is M. Artamonov (*Istoriya Chazar* [Leningrad 1962] 160), who gave his date of death as 630.

LIT. T. Olajos, "La chronologie de la dynastie avare de Baian," *REB* 34 (1976) 151–58. A. Kollautz, H. Miyakawa, *Geschichte und Kultur eines völkerwanderungszeitlichen Nomadenvolkes*, vol.1 (Klagenfurt-Bonn 1970) 239–49. V. Popović, "La descente des Koutrigours, des Slaves et des Avars vers la Mer Egée," *CRAI* (1978) 612–16.

—W.E.K., A.K.

BAILO (μπαίονλος), "bailiff," the head of the Venetian colony in Constantinople in the Palaiologan period and simultaneously the Venetian ambassador at the court of the emperor. Gregoras (Greg. 1:97.21–25) translates the term *bailo* into Greek as *epitropos* or *ephoros*. In this capacity the *bailo* replaced the Venetian *podestà* whose functions were more limited. The office of *bailo* was introduced after the Byz. reconquest of Constantinople by the agreement of 4 Apr.–30 June 1268. The *bailo* was elected by the Great Council in Venice for a short term (about two years or less); his salary was set at 100 *librae* a month. The *bailo* had two assistants (*consiliarii*) who were also sent from Venice. His duties were to administer the trade activity of the colony, sit in judgment, and supervise the four Venetian churches in the Byz. capital. There was a Venetian *bailo* in Euboea as well as in Constantinople, whereas Venetian administrators elsewhere bore different titles (*dux* of Crete, *castellani* of Methone).

LIT. Ch. Maltezou, *Ho thesmos tou en Konstantinoupolei Benetou bailou* (Athens 1970). —A.K.

BAIOULOS (βαίουλος, from Lat. *baiulus*, "bearer") in Byz. signified a preceptor or mentor. Balsamon (PG 119:1213D) derives the word from *baion*, palm leaf, allegedly because teachers had the responsibility to develop and supervise the growth of young minds. Probably not earlier than Theophanes the Confessor, the term was applied to the emperor's preceptor, and in the 10th C. the honorific title of *megas baioulos* was created for Basil LEKAPENOS. Pseudo-KODINOS remarks (140.8–

g) that the place of the *megas baioulos* in the 14th-C. hierarchy is unknown; some contemporary lists locate him above the *kouropalates*.

LIT. V. Laurent, "Ho megas baioulos," *EEBS* 23 (1953) 193–205. Seibt, *Bleisiegel* 147–49. —A.K.

BAKCHEIOS, GERON (Βάκχειος, Γέρων), Greek music theorist of the age of Constantine the Great; fl. late 3rd–early 4th C. He is known only for his *Introduction to the Art of Music* (*Eisagoge technes mousikes*), written in the form of a catechism. It is an eclectic production, mostly following the school of Aristoxenos (4th C. B.C.). The short treatise, not in dialogue form, published under his name by F. Bellerman in 1841, is by Dionysios, Bakcheios's contemporary.

ED. *Musici scriptores graeci*, ed. C. Janus (Leipzig 1895; rp. Hildesheim 1962) 283–316. *Alypius et Gaudence, Bacchius l'ancien*, tr. C.E. Ruelle (Paris 1895). —D.E.C.

BAKER (μάγκυψ), also *artopoios*, *artokopos*, *artopoles*. These terms are already found in Egyptian papyri and refer specifically to those who made BREAD. In the 10th C. the bakers formed an important guild, whose members were exempted from public service, as were the animals they used to grind the grain. Their activities and profit (4 1/6 percent) were regulated by the state, and when grain prices varied, they were allowed to change the weight of the loaf, but not its price (*Bk. of Eparch*, ch.18). The quaestor of Constantinople could force beggars to work for bakers (*Epanagoge* 5.5). Bakers' shops could not be located beneath dwellings, or very close to them, for fear of fire (*Bk. of Eparch* 18.3; Harm. 2.4.14).

The question arises whether bakers who made the bread sold it in a retail fashion. The *De ceremoniis* (1.96) states that in the early months of the reign of Nikephoros II, the rebel Joseph Bringas went from the patriarchate past the Milion and ordered the bakers (*artopoioi*) to neither bake bread nor sell it on the market. The bakers in question may be identical to those who sold bread in the main bread market of Constantinople, the Artopoleia, located just beyond the Forum of Constantine (*Parastaseis*, ch.40). If this is the case, then breadmakers and bread sellers are identical; it could well be, however, that the *artopolai* who presumably worked in the Artopoleia sold whole-

sale. Other texts (e.g., Theoph. 234.23) distinguish between *artopoleia*, where bread was sold, and *mankipeia*, where it was made. It seems likely that in other parts of Constantinople outside the main bread market, as well as in smaller cities, those who made bread also sold it to the consumer. This is suggested by monastic documents that show (e.g., in Serres) *mankipeia* (*Koutloum*. nos. 8.13, 18.42), but make no mention of *artopoleia*, probably because the two were identical.

LIT. Stöckle, *Zünfte* 47–50. M. Sjuzumov in *Bk. of Eparch* 236–44. A. Graeber, *Untersuchungen zum spätromischen Korporationswesen* (Frankfurt–Bern–New York 1983) 79–90. —A.L.

BALĀDHURĪ, AL-, more fully Abū'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad ibn Yahyā al-Balādhurī, Arab historian; died ca.892. Little is known about al-Balādhurī. Clearly he was born into a well-connected family. He studied under or knew many of the great Iraqi scholars of his day, pursued his researches in several Syrian cities, and enjoyed patronage and favor at the ʿAbbāsid court in Baghdad. A profoundly learned scholar, he was also a traditionist, poet, and Arabic translator of the *Testament of Ardashir*.

Two of Balādhurī's Arabic histories survive, both based on extensive oral and written sources. His *Conquests of the Provinces* relates to the conquests of the Arabs. It is arranged by province and describes many nonmilitary developments. The incomplete enlarged version is lost. The later *Genealogies of the Notables* (also unfinished and still largely unedited) is a voluminous history, organized genealogically, down to the early ʿAbbāsids. Balādhurī often deals with Byz. He relates the conquests of Syria, Egypt, and Cyprus in detail; discusses the campaigns for Rhodes, Crete, and Sicily; and describes frontier defenses and expeditions (by both sides). Also considered are diplomatic relations, preconquest conditions, the attitudes of the indigenous populations and later demographic changes, the continuing use of the Greek language and Byz. coinage, and commercial contacts between the two sides.

ED. *Liber expugnationis regionum*, ed. M. de Goeje (Leiden 1866). *The Origins of the Islamic State*, tr. P.K. Hitti, F.C. Murgotten, 2 vols. (New York 1916–24). *Ansāb al-ashraf*, vol. 1, ed. M. Ḥamīdullāh (Cairo 1959); vol. 2, ed. M.B. al-Mahmūdī (Beirut 1977); vols. 4A–B and 5, ed. M. Schloessinger, M.J. Kister, and S.D. Goitein (Jerusalem 1936–71). *Il Califfo Muʿāwīya I*, tr. O. Pinto, G. Levi della Vida (Rome

1938). *Bibliotheca Islamica* ser., pt.3, ed. ʿA. al-Dūrī (Wiesbaden 1978), and pt.4.1, ed. I. ʿAbbās (Wiesbaden 1979).

LIT. A.A. Duri, *The Rise of Historical Writing Among the Arabs* (Princeton 1983) 61–64. Sezgin, *GAS* 1:320f. —L.I.C.

BALANCE SCALES (ζυγός), the simplest weighing device used in Byz., was an equal-arm balance (contrast STEELYARD) supported from above, often by a hinged needle within a bracket to indicate perfect horizontality. In turn, it supported a pair of pans in which the weights and load were placed. Although balance scales have been made of various materials and in widely varying sizes, those surviving from Byz. are small and bronze. Their size and relative precision suggests that they were used for weighing coins and precious metal. Imperial legislation (e.g., *Cod.Theod.* XII 7.1–2; XII 6.21) stipulated how and by whom the device was to be held to ensure the fair payment of taxes (see ZYGOSTATES). Balance scales are a frequent component of the PSYCHOMACHIA in images of the Last Judgment.

LIT. Vikan-Nesbitt, *Security* 29–31. Davidson, *Minor Objects*, nos. 1662–78. —G.V., A.C.

BALDWIN II (Βαλδουίνος), Latin emperor of Constantinople (1240–61); born Constantinople 1217, died 1273. It was his fate to preside over the dissolution of the Latin Empire of Constantinople. The youngest son of PETER OF COURTENAY, he was only ten when his brother ROBERT OF COURTENAY died in 1228. JOHN OF BRIENNE took over the reins of government on the understanding that Baldwin would eventually succeed. This agreement was sealed by Baldwin's marriage to John's daughter Marie. When John died in 1237, Baldwin was in the West, seeking help for Constantinople. To this end he mortgaged his county of Namur to Louis IX of France for 50,000 livres parisis. Late in 1239, Baldwin finally reached Constantinople by the overland route through Hungary and was crowned emperor in 1240.

He soon returned to the West and was given a place of honor at the First Council of Lyons in 1245. His presence insured that help for Constantinople was placed high on the agenda, but there was to be little effective aid because of Louis IX's plans for a crusade. The help promised by the Spanish order of Santiago in 1246 failed to materialize (J. Longnon, *Byzantion* 22 [1952] 297–

99). Baldwin was reduced to pledging his son Philip in order to raise money (R.L. Wolff, *Speculum* 29 [1954] 45–84). It was only a matter of time before Constantinople fell. After its conquest by the Nicaeans in 1261, Baldwin made his way to the West, seeking supporters who might help him win back his empire. The most promising was CHARLES I OF ANJOU. A treaty was concluded at Viterbo in 1267, whereby Baldwin surrendered suzerainty over the Frankish principality of ACHAIA against the promise of an expedition to recover Constantinople.

LIT. Longnon, *Empire latin* 178–86. Geanakoplos, *Michael Pal.* 193–200. *HC* 2:221–32. —M.J.A.

BALDWIN III, king of JERUSALEM (1143–63); born 1129, died Beirut 10 Feb. 1163. In 1157, threatened by NŪR AL-DĪN, Baldwin began to seek Byz. aid and a bride from Constantinople. Theodora Komnene, Manuel I's niece, married Baldwin in 1158. Shortly after Renaud of Antioch's abject surrender to Manuel at Mopsuestia, Baldwin was ceremonially welcomed by the emperor. When Manuel entered Antioch in triumph (Apr. 1159), Baldwin rode in the procession. The threat of joint Crusader-Byz. action caused Nūr al-Dīn to make concessions, and Manuel unexpectedly returned to Constantinople. During 1160–61, Baldwin's efforts to induce Manuel to wed Melisende of Tripoli instead of MARIA OF ANTIOCH were unsuccessful. After Baldwin's death, Theodora received Acre as her portion, but in 1167 she fled with the future Andronikos I.

LIT. H.E. Mayer, *Kreuzzüge und lateinischer Osten* (London 1983) pt.VI (1980), 549–566. —C.M.B.

BALDWIN OF FLANDERS, count Baldwin IX of Flanders, Baldwin VI of Hainault, then Baldwin I of the Latin Empire; born Valenciennes 1172, died Tŭrnovo 1205 or 1206. He joined the Fourth Crusade and set out in Apr. 1202 at the head of the expedition's largest contingent. To sustain the Crusade he supported BONIFACE OF MONTFERRAT and ENRICO DANDOLO in welcoming the offers of PHILIP OF SWABIA and the future Alexios IV. Baldwin and his troops played leading roles in fighting Alexios III and Alexios V. After the capture of Constantinople, he was elected emperor on 9 May 1204, probably through the votes of the Venetians; he was crowned 16 May.

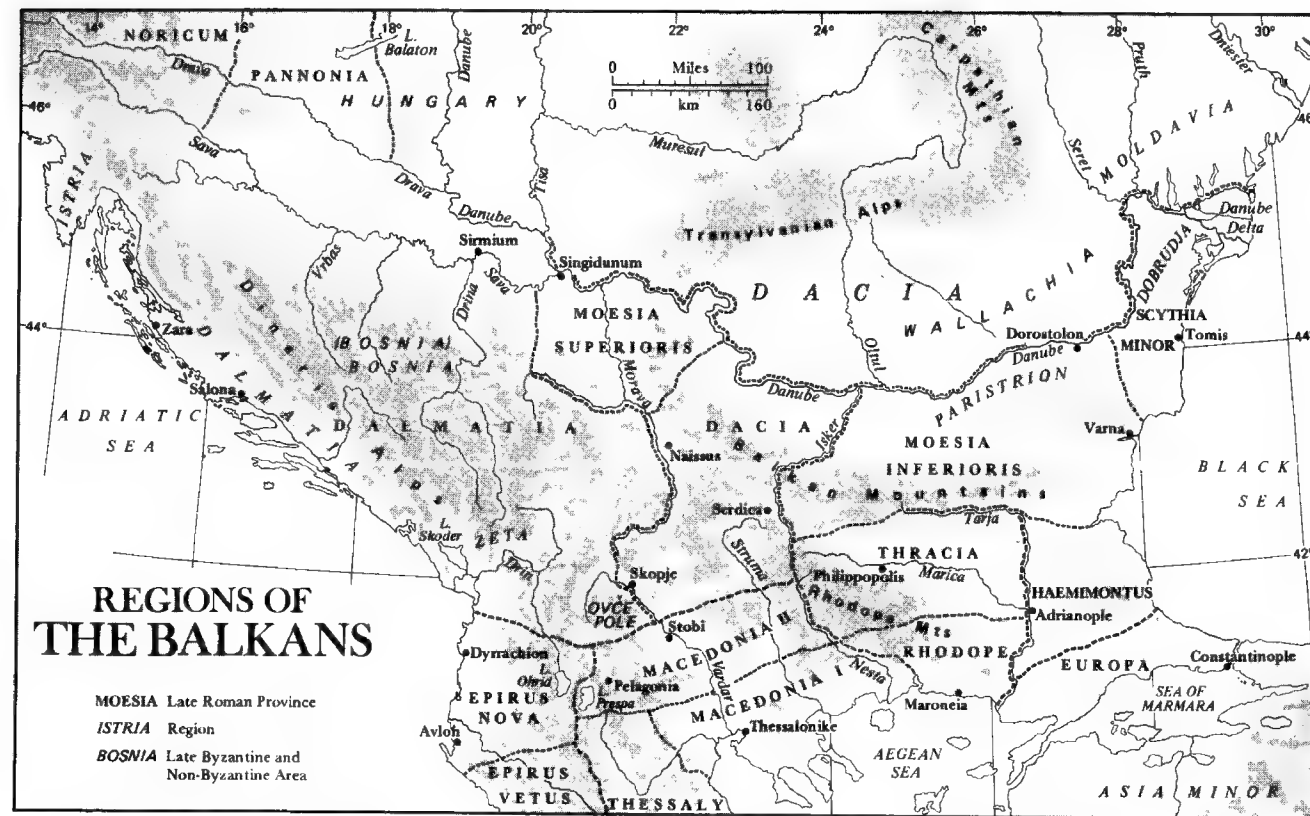
Baldwin employed traditional Byz. titles but had a feudal concept of government. Despite his agreement that Boniface should have THESSALONIKE, he wished to occupy the city. Boniface reacted violently; peace was made only in Aug. 1204. Early in 1205 the Byz. of Thrace, alienated by Baldwin's contemptuous attitude, revolted and summoned KALOJAN to their assistance. On 14 Apr. Kalojan defeated and captured Baldwin outside Adrianople. He perished mysteriously in prison. In July 1206 news of his death was reliably reported to the Crusaders.

LIT. Wolff, *Latin Empire*, pt. IV (1952), 281–322. B. Hendrickx, “Baudouin IX de Flandre et les empereurs byzantins Isaac II l'Ange et Alexis IV,” *RBPB* 49 (1971) 482–89. Longnon, *Compagnons* 137–40. —C.M.B.

BALKANS (medieval Αἶμος), the modern (19th-C.) name of the mountain range that extends about 550 km from the Timok Valley eastward to the Black Sea. The word *Balkan* (*balqan*) is Ottoman Turkish, meaning “thickly wooded mountain”; the Bulgarians called it in Slavonic *Stara Planina*. The Balkans form the major divide between the Danube (north) and Marica (south)

rivers, and are traversed by some 20 passes, of which the most important are TRAJAN'S GATE; Via Succorum (now Ichtimanski Prohod), a link on the Via EGNATIA; and Siderogephyron.

In antiquity the Haimos mountains formed the ethnic frontier of the Thracians. During the Great Migrations it remained a natural border of the Byz. Empire against the Goths and later the Avars; its passes were well fortified. In the 6th and 7th C. the romanized Thraco-Illyrian population was forced to settle in the mountains; they reappear in the 11th C. as the VLACHS. In the second half of the 7th C. the leading role was assumed by a Sklavene group called the “Seven Tribes,” but as early as 680 these Sklavanoi had become associates of the newly arrived Bulgars of ASPARUCH. A year later the Byz. acknowledged Bulgar occupation as a *fait accompli* and concluded a peace with the newcomers; Haimos became the Byz. frontier. In OMURTAG's treaty (816–17) the Byz.-Bulgarian frontier was defined by a line that ran westward from Develtos to Makrolivada. The Bulgarians were allowed to fortify this line with ramparts and trenches; it became known as the “Great Fence” (*herkesia*).



LIT. D. Dečev, “Hemus i Rodopi: Prinos kŭm starata geografija na Bŭlgarija,” *GSU FIF* 21.10 (1925) 3–36. G. Cankova-Petkova, “Sur l'établissement des tribus slaves du groupe bulgare au sud du Bas Danube,” *Études historiques*, vol. 4 (Sofia 1968) 143–66. P. Koledarov, *Političeska geografija na srednovekovnata bŭlgarska dŭržava*, vol. 1 (Sofia 1979). —O.P.

BALNITOR (βαλνίτωρ, probably from Lat. *balneator*, “bathkeeper”), a title known from seals dated ca.650–850. The term—always modified by the adjective “imperial”—appears in conjunction with modest titles such as *kandidatos* (Zacos, *Seals* 1, no.403), *hypatos* (no.224) or former *hypatos* (no.2000), or modest offices such as *silentarios* (no.1016), *anagrapheus* of Opsikion (no.2095), and several times *kommerkiarios* (nos. 223–24, 226–27, 230–31). The functions of the *balnitor* are not defined in available sources. Guiland (*Institutions* 1:268) views him as an ancestor of the NIPSISTARIOS—a hypothesis that Oikonomides (*Listes* 301, n.88) rejected.

LIT. Antoniadis-Bibicou, *Douanes* 174, n.2. —A.K.

BALSAMON, THEODORE, canonist; born Constantinople between ca.1130 and 1140, died after 1195. Balsamon (Βαλσαμών) occupied high positions in the church hierarchy: first as patriarchal *nomophylax* and *chartophylax*, then (from ca.1185–90) as patriarch of Antioch (although he remained in Constantinople). ISAAC II considered the possibility of Balsamon's election as patriarch of Constantinople but preferred Dositheos of Jerusalem (1189–91). Balsamon acted also as *hegoumenos* of Blachernai (PG 104:975A) and of the monastery *ton Zipon*. His major work is the *Commentary* (*Exegesis*) on the NOMOKANON OF FOURTEEN TITLES, begun in the 1170s; Balsamon's aim was not only an explanation, but also a critical revision of contradictory and obsolete statements. Unlike his predecessors, ARISTENOS and ZONARAS, Balsamon included in his commentary many legal texts now lost. He differs from Zonaras also in his political program; Balsamon staunchly supported strong imperial power and imperial political aspirations. He defended the privileges of the patriarchate of Constantinople and in this connection critically studied the DONATION OF CONSTANTINE (A. Pavlov, *VizVrem* 3 [1896] 21–29). His other canonical works included a treatise defending third mar-

riages, which were important for the aristocracy's attempt to strengthen clan linkages (A. Pavlov, *VizVrem* 2 [1895] 503–11). Balsamon defended the role of the CHARTOPHYLAX against the PROTEKDIKOS. In 1195 he issued answers to canonical questions of Mark III, patriarch of Alexandria (ca.1195). He also wrote letters and epigrams that throw light on Byz. cultural life. As a canonist Balsamon was criticized by Neilos KABASILAS (A. Failler, *REB* 32 [1974] 211–23).

ED. Rhalles-Potles, *Syntagma* 2–4, or PG 137–38. E. Miller, “Lettres de Théodore Balsamon,” *Annuaire de l'association pour l'encouragement des études grecques en France* 18 (1884) 8–19 (also Th. Papazotos in *Trito symposio byzantines kai metabyzantines archaiologias kai technes* [Athens 1983] 70). Horna, “Epigramme” 178–204.

LIT. G.P. Stevens, *De Theodoro Balsamone* (Rome 1969). V. Narbekov, *Nomokanon konstantinopol'skogo patriarcha Fotija s tolkovaniem Val'samona* (Kazan' 1899). A. Christophilopoulos, “He schesis ton kanonon pros tous nomous kai ho Theodoros Balsamon,” *EEBS* 21 (1951) 69–73. —A.K.

BANALITY in Western medieval law designated an economic monopoly imposed by landlords on their peasants; it included primarily the obligations to grind grain at their lord's water mill, to bake bread at his oven, and to press grapes at his wine press. Banalities are known in Frankish Morea as *jus linobrosii in quo actatur linum*, “where the flax was worked on” (Longnon-Topping, *Documents* 38.13) or *labotaga ubi fit oleum*, “where olive oil was produced” (p.62.1). It is unclear whether these rights were of Greek origin or introduced by the Crusaders. The Greek term *linobrocheion* is frequently used in Byz. *praktika*, for instance, together with *opsonion* and *vivarium* (Dölger, *Sechs Praktika* 36, A30) or with *ennomion* (*Xénoph.*, no.15.24), that is, as one of the rents paid by peasants to their lord. A *linobrocheion*—as a work site—had to be located next to water, near a water mill (*Lavra* 2, no.105.23). A payment for using a mill, *EXAGION*, is mentioned in an act of 1089 (*Xénoph.*, no.1.161). The existing sources do not, however, say that the use of these mills, olive presses, or places for soaking flax was coercive; it is plausible that former coercive rights were supplanted by regular payments imposed on the village as a whole or, indeed, that the use was not coercive but *de facto* unavoidable, since often mills belonged to the landlord.

LIT. Kazhdan, *Agrarnye otnošenija* 125f. J. Bompaire in *Xerop.* 146f. Schilbach, *Metrologie* 183, n.12. —A.K.

BANDON (βάνδον), ensign or banner, eventually came to signify a small military detachment. As defined in the STRATEGIKON OF MAURICE (86.21–22), “A *bandophoros* was a man who carried the ensign of a *bandon*.” The earliest evidence often refers to Persian *banda*. Malalas (Malal. 461.11–12) speaks of the “royal *bandon*” of the Persians, and Theophanes (Theoph. 319.5) reports that Herakleios took captive 28 Persian *banda*. Hagiographers of the 7th C. mention *banda* (W. Kaegi, *Byzantina* 7 [1975] 65–67), usually with ethnic designations. In the 10th C. a TOURMA was composed of five to seven *banda*, each *bandon* consisting of 50–100 mounted soldiers or 200–400 infantrymen. The commander of a *bandon* was called KOMES. Constantine VII equated *bandon* and *topotesia*, considering the *bandon* as a territorial unit (*De adm. imp.* 50.94–110). Unlike other terms for territorial units, such as KLEISOURA or *tourma*, the *bandon* enjoyed longevity and survived at least in the empire of Trebizond (F. Uspenskij, V. Benešević, *Vazelonskie akty* [Leningrad 1927] lx).

LIT. Haldon, *Praetorians* 172f, 276f. S. Kyriakides, *Byzantinai meletai* 5 (Thessalonike 1937) 537f. —A.K.

BANJANI. See NIKITA, MONASTERY OF SAINT.

BANKER (τραπεζίτης). In the late Roman Empire the term *trapezites* was used synonymously with ARGYROPRAATES, a moneylender (E. Hanton, *Byzantion* 4 [1927–29] 132f). Frequently cited in papyri, a *trapezites* was primarily an administrator of a *trapeza* or bank (F. Preisigke, *Griechischen Ägypten*² [Hildesheim–New York 1971] 59); in the 3rd–4th C. *trapezitai* were sometimes called *demosioi* or *politikoi trapezitai*—probably to distinguish them from private money changers. In the 5th and 6th C., these qualifying epithets seem to have disappeared; references are to plain *trapezitai* or to a *lamprotatos trapezites* (Preisigke, *Wörterbuch* 3:173f). Many, but not all, *trapezitai* were associated with propertied families, such as the APIONS in Egypt, and served them as cashiers. Another term for the “banker”—money changer in the 5th–8th C. was *kollektarios* (R. Bogaert, *Chronique d’Égypte* 60 [1985] 5–16).

The *trapezitai* of the 10th-C. *Book of the Eparch* (ch.3) formed a guild separate from the *argyroptraiai*, at that time the dealers in gold and silver. Their principal function was to exchange money; their responsibilities also included assaying coins

of poor alloy and denouncing the *sakkoullarioi* (“bag bearers”), probably unauthorized coin dealers operating “on the market squares and in public streets.” There is no evidence that the *trapezitai* of this period served as moneylenders. Great emphasis was placed on the necessity for *trapezitai* to prove their honesty. They were also supposed to carry out certain imperial assignments, the character of which is not defined in the *Book of the Eparch*.

In late documents as well as in the *Book of the Eparch*, money changers are also called *katallaktai*. In 15th-C. Thessalonike a *katallaktes* named Platyskalites had a sister who was married to another *katallaktes*, called Chalazas (S. Kougeas, *BZ* 23 [1920] 153.14–16). The term *trapezites* continued to be used, as in the case of Iannes Androuses, a money changer of the late 14th C. (*PLP*, no.90111). The shops of money changers were small; thus, in the mid-14th C. the Lavra monastery owned in Constantinople 20 *katallaktika trapezia* that it had acquired from different people, some of them noble (*Lavra* 3, no.123.105–10). In 1400 a certain Samaminthes rented from the monastery of Hodegetria in Thessalonike two *trapezia* that he made from *katallaktika* in a perfumer’s shop (*MM* 2:526.17–23). Ecclesiastical institutions thus avoided the prohibition on engaging in the money-changing business.

LIT. G. Platon, *Les banquiers grecs dans la législation de Justinien* (Paris 1912). Stöckle, *Zünfte* 23f. *Bk. of Eparch* 140–48. Oikonomides, *Hommes d’affaires* 64. —A.K.

BANQUET (συνπόσιον), feast held in private households during religious and public festivities or to celebrate a WEDDING or birth of a child. The guests sat in the dining room (*triklinon*) around the best TABLE in the house. They either reclined on couches or mattresses (see BEDS) or sat on chairs and benches. At a banquet sponsored by PHILARETOS THE MERCIFUL the imperial guests sat at a round ivory table that accommodated 36 people (*Vita*, 137.31). Guests were seated according to their social position; usually ecclesiastics occupied the place of honor to the right of the host. Women and children sat apart in another room and were rarely introduced to the guests (*Vita*, 139.32–35). The host provided food, wine, and entertainment—music, song, and dancing. The clergy stayed only for dinner and had to leave when the entertainment began. Kekaume-

nos recommended avoiding banquets in order to be spared their intrigues and idle talk (Kek. 124.14–20).

Imperial banquets were held at the palace to mark the emperor’s birthday, coronation, marriage, or birth of a child. They were also held on religious FEASTS and public holidays. On such occasions the emperor invited high officials along with the church hierarchy. The guests wore their insignia and regalia. The emperor sat at a separate “golden” or “honorable” table, joined only by the six most important state officials. The banquets were held in various palace rooms with different seating capacities. Therefore, each banquet had a different group of participants. The seating was arranged according to a strict protocol. Such occasions were both solemn and festive, including the distribution of imperial gifts to courtiers and songs and DANCES. A Westerner like LIUTPRAND OF CREMONA criticized these imperial banquets as obscene and too lengthy, with food reeking of garlic, onions, and leeks. By the 14th C. such banquets were given only five times a year, on religious feastdays (pseudo-Kod. 219.27–220.7).

In a typological illustration in Athens, Nat. Lib. 211 (G. Galavaris, *Bread and the Liturgy* [Madison, Wisc., 1970], fig.94), a table being heaped with food by attendants is compared to John Chrysostom serving the faithful at an altar.

LIT. Koukoules, *Bios* 5:194–204. Treitinger, *Kaiseridee* 101–05. McCormick, *Eternal Victory* 104f. —Ap.K., A.C.

BAPHEUS (Βαφεύς, often incorrectly called Baphaion), site in BITHYNIA of a crucial battle in which OSMAN defeated the Byz. army under George MOUZALON on 27 July 1302. By this time, the Ottoman Turks had penetrated to the region of NIKOMEDEIA and threatened famine by blocking its communications. Mouzalon, with a force of 2,000, hoped to relieve the city and allow the inhabitants, who had taken refuge within its walls, to harvest their crops. Instead, the Turkish cavalry charge broke the ranks of the Byz., whose Alan contingent failed to participate, and Mouzalon withdrew ignominiously into the citadel of Nikomedeia (Pachym., ed. Bekker 2:333–35). The battle produced a fatal weakening of the Byz. position in Bithynia, provoked a wave of westward-bound refugees, and left the defensible fortified

towns as islands in a region soon overrun by the Turks. The exact site of the battle has not been determined; it was in view of Nikomedeia, probably to the east.

LIT. Arnakis, *Othomanoi* 127–29. R. Lindner, *Nomads and Ottomans in Medieval Anatolia* (Bloomington, Ind., 1983) 25f. —C.F.

BAPTISM (βάπτισμα, βαπτισμός), the SACRAMENT of initiation into Christian life via ritual lustration in the name of the Trinity for the remission of sin. Baptism performed but once and never repeated was interpreted in the New Testament by metaphors of new beginning, esp. rebirth in the Spirit, dying and rising in Christ, restoration of sight and illumination, and with Old Testament types such as the FLOOD, the CROSSING OF THE RED SEA, and circumcision on the eighth day. Byz. authors like John of Damascus (*Expositio fidei*, ed. Kotter, *Schriften* 2:181–86, 231.23–35) develop these traditional themes.

In the early church an elaborate initiation process, including a lengthy CATECHUMENATE, preceded baptism, which took place in the BAPTISTERY, principally at Easter Vigil, but also, in Constantinople, on EPIPHANY, LAZARUS SATURDAY, and PENTECOST because of the baptismal and resurrectional symbolism associated with these days. With the decline of the adult catechumenate and the shift to infant baptism (by ca.600), the ritual elements that marked the principal stages of this three-year process of initiation were concentrated within the last weeks of Lent. Finally, on Holy Saturday evening, while the congregation kept vigil in Hagia Sophia with LECTIONS recounting biblical types of baptism, the patriarch in the Great Baptistery blessed the FONT, presbyters and deacons anointed the candidates, and the patriarch himself baptized them and anointed them with chrism. Then the neophytes, vested in the white robes of sinlessness, made their solemn ritual entrance into the church to the chant of Psalm 31 with the baptismal TROPARION (Gal 3:27 plus alleluia) as refrain, to join the waiting congregation in the final rite of initiation, COMMUNION in the paschal EUCHARIST (Mateos, *Typicon* 2:84–89). (For the feast of the Baptism of Christ, see EPIPHANY.)

LIT. Arranz, “Rites d’incorporation” 53–66. Arranz, “Les sacrements.” —R.F.T.

BAPTISTERY (βαπτιστήριον), a building or room containing the FONT and used for rites of BAPTISM. The earliest known baptistery was a room within the Christian *domus* at DURA EUROPOS. Beginning with Constantine I's baptistery at the Lateran Basilica in Rome and continuing into the 6th C., baptisteries were often distinct constructions with a variety of forms—circular, octagonal, square, rectangular, cruciform, or triconch. No rules determined the position of the baptistery relative to its church. It could be located in front of, to either side of, or behind the church building and sometimes lacked any direct connection with the church. Some baptisteries were provided with vestibules and subsidiary rooms, though the font was usually located in the center of the main space, often beneath a dome. After the 6th C. and probably as the result of changing baptismal customs, the detached baptistery disappears. The font was moved into the church, occupying a position in the narthex or in a room set aside for that purpose. In monastic settings the function of the baptistery was frequently superseded by that of the PHIALE.

LIT. A. Khatchatrian, *Les baptistères paléochrétiens*² (Paris 1980). C. Delvoye, *RBK* 1:460–96. M. Falla Castelfranchi, *Baptisteria* (Rome 1980). —M.J.

BĀRA, AL-. See KAPER PERA.

BARBARA (Βαρβάρα), saint; feastday 4 Dec. The different versions of her legend disagree as to her birthplace and the date of her martyrdom. Barbara was supposedly a daughter of Dioskoros, a rich and noble pagan in Heliopolis (or Nikomedeia or Antioch), who placed Barbara in a tower (*pyrgos*) to prevent her from marrying. Ironically, she had no intention of marrying. She soon converted to Christianity and, during her father's absence, ordered a third window installed in the bath to symbolize the Trinity. When Dioskoros learned this, he tried to kill Barbara, but a supernatural force brought her to a mountain-top; helped by a shepherd who was at once transformed into a rock, her father discovered her and dragged her off to trial and execution. The execution is variously ascribed to the reign of Maximinus the Thracian (235–38), of MAXIMIAN, or of another emperor.

The legend was probably created by the 6th or 7th C. JOHN OF DAMASCUS praised Barbara (*Schri-*

ten, ed. Kotter, 5 [1988] 247–78), her *passio* was included in the collection of SYMEON METAPHRASTES (PG 116:301–16), and the legend inspired various encomiasts. It was also translated into Syriac and broadly spread in the West.

Representation in Art. The earliest portrait of Barbara is presumed to be that of the 8th C. in the presbytery of S. Maria Antiqua in Rome, where she is discreetly clad in a MAPHORION. Later images of the high-born virgin are virtual fashion plates of female COSTUME and HEADGEAR. Her execution at the hands of her father is depicted only rarely (MENOLOGION OF BASIL II, p.224).

SOURCES. *Passions des saints Écaterine et Pierre d'Alexandrie, Barbara et Anyisia*, ed. J. Viteau (Paris 1897) 89–105.

LIT. BHG 213–218q. W. Weyh, *Die syrische Barbara-Legende* (Leipzig 1912). A. Wirth, *Danae in christlichen Legenden* (Vienna 1892). —A.K., N.P.S.

BARBARIANS (βάρβαροι). The concept of a world divided into two polar groups—civilized Romans and uncivilized barbarians—was inherited by the thinkers of the late Roman Empire from classical antiquity and formed part of late Roman nationalism. AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS was one author who developed the negative stereotype of the barbarian, although as a descriptive ethnographer he was more objective and cautious than his contemporaries (T. Wiedemann in *Past Perspectives* [Cambridge 1986] 189–201). Practical needs (settlement of barbarians as FOEDERATI, military conflicts, and diplomacy) required a more sober assessment, reflected, for example, in the advocacy by THEMISTIOS of tolerance and philanthropy toward the barbarians; on the other hand, attempts to idealize the morally upright barbarian (e.g., in Theophylaktos SIMOKATTES) also represented an ancient attitude.

Initially Christianity tended not to emphasize the old contrast but replaced it with another polar opposition—Christian and heathen: the perception of the limits of the “Roman” OIKOUMENE were expanded and gradations were introduced in the non-Roman world. Thus, CASSIODORUS did not perceive the Goths as barbarians, reserving this epithet for the less “civilized” Franks (L. Viscido, *Orpheus* n.s. 7 [1986] 338–44); the ideas of Christian MISSION and the conquest and conversion of barbarians were influenced by this concept.

These Christian notions were not entrenched, however, and the Byz. clung to a definition in

terms of culture rather than creed: not only wild nomads but also Christian Latins and even Orthodox Bulgarians could be regarded as barbarians. The distinction between the “Romans” and barbarians (the embodiment of vanity, cruelty, greed, bad manners, illiteracy, and so forth) survived and was still applied to all peoples outside the empire.

As a conventional image of imperial TRIUMPH, statues of defeated barbarians were set up on the *spina* of the HIPPODROME in Constantinople and were frequently represented in Late Antique art (e.g., Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten*, no.54) and on coins.

LIT. Y.A. Dauge, *Le barbare* (Brussels 1981). J. Vogt, *Kulturwelt und Barbaren* (Wiesbaden 1967). B. Luiselli, “L'idea romana dei barbari,” *Romanobarbarica* 8 (1984–85) 33–61. G. Podskalsky, “Die Sicht der Barbarenvölker in der spätgriechischen Patristik,” *OrChrP* 51 (1985) 330–51. —A.K., A.C.

BARBARICARII, gold-weavers, embroiderers in gold, probably of Germanic origin; the 4th-C. grammarian Donatus described them as working “with gold and colored threads.” Under Constantine I they were still private laborers, but later in the 4th C. state “factories” were founded in which they worked under the supervision of three *praepositi branbaricariorum* [sic] *sive argentariorum*, who were posted in the West—Arles, Rheims, and Trier; in the West they were under the jurisdiction of the COMES SACRARUM LARGITIONUM. In the East their function included the decoration of armor (helmets) and they were under command of the *magister officiorum*. By 374 their factories were known in Constantinople and Antioch, but the 5th-C. NOTITIA DIGNITATUM locates them in every eastern diocese except for Thrace and Illyricum, which shared one workshop.

LIT. O. Seeck, *RE* 2 (1896) 2856f.

—A.K.

BARBARO, NICOLÒ, Venetian doctor attached to the fleet of Venice and eyewitness to the fall of Constantinople to the Turks; born ca.1400, died after 1453. Barbaro kept a detailed diary of the siege from 2 Mar. 1451 to 29 May 1453. Back in Venice and nearly a year (at least) after the event, he reworked his record into an account that survives in the Venetian dialect autograph MS. His perspective on the siege is favorable to the Byz., highlights the Venetian contribution (e.g., he identifies leading Venetian participants, ed. Cor-

net, pp. 16–18), and accuses the Genoese of undermining the city's defense, thereby complementing the accounts of LEONARD OF CHIOS and Jacopo TEDALDI.

ED. *Giornale dell'assedio di Costantinopoli 1453*, ed. E. Cornet (Vienna 1856). Excerpts—Pertusi, *Caduta* 1:8–38. Tr. J.R. Jones, *Diary of the Siege of Constantinople 1453* (Jericho, N.Y., 1969).

LIT. Karayannopoulos-Weiss, *Quellenkunde* 2:527. A. Carile, *LMA* 1:1439. —M.McC.

BARBARUS SCALIGERI, conventional name of the author of a chronicle entitled (also conventionally) *Excerpta latina barbari*. The Greek original was produced in Alexandria after 412 (the end of the patriarchate of THEOPHILOS of Alexandria is the last event mentioned). While from the Greek original only a parchment leaf of the early 5th C. survives (P. Berol. 13296), an awkward Latin translation of ca.700 is preserved in a single MS (Paris B.N. lat. 4884). The name Barbarus Scaligeri was given for its first editor, the humanist Joseph Justus Scaliger (1540–1609).

The chronicle consists of three sections: a world history from Adam to the fall of Cleopatra; a list of rulers (Assyrian, Egyptian, Greek, Persian, etc.) to which lists of Jewish high priests and Roman emperors have been added; and a list of Roman consuls from Caesar to 387. The list of emperors, which extends to Anastasios I, is considered an interpolation. The chronicle of Barbarus Scaligeri was based on older chronicles by Hippolytos, Sextus Julius Africanus, and Eusebios.

The Greek parchment leaf contains colored, strip illustrations paralleling the papyrus Goleniščev of the so-called ALEXANDRIAN WORLD CHRONICLE: it has busts of saints, a scene of martyrdom, and one of the earliest representations of the walls of Constantinople (H. Lietzmann in *Quantulacumque. Studies Presented to Kirsopp Lake* [London 1937] 339–48).

ED. C. Frick, *Chronica minora*, vol. 1 (Leipzig 1892) 183–371.

LIT. H. Gelzer, *Sextus Julius Africanus und die byzantinische Chronographie*, vol. 2.1 (Leipzig 1885; rp. New York 1967) 316–29. F. Jacoby, *RE* 6 (1909) 1566–76. R. Klein, *LMA* 4:156. —B.B., A.K., A.C.

BARBER (κουρεύς). Information on barbers is scanty, despite the important role HAIR-cutting played in Byz. (e.g., through the monastic TONSURE, or as a form of punishment, or as an expres-

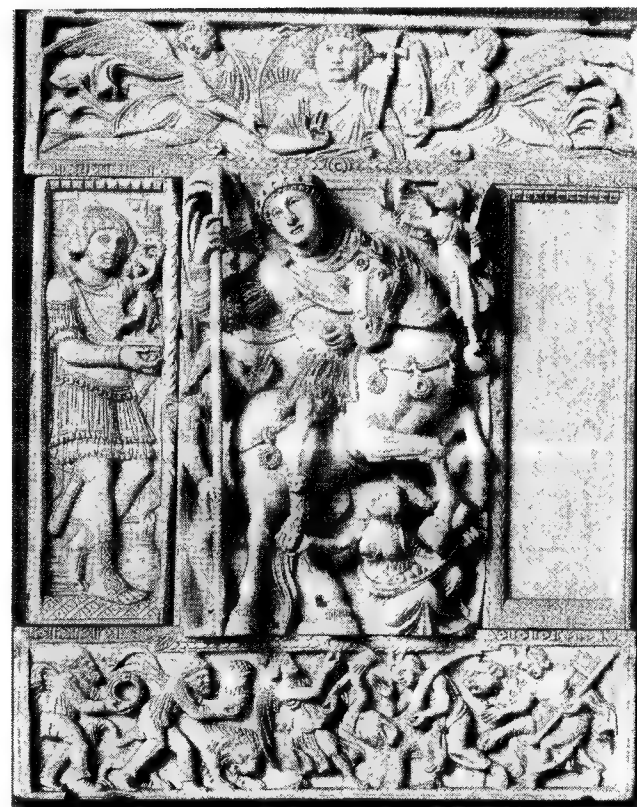
sion of social attitudes through growing a BEARD). In late antiquity there were professional barbers, and Diocletian established the price of a haircut as 2 denaria. According to the *Miracles* of Kosmas and Damianos, a butcher could become a barber; he needed only special tools, *kourika ergaleia*, and some funds (around 50 nomismata) to set up a shop (H.J. Magoulias, *BS* 37 [1976] 28f). Some barbers worked in the precincts of churches; in the 14th C. Matthew Blastares mentioned barber-shops operating at Hagia Sophia alongside the shops of PERFUME sellers (Rhalles-Potles, *Syntagma* 2:483.6–7). There were also barbers at the imperial palace; according to a legend, Emp. Julian dismissed all of them but one (Theoph. 47.12). Law codes (e.g., *Basil.* 60.11.1) mention barbers working near playgrounds.

LIT. Koukoules, *Bios* 2.1:199f.

—Ap.K.

BARBERINI IVORY (Paris, Louvre, inv. no. OA 9063), carved ivory panel that takes its name from the cardinal-legate whose collection it entered in 1625. The ivory is often assumed, with insufficient

BARBERINI IVORY. The Barberini ivory. Musée du Louvre, Paris.



reason, to be one leaf of the so-called five-part DIPTYCHS. The mounted emperor is usually said to be Anastasios I; the suggestion that he represents Justinian I (D.H. Wright, 3rd *BSC Abstracts* [1977] 6f) is more likely to be correct. The right panel is now missing, but the military figure to the emperor's left, presenting a wreath-bearing NIKE, lends some support to the notion that ivories such as this were presented to the emperor rather than by him. The PERSONIFICATION of Terra (Earth) at his feet and the Indians and other BARBARIANS making offerings in the lower panel complete a selection of figures deriving from Roman imperial iconography. The pagan themes of tribute to majesty, of victory, and of prosperity are, however, christened by the beardless Lord set axially above the earthly ruler among cosmological symbols. The thesis that the central panel is a replacement (P. Speck, *Varia II* [Berlin 1987] 348–53) is unlikely, given that all four preserved panels bear liturgical notations written on the back, indicating that they were in Gaul as early as ca.613 (E. Hlawitschka, *Rheinische Vierteljahrsblätter* 43 [1979] 1–99).

LIT. Delbrück, *Consulardiptychen*, no.48.

—A.C.

BARDANES, GEORGE, church official and metropolitan; born Athens second half of 12th C., died ca.1240. Bardanes (Βαρδάνης) was a central figure and spokesman, along with John APOKAUKOS and Demetrios CHOMATENOS, for the ecclesiastical independence of EPIROS from the patriarch at Nicaea in the period of the Latin occupation of Constantinople. He began his career studying in Athens with Archbp. Michael CHONIATES; when Choniates went into exile on Keos after 1205, Bardanes served him as *hypomnematographos* and *chartophylax* (J. Herrin, *DOP* 29 [1975] 262f). He represented Choniates in Constantinople in 1214 in the discussions with Cardinal PELAGIUS OF ALBANO and by 1218 was serving in the bishopric of Grevena, still with the title of *chartophylax*. Strongly recommended by Apokaukos, his friend and correspondent on matters of canon law (M.Th. Fögen in *Cupido Legum* 47–71), Bardanes was appointed metropolitan of Kerkyra in 1219 by THEODORE KOMNENOS DOUKAS, without consulting the patriarch at Nicaea. He contributed much to the schism between the churches, officially declared in a letter to Patr. GERMANOS II, written by

Bardanes in 1228 on behalf of the Epirot clergy (R.-J. Loenertz, *EEBS* 33 [1964] 87–118), and ended in 1233 by another letter of Bardanes. In 1235/6 MANUEL ANGELOS sent him on an embassy to Frederick II and Pope Gregory IX, but illness prevented him from fulfilling his mission. While convalescing at the monastery of St. Nicholas of Casole at Otranto, Bardanes took part in a discussion with a Franciscan, Fra Bartolomeo, on PURGATORY, of which Bardanes has left an account.

ED. Letters in Latin tr.—J.M. Hoeck, R.-J. Loenertz, *Nikolaos-Nektarios von Otranto, Abt von Casole* (Ettal 1965) 117–28, 148–235. *On Purgatory*—M. Roncaglia, *Georges Bardanes, métropolitain de Corfou, et Barthélemy de l'Ordre franciscain* (Rome 1953) 56–71. A. Acconcia Longo, "Per la storia di Corfou nel XIII secolo," *RSBN* 22–23 (1985–86) 209–29.

LIT. Nicol, *Epiros I* 82f, 115–21. G. Prinzing, "Die Antigraphie des Patriarchen Germanos II. an Erzbischof Demetrios Chomatenos von Ohrid und die Korrespondenz zum nikäisch-epirotischen Konflikt 1212–33," *RSBS* 3 (1984) 21–64.

—R.J.M.

BARDANES TOURKOS (Βαρδάνης ὁ ἐπικληντοῦρκος), unsuccessful rebel in 803. Of Armenian origin, Bardanes was a *patrikios* and *strategos* of the Anatolikon under Nikephoros I (Toumanoff, "Caucasia" 150); he is probably to be identified with the *patrikios* Bardanios who, as *domestikos ton scholon* under Constantine VI, arrested PLATO OF SAKKOUNDION and, as *strategos* of the Thrakesion, supported Irene against Constantine in 797 (Guiland, *Titres*, pt.IX [1970] 339f). In 803 Emp. Nikephoros I appointed Bardanes "monstrategos of the five eastern themes" (*TheophCont* 6.14–16), probably anticipating an offensive against the Arabs. On 18 July Bardanes was proclaimed emperor reportedly for economic reasons: Nikephoros may not have paid the troops, Bardanes had equitably distributed booty from Arab campaigns, or Bardanes may have opposed the high taxes of Nikephoros. His supporters included Michael (II), Leo (V), and THOMAS THE SLAV.

According to several Byz. sources (Genes. 6.4–7.36; *TheophCont* 7), before his revolt Bardanes visited a holy man who prophesied that his rebellion would fail, Michael and Leo would each reign, and Thomas would himself instigate a revolt. The Armeniakon troops refused to join Bardanes, who unsuccessfully besieged Chrysoupolis for eight days. Michael and Leo deserted him, and Bar-

danes withdrew to Malagina to negotiate with Nikephoros, who apparently used Joseph of Kithara as an intermediary (see MOECHIAN CONTROVERSY). Receiving a written guarantee of safety confirmed by Patr. Tarasios, in Sept. Bardanes took refuge in the monastery of Herakleion in the port of Kios (in Bithynia), where he became a monk under the name Sabbas. He moved to a monastery that he had built on Prote, but Nikephoros confiscated his property, arrested his supporters, and blinded him.

LIT. E. Kountoura-Galake, "He epanastase tou Bardane Tourkou," *Symmeikta* 5 (1983) 203–15. S. Mauromate-Katsougiannopoulou, "He epanastase tou strategou Bardane stis synchrones kai metagenesteres aphegematikhes peges," *Byzantina* 10 (1980) 217–36. Kaegi, *Unrest* 245–47. Bury, *ERE* 10–14.

—P.A.H.

BARDAS (Βάρδας), caesar; died 21 Apr. 866 (*TheophCont* 206.13). An Armenian from Paphlagonia (Toumanoff, "Caucasia" 136) and brother of Empress THEODORA and PETRONAS, Bardas began his career in the military. In 837 Emp. Theophilos, who entitled him *patrikios*, sent him with THEOPHOBOS into Abchasia, where he was defeated. He may have played a small role during Theodora's regency for Michael III, but after helping Michael dethrone her by assassinating THEOKTISTOS, he was named *chartoularios tou kanikleiou*, *magistros*, and then *domestikos ton scholon*. In 859 Michael entitled his uncle *kouropalates* and on 26 Apr. 862 crowned him as CAESAR.

An outstanding administrator, Bardas was responsible for many achievements of Michael's reign, including the baptism of BORIS I of Bulgaria, the mission of CONSTANTINE THE PHILOSOPHER and METHODIOS to Moravia, and the election of Patr. PHOTIOS. Bardas contributed to the revival of secular learning by organizing a school in the MAGNAURA and patronizing scholars such as LEO THE MATHEMATICIAN (Lemerle, *Humanism* 183f). From his first marriage he had two sons—one he named *domestikos ton scholon*, another a *strategos*—and one daughter. He married his second wife, Theodosia, ca.855 and divorced her ca.862, but probably continued to live with his daughter-in-law EUDOKIA INGERINA, who had joined his household after the death of his eldest son, apparently ca.857. According to NIKETAS DAVID PAPHLAGON (PG 105:504C), Bardas deposed Patr. IGNATIOS for condemning his relationship with Eudokia as

incestuous. Bardas was assassinated by Basil (I) while campaigning with Michael in Asia Minor. Following other numerous scenes from his life, this last event is depicted in the Madrid Skylitzes MS (Grabar-Manoussacas, *Skylitzès*, no.195) in a manner suggesting that Michael III was responsible for Bardas's death.

LIT. Guillard, *Institutions* 1:437. F. Dvornik, "Patriarch Ignatius and Caesar Bardas," *BS* 27 (1966) 7-22.

-P.A.H., A.C.

BAR HEBRAEUS. See GREGORY ABŪ'L-FARAJ.

BARI (Βάρις), Adriatic port in Apulia, occupied by the Byz. in 875/6 and used as a military base during their recovery of southern Italy under Basil I. In 893 Bari became the residence of the *strategos* of Longobardia and later of the *KATEPANO* of Italy. The *NORMANS* conquered the city in 1071. The population of Bari was predominantly Lombard, the local language was Latin, and the ecclesiastical rite was and remained Roman Catholic throughout the Byz. period. As the capital of Byz. Italy for almost 200 years, however, Bari experienced the presence of a conspicuous number of non-Italian officials, the immigration of new inhabitants from all parts of the empire (Greeks, Armenians, and Jews), and frequent contacts between the local upper class and Constantinople. In fact, 11th-C. documentation shows that many members of the upper class of Bari were bilingual and acquired Byz. tastes in art and literature. According to the local annals (MGH SS 5:51-63), Bari was also the center of Italian opposition to the Byz. government. There is some evidence of trade between Bari and the empire. In 1087, local merchants brought the relics of St. NICHOLAS OF MYRA to Bari. The church of the city's new patron saint, Nicholas, was built on the site of the Byz. governor's residence (*praetorium*), which was given by Duke Roger to the archbishop of Bari in the same year. Schettini (*infra*) argued that the extant church is actually the remodeled shell of the *katepano's* palace, but his thesis has been generally rejected, not least because a document attests the destruction of the palace in a revolt of 1079. Many fragments of Byz. sculpture are still preserved in the town.

LIT. V. von Falkenhausen, "Bari bizantina," in *Spazio, società, potere nell'Italia dei Comuni*, ed. G. Rossetti (Naples 1986) 195-227. Guillou, *Byz. Italy*, pt.VIII, 1-22. M. Milella

Lovecchio, "La scultura bizantina dell'XI secolo nel museo di San Nicola di Bari," *MEFRM* 93 (1981) 7-87. M. Salvatore, N. Lavermicocca, "Sculpture altomedievali e bizantine nel museo di S. Nicola di Bari," *Rivista dell'Istituto nazionale di archeologia e storia dell'arte* 3 (1980) 93-135. F. Schettini, *La Basilica di San Nicola di Bari* (Bari 1967), rev. G. Mörsch, *ZKunst* 31 (1968) 151-58. *Archeologia di una città. Bari dalle origini al X secolo*, ed. G. Andreassi, F. Radino (Bari 1988) 499-589.

-V.v.F., D.K.

BARLAAM AND IOASAPH, prose romance of uncertain date and authorship. "A story beneficial for the soul," it describes the conversion to Christianity of the Indian prince Ioasaph by the hermit Barlaam and the subsequent conversion of King Abenner by his son Ioasaph. The plot provides the opportunity to develop the principles of the Christian creed and its advantages over paganism. One of the most widely read Greek texts of the Middle Ages, *Barlaam and Ioasaph* survives in over 140 MSS, some probably of the 10th C.; the earliest dated MS is from 1021 (B. Fonkič, *AB* 91 [1973] 13-20). The story is of Oriental origin, reflecting to some extent the life of Buddha, but the path of transmission of the legend from India to Byz. is unclear. The date of composition and the authorship of the Greek *Barlaam and Ioasaph* are also under discussion. Scholarly tradition clings primarily to two names: JOHN OF DAMASCUS and EUTHYMIOUS THE IBERIAN, who allegedly translated the work from Georgian. Probably neither is to be credited with this achievement, and the work should instead be assigned to an unknown John of Mar Saba of the 9th C.(?), whose name appears on dozens of MSS. *Barlaam and Ioasaph* was translated into various languages, Latin, Slavic, etc.

Five densely illustrated Byz. MSS of *Barlaam and Ioasaph* survive, dating from the 11th C. (Jerusalem, Gr. Patr. Stavrou 42) and later. The earliest have purely narrative illustration that closely follows the text, much like that of the Madrid MS of John SKYLITZES. Examples of the 13th to 14th C. include miniatures of the FLOOD, the CROSSING OF THE RED SEA, and other Old Testament scenes. Paris, B.N. gr. 1128 (14th C.) adds a notable CREATION cycle, as well as scenes of the INFANCY OF CHRIST, MIRACLES OF CHRIST, and PASSION OF CHRIST. It also depicts Barlaam as a monk in its frontispiece and includes scenes and figures, such as CARPENTERS, drawn from everyday life. In all versions, Indian buildings, boats, beds, and other realia are represented as if they were Byz. Only the occasional turban suggests the tale's exotic

setting. The name Ioasaph was adopted by JOHN VI KANTAKOUZENOS and several members of the NEMANJID dynasty, who had themselves represented as the monastic hero of the story at STUDENICA and GRAČANICA (V.J. Djurić, *CahArch* 33 [1985] 99-109).

ED. St. John Damascene: *Barlaam and Ioasaph*², ed. G.R. Woodward, H. Mattingly (Cambridge, Mass.-London 1967), with Eng. tr. Slavic version—*Povest' o Varlaame i Ioasafe*, ed. I. Lebedeva (Moscow 1985).

LIT. P. Peeters, "La première traduction latine de 'Barlaam et Ioasaph' et son original grec," *AB* 49 (1931) 276-312. F. Dölger, *Der griechische Barlaam -Roman* (Ettal 1953). A. Kazhdan, "Where, when and by whom was the Greek Barlaam and Ioasaph not Written," in *Zu Alexander d. Gr. Festschrift G. Wirth zum 60. Geburtstag am 9.12.86*, vol. 2 (Amsterdam 1988) 1187-1209. S. Der Nersessian, *L'illustration du roman de Barlaam et Ioasaph*, 2 vols. (Paris 1937). *Treasures* 2:306-22, figs.53-122.

-E.M.J., M.J.J., A.K., A.C.

BARLAAM OF CALABRIA, theologian; born Seminara, Calabria, ca.1290, died Avignon? June 1348 (A. Pertusi, *ItMedUm* 3 [1960] 108 n.1). Born in southern Italy to an Orthodox family, he became a monk in his youth. In 1330 he moved to Constantinople, where he was *hegoumenos* of the Akataleptos monastery until 1341. A protégé of ANDRONIKOS III, he served as an Orthodox spokesman in Union negotiations in Constantinople and, in 1339, as imperial emissary to the courts of Naples and Paris. A brilliant but arrogant and contentious scholar, in the mid-1330s he began to attack HESYCHASM for both its theology and manner of prayer. He accused Gregory PALAMAS of MESSALIANISM, and argued that the light on Mt. TABOR at the Transfiguration was created and not eternal. His intemperate criticism of the mystical exercises of the monks of Mt. Athos (whom he called *omphalopsychoi*, "with souls in their navels") triggered the controversy over PALAMISM that was to divide the Byz. church for over a decade. The local council of Constantinople of 1341 (see under CONSTANTINOPLE, COUNCILS OF) condemned Barlaam and ordered his anti-hesychast writings burned. He returned to the West, converted to Catholicism at Avignon in 1342, and became bishop of Gerace in Calabria (1342-48). At Avignon Barlaam met Petrarch, who was later to study Greek with him. Barlaam was anathematized by the Orthodox church in 1351.

Bilingual, Barlaam left writings in both Latin and Greek. Most of his anti-Palamite works (ex-

cept for his letters and an unedited disputation with Gregory AKINDYNOS) were destroyed, so his views are known primarily from the rebuttals of his opponents. His 21 anti-Latin treatises on the Procession of the Holy Spirit and papal primacy do survive (in Latin), but are mostly unpublished. Barlaam was also interested in ASTRONOMY and wrote treatises on solar ECLIPSES and the ASTROLABE.

ED. PG 151:1255-82, 1301-64. *Epistole greche*, ed. G. Schirò (Palermo 1954). *Epistole a Palamas*, ed. A. Fyrigos (Rome 1975), with Ital. tr. *Traité sur les éclipses de soleil de 1331 et 1337*, ed. J. Mogenet, A. Tihon (Louvain 1977), with Fr. tr. For further ed., see *Tusculum-Lexikon* 102.

LIT. G. Schirò, *Ho Barlaam kai he philosophia eis ten Thessaloniken* (Thessalonike 1959). Podskalsky, *Theologie* 126-94. *PLP*, no.2284. R.E. Sinkewicz, "The Doctrine of the Knowledge of God in the Early Writings of Barlaam the Calabrian," *MedSt* 44 (1982) 181-242. P. Leone, "Barlaam in Occidente," in *Studi in onore di Mario Marti* (Lecce 1981) 427-46. A. Fyrigos, "Barlaam Calabro tra l'aristotelismo scolastico e il neoplatonismo bizantino," *Il Veltro* 27 (1983) 185-95.

-A.M.T.

BARLEY. See GRAIN.

BARNABAS (Βαρνάβας), apostle and saint; feast-day (together with St. Bartholomew) 11 June. Originally from Cyprus, he taught with PAUL in Antioch and Cyprus and thereafter with MARK. He is considered the founder of the Cypriot church. Eusebios of Caesarea (*HE* 1.12.1) states that some people listed Barnabas among the 70 disciples of Christ. The epistle of Barnabas was seen as authentic by Origen and was included in some MSS of the Bible (e.g., Codex Sinaiticus), but Eusebios and Jerome considered it apocryphal. The New Testament Epistle to the Hebrews was attributed to Barnabas in the 2nd and 3rd C., but Eusebios rejected his authorship. Although the so-called *Gospel According to Barnabas*, a piece of pro-Islamic polemic, has survived only in Italian and Spanish, Cirillo (*infra*) considered it to have descended from an apocryphal work compiled in the Judaeo-Christian milieu before the 5th C.

Byz. legend usually connects Barnabas with Cyprus. His relics, together with a copy of the Gospel of Matthew allegedly copied by Barnabas himself, were discovered under a tree in Cyprus (488?); this tradition was used by the Cypriots as an argument against their dependence on Antioch (THEODORE LECTOR 121.19-23). The Cypriot legend was developed by Alexander the Monk in his

eulogy of Barnabas. Another legend, accepted in the *Synaxarion of Constantinople*, stressed the connection of Barnabas with PETER—Barnabas was Peter's companion and Peter ordained him; the memory of Barnabas was celebrated in Constantinople in the Church of St. Peter, near Hagia Sophia.

ED. *Évangile de Barnabé*, ed. and tr. L. Cirillo and M. Frémaux (Paris 1977).

LIT. BHG 225–226e. L. Cirillo, "Un nuovo Vangelo apocrifo: il Vangelo di Barnaba," *Rivista di storia e letteratura religiosa* 11 (1975) 391–412. R. Stichel, "Bemerkungen zum Barnabas-Evangelium," *BS* 43 (1982) 189–201. —A.K.

BARSANOUPHIOS (Βαρσανούφιος), monastic writer; died ca. 545. An Egyptian by birth, Barsanouphios took up the vocation of a recluse at the *koinobion* of Abba Seridos at Thavatha, near Gaza. Together with another recluse at the same monastery, John "the Prophet," Barsanouphios issued opinions, presumably in Greek, on a wide range of problems presented to him as questions coming from other monks, bishops, and lay people. The responses of the two holy men, called "the Great Old Man" and "the Other Old Man," respectively, were gathered by a now anonymous monk of the monastery into a collection of some 850 questions and answers. As recluses, Barsanouphios and John corresponded with others only through intermediaries. Abba Seridos performed this service for Barsanouphios; the young Dorotheos of Gaza was intermediary for John. The texts of the responses of the two recluses furnish abundant evidence for many of the practical problems churchmen and others encountered in 5th- and 6th-C. Palestine. They approved the ascetical counsels of EVAGRIOS PONTIKOS, while rejecting his "Origenism." Their teaching was extremely influential in monastic circles. The kernel of their ascetical advice is the constant admonition to cultivate an attitude of freedom from anxiety and reliance on God.

ED. S.N. Schoinas, *Nikodemou Hagioreitou Biblos Barsanouphiou kai Ioannou* (Volos 1960). "Barsanuphius and John: Questions and Answers," ed. D.J. Chitty, *PO* 31 (1966) 447–616. Fr. tr. L. Regnault, P. Lemaire, B. Outtier, *Barsanuphe et Jean de Gaza, Correspondance* (Solesmes 1972).

LIT. Chitty, *Desert* 132–40. —S.H.G.

BARSAUMA, or Barsumas, metropolitan of Nisibis (from ca. 470); born in northern Persia (as a slave?) between about 415 and 420, died 496.

Educated in Edessa by IBAS of Edessa, he eagerly joined the Nestorians, stirring up such a hatred of the Monophysites that the "Robber" Council of Ephesus (449) demanded his expulsion from Ephesus. After the death of Ibas in 457, Barsauma left Edessa and settled in Nisibis, where he was elected bishop. He successfully contested the authority of Babaway, metropolitan of Ktesiphon-Seleukeia, and with the help of the Persian king Pērōz (459–84) brought about the deposition of the metropolitan and a flogging that proved fatal; Barsauma's friend Akakios was appointed as Babaway's successor. Barsauma opposed the requirement of celibacy for the clergy and was himself married to a former nun. He founded the academy of Nisibis and invited NARSAI OF EDESSA to teach there. A Syriac catalog of 'ABDĪSHŌ' BAR BERĪKĀ lists his sermons, hymns, and other works, of which six short letters (in Syriac) to Akakios of Ktesiphon have survived. At the end of his life Barsauma opposed the HENOTIKON and the increasing influence of the Monophysites.

ED. O. Braun, ed., "Des Baršauma von Nisibis Briefe an den Katholikos Akak," in *Actes du Xe Congrès des Orientalistes, Genève, 1894* (Leiden 1896), pt. 3, sect. 2: 83–101.

LIT. S. Gero, *Baršauma of Nisibis and Persian Christianity in the Fifth Century* (Louvain 1981). J. Labourt, *Le Christianisme dans l'empire perse sous la dynastie sassanide* (Paris 1904) 131–52. G. Bardy, *DHGE* 6 (1932) 948–50. J.-M. Sauget, *DPAC* 1: 484–86. —A.K.

BARTER ECONOMY. Alongside the Byz. monetary economy there existed an element of barter that took various forms. First, small-scale producers may have exchanged their products in local markets, as did the 9th-C. peasant Metrios at a FAIR; but there he met a merchant who conducted his business in large amounts of cash (*Synax.CP* 721.30–34). Barter could be a first stage in transactions that eventually became monetized, as is evident by the development of Athonite trade (a clear case of barter is found in the vita of ATHANASIOS OF ATHOS [vita A, ed. Noret, par. 38.9–30]; see also *Prot.* nos. 7.99–100, 8.99–100). Second, some taxes were paid in kind, not in the Byz. Empire proper but rather in outlying provinces. The Bulgarians, after the conquests of Basil II, were allowed to pay their taxes in kind. The conversion of these taxes into payments in cash, during the reign Michael IV, caused a revolt. Third, foreign trade occasionally took the form of an exchange of commodities. The BOOK OF THE EPARCH (9.6) describes a classic barter situation:

Bulgarians or other non-Byz. go to Constantinople to exchange their goods; the linen merchants, acting as brokers, find the [Byz.] merchants who have the appropriate commodities and receive a commission, in cash, for their services. It is important to note the juxtaposition of a barter economy, resulting from the needs of outsiders, and the cash economy in which the Byz. merchants themselves operated. There is, finally, another type of barter, involving services. Professionals of one sort or another might receive their salary partly in cash and partly in kind; these include, for example, the bishops and priests of rural areas and the doctors of the hospital of the PANTOKRATOR MONASTERY in Constantinople.

Given the fact that taxes were collected overwhelmingly in cash and cash transactions were commonplace, the role of barter must not be exaggerated. The importance of barter may have increased somewhat in the 7th–8th C., but in general its role was secondary to the dominant cash economy.

LIT. A.P. Kazhdan, "Iz ekonomičeskoj žizni Vizantii xi–xii vv.," *VizOč* 2 (1971) 200f. Antoniadis-Bibicou, *Douanes* 241–55. —A.L.

BARTHOLOMEW (Βαρθολομαῖος), apostle, treated as one of the Twelve, and saint; feastday in Constantinople (together with St. BARNABAS) 11 June. Byz. legends present Bartholomew as teaching in Asia Minor where, together with PHILIP, he suffered a martyr's death in Hierapolis. Already Eusebios of Caesarea (*HE* 5.10.3) was aware of Bartholomew's journey to "India" (Ethiopia or Arabia?), whither Bartholomew brought the Gospel of Matthew written in Hebrew. Eventually, the legend developed that he was crucified in Arbanoupolis in Armenia, whence his relics were brought in a lead casket first to Benevento and then to Lipari. Armenian texts from the 7th C. onward claimed that Bartholomew died and was buried in "Urbanopolis of Great Armenia," which, according to van Esbroeck, was a new name for Nikopolis of Pontos. The presence in Armenia of one of the Twelve Apostles (not merely that of Thaddeus, one of the 70) served as a justification for Armenian ecclesiastical autonomy. In Byz. the veneration of Bartholomew was probably connected with Thessalonike: there, Joseph the Hymnographer received the relics of "the great apostle" and soon after built (in Thessalonike?) the

Church of Bartholomew (PG 105:964A). Several eulogies of Bartholomew were compiled (e.g., by Theodore of Stoudios).

LIT. BHG 227–232f. F. Spadafora, *Bibl.sanct.* 2:852–62. M. van Esbroeck, "The Rise of Saint Bartholomew's Cult in Armenia," *Medieval Armenian Culture* (Chico, Calif., 1984) 161–78. —A.K.

BARUCH (Βαρούχ), legendary friend and companion of JEREMIAH; pseudonymous author of several Hebrew and Judaeo-Christian apocalyptic books. The Book of Baruch or Baruch I, which develops the theme of sin and repentance, became popular with Christian theologians; it was commented on by THEODORET OF CYRRHUS, OLYMPIODOROS OF ALEXANDRIA, and (in the 7th C.?) John the Droungarios. Theodoret (PG 81:761A) juxtaposed Baruch with Paul ("the divine apostle") and stressed the concordance between Old Testament and New Testament. Baruch II is a Syriac Apocalypse, probably of the early 2nd C. Baruch III, which may also date to the 2nd C., has survived in only two Greek MSS of the 15th–16th C. and—in different forms—in Slavic versions. It is accepted that Origen knew Baruch III and that it was written before 231, even though ORIGEN (*First Principles* 2.3.6) found "clear indication of the seven worlds or heavens," where Baruch III speaks of Baruch's ascent to the five heavens: the first two of these house sinners; the third a dragon, a sea, primal rivers, the garden of Eden (?), the sun with the Phoenix, and the moon; the fourth, the souls of the righteous; the fifth, the angels.

ED. J.C. Picard, *Apocalypsis Baruchi Graece* (Leiden 1967).

LIT. M. Faulhaber, *Die Propheten-Catenen nach römischen Handschriften* (Freiburg im Breisgau 1899) 129f. E. Turdeanu, "L'Apocalypse de Baruch en slave," *RES* 48 (1969) 23–48. —J.I., A.K.

BASIL (Βασίλειος), personal name (meaning "imperial, royal"). Unknown in antiquity and in the New Testament, the name first appeared in the 4th C. (O. Seeck, *RE* 3 [1899] 48; *PLRE* 1:148f). Relatively rare in the early centuries (Theophanes the Confessor lists only four Basils), it became more popular in the 10th and 11th C. when, for example, Skylitzes mentions 25 Basils, almost as many as THEODORE (26); it is perhaps no coincidence that the two emperors named Basil ruled in the 9th–11th C. In the later acts of *Lavra*, vols. 2–3 (13th–15th C.), however, Basil occupies

only the eighth place among male names. The puns based on the etymology of the name are self-evident: thus PHOTIOS (*Epistulae* 3:42.1346) called Basil the Great "the imperial (*basileios*) attire of the church."
—A.K.

BASIL, archbishop of Seleukeia (from ca.440); ecclesiastical writer; died after 468. Basil vacillated publicly and dramatically in his attitude toward EUTYCHES and MONOPHYSITISM—either from opportunism or genuine changes of heart. He first opposed the Monophysites at Constantinople in 448, supported them the next year at the "Robber" Council of Ephesus, and finally subscribed to their condemnation at Chalcedon in 451 (M. van Parys, *Irenikon* 44 [1971] 493–514).

Forty-one biblical sermons survive under his name, though at least two (nos. 38–39) are spurious; six pseudo-Athanasian sermons (PG 28:1047–61, 1073–1108) are now, however, attributed to him. Photios (*Bibl.*, cod.168) read 15 of Basil's homilies, noting the exegetical influence of Basil the Great and John Chrysostom; he approved their content but found the style too pretentious. Basil's taste for dramatic form has led to his being credited with an influence on the *kontakia* of ROMANOS THE MELODE (P. Maas, *BZ* 19 [1910] 285–306). G. Dagron (*Vie et miracles de sainte Thècle* [Brussels 1978] 13–19) has argued that Basil is not the author of the *vita* and *Miracles* of THEKLA, as is usually thought. According to Photios, however, he did write a poetical version of her *Acta*, which has not survived.

ED. PG 85:10–618. P. Camelot, "Une homélie inédite de Basile de Séleucie," in *Mélanges A.-M. Desrousseaux* (Paris 1937) 35–48. *Homélies pascales*, ed. M. Aubineau (Paris 1972) 167–277, with Fr. tr.

LIT. B. Marx, "Der homiletische Nachlass des Basileios von Seleukeia," *OrChrP* 7 (1941) 329–69. M. López-Salvá, "Los *Thaumata* de Basilio de Seleucia," *Cuadernos de filología clásica* 3 (1972) 217–319.
—B.B., A.M.T.

BASIL I, emperor (867–86) and founder of the MACEDONIAN DYNASTY; born Thrace or Macedonia 830 or 835 (E.W. Brooks, *BZ* 20 [1911] 486–91) or on 25 May 836 (Adontz, *Etudes* 67), died Constantinople 29 Aug. 886. Of peasant origin, Basil had a brilliant career under MICHAEL III, was crowned co-emperor in 866, and became emperor after Michael's murder 23/4 Sept. 867.

In the *VITA BASILII* Constantine VII described Basil (his grandfather) as an ideal ruler concerned with fiscal administration, justice, and protecting the poor and catalogued the many structures, including the NEA EKKLESIA and the Kainourgion in the GREAT PALACE, that he built or restored. Basil's known reforms reveal his tendency to strengthen state control over economic life: he prohibited the exaction of INTEREST and tried (but failed) to require peasants to pay taxes for abandoned neighboring lands. He stimulated the restoration of Roman law and promulgated the PROCHEIRON and the EPANAGOGE.

Basil faced resistance of various sorts: the rebellion of slaves of his cousin Asylaion was crushed; in 872 Basil's general Christopher routed the PAULICIANS; John KOURKOUAS organized an aristocratic plot in 883–85. There were also troubles within the family: Leo, Basil's son and heir, was imprisoned, allegedly slandered by SANTABARENOS, and reconciliation was achieved only just before Basil's death. Basil fought the Arabs both in the East and in Italy. He seized Zapetra and Samosata in 873 but suffered defeat at MELITENE; in 878 ANDREW THE SCYTHIAN won a victory at Podandos but retreated from Tarsos. The successes of NASAR and Nikephoros PHOKAS in southern Italy only partly compensated for the Byz. loss of SYRACUSE. In Italy Basil sought an alliance with both LOUIS II and the papacy; he had to yield to Pope NICHOLAS I and replace PHOTIOS with IGNATIUS. Basil succeeded in occupying Cyprus for seven years. He died after a hunting accident. Together with members of his family, he is portrayed at the start of the PARIS GREGORY MS.

SOURCES. *TheophCont* 211–353. A. Vogt, I. Hausherr, *Oraison funèbre de Basile I par son fils Léon VI le Sage* (Rome 1932). Gy. Moravcsik, "Sagen und Legenden über Kaiser Basileios I.," *DOP* 15 (1961) 59–126.

LIT. A. Vogt, *Basile Ier, empereur de Byzance (867–886)* (Paris 1908). Vasiliev, *Byz. Arabes* 2.1:1–114. B.N. Blysidou, "Symbole ste melete tes exoterikes politikes tou Basileiou A' ste dekaetia 867–877," *Symmeikta* 4 (1981) 301–15. E. Kislinger, "Der junge Basileios I. und die Bulgaren," *JÖB* 30 (1981) 137–50.
—A.K., A.C.

BASIL I, grand duke of Moscow and Vladimir (1389–1425); born 1371, died Moscow 28 Feb. 1425. Son of Dimitrij Donskoj, he was sent in his youth as a hostage to the Golden Horde. Soon after Basil succeeded his father as grand duke,

he married the Lithuanian princess Sophia (1391). He annexed Nižni Novgorod and withstood the incursion of TIMUR in 1395. In 1393 Basil objected to the commemoration of Emp. Manuel II in the diptychs by the pro-Byz. metropolitan KIPRIAN, reportedly saying, "We have a church but no emperor." It was in response to this incident that Patr. ANTONY IV sent his letter defending the universal sovereignty of the Byz. emperor. Good relations were soon restored, however, between Basil and Constantinople, for in 1398 Basil sent the Byz. emperor funds to assist in defending the capital against the Ottoman siege. In 1413 (P. Schreiner, *BZ* 63 [1970] 294) or 1414 (Barker, *Manuel II* 345) Basil's young daughter Anna was married to the Byz. crown prince John (VIII) Palaiologos; she died in 1417 of the plague. Basil, his Lithuanian wife, his daughter Anna, and her Byz. husband are all depicted on the so-called "Large Sakkos" of Metr. Photios (1408–31), probably made between 1414 and 1417 (D. Obolensky, *EChR* 4 [1972] 141–46).

LIT. Meyendorff, *Russia* 244f, 254–57. *PLP*, no.2387. Obolensky, *Commonwealth* 264–67. L.V. Čerepnin, *Obrazovanie Russkogo centralizovannogo gosudarstva v XIV–XV vekach* (Moscow 1960) 663–743.
—A.M.T.

BASIL I, ANONYMOUS POEM ABOUT, a work in 12-syllable verses, probably written before 872, since the author prays for the emperor's victory over "the friends of Mani," i.e., the PAULICIANS. The beginning is lost. The author praises BASIL I as a *megas basileus* whose deeds surpass those of all other emperors and who has succeeded in subjugating "false tribes." At the same time he emphasizes that Basil is a peacemaker (*eirenopoios*), "the lord of tranquility," far removed from "impious struggles," who pursues justice and treats *archontes* and the poor alike. The panegyric is strikingly similar to the epitaph of LEO VI for his father, as well as the *VITA BASILII* and GENESIOS; the anonymous poet stressed more emphatically than these writers the humble origin of his hero, and compared Basil with DAVID. This theme was apparently an element of official propaganda, since on a mosaic in the Kainourgion palace Basil's children were depicted as praising God who raised their father up "from Davidian poverty" (*TheophCont* 335.2–3).

ED. *Alexandri Lycopolitani contra Manichaei opiniones disputatio*, ed. A. Brinkmann (Leipzig 1895) xvi–xxii.

LIT. Gy. Moravcsik, "Sagen und Legenden über Kaiser Basileios I.," *DOP* 15 (1961) 63–70 (modern Gr. version in *Eis mnemen Konstantinou Amantou* [Athens 1960] 1–10).

—A.K.

BASIL II, emperor (976–1025); born 958, died Constantinople 15 Dec. 1025. Crowned in 960, Basil and his brother CONSTANTINE VIII succeeded on the death of JOHN I TZIMISKES. Until his exile in 985, the *parakoimomenos* Basil LEKAPENOS exercised power; thereafter, Basil II governed. The rebellions of Bardas SKLEROS and Bardas PHOKAS were overcome with aid from VLADIMIR I of Kiev, to whom Basil married his sister ANNA. The revolts convinced him to curb the wealthy landholders. His law of 996 limited their rights to acquire their poor neighbors' properties; monastic lands were restricted. Basil forced landlords to pay the ALLELENGYON of their poor neighbors. Nevertheless, the magnates remained powerful; numerous families that later became prominent originated in Basil's reign (Kazhdan, *Gosp.klass.* 255–58). He fought to destroy the Bulgarian state led by SAMUEL OF BULGARIA. His first campaign (986) ended in disaster at TRAJAN'S GATE. Rebellions and the need to oppose the FĀTIMIDS in northern Syria delayed further action.

From 1001, when he made a durable peace with the Fātimid caliph, Basil campaigned repeatedly against the Bulgarians. In 1014 at Kleidion (Slavic Belasica, near the river Struma) he captured a large Bulgarian force; allegedly, he blinded 14,000, allowing one man in 100 to retain one eye. Stunned by this catastrophe, Samuel died. Bulgarian resistance continued until 1018. Basil's conquests were organized into the themes of PARISTRION and BULGARIA. By the late 12th C., he was called "Bulgar-Slayer" (Boulgaroktonos). Croatia and Serbia became Byz. dependencies.

Basil forced DAVID OF TAYK'/TAO to promise his lands to Byz. upon his death, and in 1000 Basil acquired most of them. In 1021–22 he defeated a Georgian effort to recover David's territories, which became the theme of IBERIA (V. Stepanenko, *VizVrem* 44 [1983] 211–14). In 1022 the king of VASPURAKAN ceded his realm, which also became a theme. Around 1001 Basil had offered a marriage alliance to OTTO III. Late in life, he planned aggressive expansion against Sicily and even the Western Empire.

Despite his wars, Basil's prudent government



BASIL II. Image of the emperor; prefatory miniature to a Psalter (Venice, Marciana gr. 17, fol. 1r). The triumphant emperor is crowned by both the archangel Gabriel and Christ and is given a lance by the archangel Michael. At his feet, his defeated enemies; to his left and right, framed busts of military saints.

enriched the treasury. Devoted to military life, he refused to marry. Basil is depicted crowned by Christ, with his enemies in PROSKYNESIS, in a psalter in Venice (Marc. Z. 17—A. Cutler, *ArtVen* 31 [1977] 9–15). He was the recipient of the MENOLOGION OF BASIL II.

LIT. Rosen, *Vasilij Bolgarobojca*. W. Felix, *Byzanz und die islamische Welt im früheren 11. Jahrhundert* (Vienna 1981) 46–79, 132–41. Ohnsorge, *Abend. & Byz.* 288–316.
—C.M.B., A.C.

BASIL II KAMATEROS, patriarch of Constantinople (Aug. 1183–Feb. 1186 [V. Grumel, *REB* 1 (1943) 261–63]). His career before the patriarchate is described in two unpublished speeches, by Gregory ANTIOCHOS and Leo Balianites, also a contemporary. A member of the KAMATEROS family, Basil served Manuel I primarily as a diplomat, but his mission to Rome (in 1169?) ended in a fiasco, and he was (temporarily?) banished. As a

man out of favor with Manuel, Basil was welcomed by Andronikos I, who had troubles with Patr. THEODOSIOS BORADIOTES; compelled to abdicate, Theodosios was replaced by Basil. Immediately Basil nullified Theodosios's prohibition of the marriage between the illegitimate imperial offspring Irene and Alexios (despite their being close relatives) and freed the murderers of Alexios II from their solemn vow to be his guardians. The speech of Antiochos contains vague allusions to Basil's ecclesiastical reforms: "The all-encompassing house of the church has been swept clean," he says; no longer decked out in superficial ornament, the church stood now in all its natural beauty. The execution of Andronikos meant the end of Basil's success. Even though he tried to gain the favor of the new ruler, Isaac II Angelos, by crowning him and by promulgating a synodal declaration that noblewomen forced by Andronikos to enter convents could return to secular status, Isaac did not want to retain a staunch supporter of his predecessor on the patriarchal throne; Basil had to abdicate and was condemned by the synod for permitting the marriage of Alexios and Irene. His subsequent fate is unknown.

LIT. *RegPatr*, fasc. 3, nos. 1162–67. Kazhdan-Franklin, *Studies* 207–11. Brand, *Byzantium* 48f, 77f. L. Bréhier, *DHGE* 6 (1932) 1129f. Laurent, *Corpus* 5.1, no. 25bis.

—A.K.

BASILAKES (Βασιλάκης, fem. Βασιλακίνα), a family of Armenian or Paphlagonian origin. According to Matthew of Edessa, the noble Armenian Vasilak fell at the battle of Mantzikert in 1071. Nikephoros Basilakes made an unsuccessful attempt to usurp the throne in 1078 (see BASILAKES, NIKEPHOROS). George Basilakes was *proto-proedros* in 1094/5; he or his homonym participated in a plot against Alexios I. The will of Kale (Maria) Basilakina, produced between 1098 and 1113 (G. Litavrin, *Starinar* n.s. 20 [1970] 185–90; *VizŌč* 2 [1971] 164–68), provides some data concerning the family's affiliations and estates: they intermarried with the DABATENOI and PAKOURIANOI and had high titles, including that of *kouropalates*; Kale-Maria owned the village of RADOLIBOS granted her by Alexios I. By the mid-12th C. the position of the Basilakes family declined and they entered civil service. Constantine was envoy and treasurer "of foreign expenses" (*ton ep'allo-*

dapes chrematon—Regel, *Fontes* 2:235.21); both warrior and intellectual, he perished in the war against the Sicilian Normans. Other known members of the family were insignificant provincial officials: John was nephew of John TZETZES, Michael acted as *logariastes* in the Miletos region in the early 13th C.; Basilakes, *nomikos* (?) in Mistra ca. 1296, was a scribe and poet.

LIT. Kazhdan, *Arm.* 103–06; *PLP*, nos. 2367–68.

—A.K.

BASILAKES, NIKEPHOROS, theologian and writer; born ca. 1115, died after 1182 (cf. A. Garzya, *BZ* 64 [1971] 301f). Born to a noble family (that was, however, losing its preeminent position), Basilakes served as imperial notary and then as *didaskalos* of the Apostle at Hagia Sophia in Constantinople (ca. 1140). According to his own testimony, he was very popular because he introduced new techniques of teaching. He belonged to the circle of JOHN II and delivered panegyrics of both the emperor and his supporters, such as John AXOUCH and John KOMNENOS, archbishop of Bulgaria. Involved in a dogmatic dispute begun by Soterichos PANTEUGENOS, Basilakes was condemned in 1156/7 and exiled to Philippopolis (P. Wirth, *ByzF* 1 [1966] 389–92). His subsequent career is unknown, although some letters from this period survive. He probably dedicated his time to writing; ca. 1160 he produced a collection of his works with an introduction, in which he described his education, teaching, and literary activity, mentioning among other works four comedies or satires now lost. Basilakes produced both PROGYMNASMATA and panegyrics and monodies, dedicated to his contemporaries (e.g., the monody on his brother Constantine). Conventional in style, these works abound in antique imagery. A unique speech of indictment against a certain Bagoas presents the biography of an average man, son of a fisherman from Constantinople and a Scythian (Cuman?) woman from Cimmerian Bosphoros. Bagoas, who was a catamite according to Basilakes, received a good education, pretended to be pious, and with the help of some monks wormed his way into the Palace. He also committed a sacrilege by inciting a certain Hierotheos to smear honey on icons in a church.

ED. *Orationes et epistulae*, ed. A. Garzya (Leipzig 1984). *Progymnasmi e monodie*, ed. A. Pignani (Naples 1983).

LIT. A. Garzya, "Un lettré du milieu du XIIe siècle: Nicéphore Basilakès," *RESEE* 8 (1970) 611–21. Idem, "Precisazioni sul processo di Niceforo Basilace," *Byzantion* 40 (1970) 309–16. Idem, "Une rédaction byzantine du mythe de Pasiphaé," *Le parole e le idee* 9 (1967) 222–26.

—A.K.

BASIL ELACHISTOS ("the least"), archbishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia (mid-10th C.); according to R. Cantarella (*BZ* 25 [1925] 293), he was born in Seleukeia. Basil wrote a commentary on the speeches of GREGORY OF NAZIANZOS, dedicating the work to CONSTANTINE VII. In the text he calls fortunate those cities which have philosophers as emperors (p. 6.3–4); in his commentary on the epitaph of BASIL THE GREAT (p. 25.3–18), the hero's upbringing is strikingly like that of BASIL I in the biography written by Constantine VII. Basil's commentary encompasses ancient mythology and philosophy (e.g., refutation of Democritus's concept of the existence of manifold worlds), rhetoric, painting, and sculpture; references to contemporary events are rare. J. Sajdak (*Historia critica scholiastarum et commentatorum Gregorii Nazianzeni* [Krakow 1914] 59–61) wrongly identified Basil with St. BASIL THE YOUNGER.

ED. R. Cantarella, "Basilio Minimo. II.," *BZ* 26 (1926) 3–34. PG 36:1073–1205.

LIT. Beck, *Kirche* 597.

—A.K.

BASILEOPATOR (βασιλε(ε)πάτωρ, lit. the "emperor's father"), the office of protector or tutor of a young emperor. According to the *Kletorologion* of Philotheos (Oikonomides, *Listes* 101.1–2), this office was created by Leo VI and occupied the highest rung on the ladder of offices; Philotheos listed it among the "special" *axiai* (ibid. 109.1–2). The title was invented in the late 9th C. for Stylianos ZAOUTZES, the father of Zoe, second wife of Leo VI; a few years later Romanos (I) Lekapenos was granted the same title (Aik. Christophilopoulou, *Symmeikta* 2 [1970] 60) before he became caesar. According to Liutprand of Cremona, Leo Phokas ardently desired to become *pater vasilleos*. There is no evidence that the title was in use after the 10th C. It was employed without a technical meaning in some texts anterior to the 9th C. and by some 10th-C. authors referring to the earlier period; thus, Symeon Metaphrastes, in the Life of Arsenios (died ca. 445), said that the saint was the tutor of the emperor's

sons and was called *basileopator*. L. Rydén (*AB* 100 [1982] 494f) finds a reflection of this title also in the revised version of the vita of Philaretos the Merciful. After 1259, Michael VIII's supporters tried to reintroduce the *basileopatoria* (Pachym., ed. Failler, 1:105.13–16), which they found appropriate for the REGENT of the young emperor, John IV Laskaris.

LIT. P. Karlin-Hayter, "The Title or Office of Basileopator," *Byzantion* 38 (1968) 278–80. —A.K.

BASILEUS (βασιλεύς), the main title of the Byz. emperor. Roman antiroyalism had camouflaged imperial monarchy behind the titles of *imperator-autokrator* and *augustus*. In the Greek East's literature and everyday speech, however, the Hellenistic royal title *basileus* (king) predominated for the emperors by the time of Constantine I (A. Wifstrand in *Dragma Martino P. Nilsson a.d. IV Id. Iul MCMXXXIX dedicatum* [Lund-Leipzig 1939] 529–39) and prevailed outside of 4th–6th-C. official documents. The emergence of barbarian kingdoms in the West imposed a distinction between universal monarchy—official documents in Constantinople seem to have used the term *basileus* for only the Persian shah—and these lesser rulers, whose Latin title *rex* was transliterated into Greek, while *basileus* increasingly was understood as "emperor" in unofficial usage. Common parlance, biblical example, and Hellenistic theories of kingship probably combined with Persia's final collapse to encourage Herakleios to replace the traditional title AUTOKRATOR with *pistos en Christo basileus* in an edict issued in 629, which symbolized the empire's progressive hellenization (cf. I. Shahid, *Byzantion* 51 [1981] 288–96). A century later, the title began to appear on silver coins of Leo III and on gold coinage under Constantine VI.

The additional qualifier "of the Romans" (*basileus Rhomaion*) also goes far back in popular usage, but first appears on imperial seals in 654–68 (Zacos, *Seals* 1:19, no.18) and, for example, on Constantine IV's subscription to the Third Council of Constantinople (680). An imperial document's *intitulatio* uses it in connection with the Second Council of Nicaea (24 Sept. 787; *Reg* 1, no.346), but the combination first gained wide publicity on miliaria of Emp. Michael I Rangabe, in obvious response to Charlemagne's imperial dignity (*DOC* 3.1:178). This Byz. assertion of Roman legitimacy

sparked numerous disputes in diplomacy with Western rulers; the qualifier became the rule in chrysobulls and diplomatic letters down to 1453 (Dölger, *Diplomatik* 141–48), but disappeared from coinage after Nikephoros III Botaneiates, except for a brief reappearance under the Palaiologoi (V. Laurent, *Cronica numismatică și arheologică* 15 [1940] 198–217). From the 9th C. onward, *megas basileus* is sometimes equivalent to the contemporary meaning of *autokrator*.

Use for Foreign Rulers. The applicability of the term *basileus* to foreign rulers started to cause problems for Byz. when its Christian neighbors began to challenge the Greek monopoly on the imperial status. As for the German emperor, the Byz. accorded him the title *basileus* of the Franks (but not RHOMAIOI, Romans); a greater threat was the claim of the Bulgarian ruler to the title "*basileus* of the Rhomaioi and Bulgarians." By the end of the 12th C. the nonofficial use of the term *basileus* for foreigners became common: Niketas Choniates calls Roger of Sicily, Frederick Barbossa, and Henry VII *basileis*; for George Akropolites, Kalojan was *basileus* of the Bulgarians; the Latin emperors of Constantinople and the Greek rulers of Trebizond were officially titled *basileis*. In the 14th C. the Serbian king assumed the title "*basileus* of the Rhomaioi and Serbs" in his official Greek documents. From the 13th C. onward, some authors used the title as a designation of some non-Christian Eastern rulers, for example, Timur, "*basileus* of Scythians and Massagetes" (Sphr. 204.24), or *megas basileus* Mehmed II (Kritob. 13.19), while other authors, like Doukas, avoided this title and gave to Eastern rulers the name of *tyrannoi*, *hegemones*, or *archegoi* (S.K. Krasavina, *VizVrem* 34 [1973] 102).

LIT. G. Röscher, *Onoma basileias* (Vienna 1978) 37–39, 111–16. E. Chrysos, "The Title Basileus in Early Byzantine International Relations," *DOP* 32 (1978) 29–75.

—M.McC., A.K.

BASILICA (βασιλική), a type of church building. In Roman architecture, a basilica was a hall or building used for large assemblies and serving as a market, law court, or palace audience hall. The term is used by Eusebios of Caesarea to denote a church; thereafter, in Byz. Greek, it generally refers only to profane structures, with rare exceptions (cf. D. Feissel, *Recueil des inscriptions chrétiennes de Macédoine du IIIe au VIe siècle* [Paris 1983]

no.226). Most commonly, the basilican church is characterized by an oblong plan consisting of a nave (NAOS) usually with two or more aisles and terminating in an APSE or tribunal. Generally, basilicas were covered with wooden trussed roofs and illuminated by clerestory windows. As a church type, the basilica displayed many regional variations with respect to proportions, number of aisles, and presence of a NARTHEX (or vestibule), ATRIUM, transept, GALLERIES, PASTOPHORIA, etc. Typically, the nave was used for processions by the clergy, with lay persons occupying the aisles and galleries, if the latter existed. The basilica served as the standard church type until the 6th C. By this time, a variant employing vaulting throughout the building had come into being in areas such as Cyprus (A.H.S. Megaw, *JHS* 66 [1946] 48–56). A related development was the basilica with a dome or a tower over the nave. Although not as common after the 6th C., basilicas continued to be built. Beginning in the 9th C., a major revival of the basilica occurred, represented in Greece and the Balkans at Pliska and the Anargyroi at Kastoria as well as in Asia Minor (Hagia Sophia at Nicaea), though apparently not in Constantinople. Small-scale basilicas, however, constitute the most common church type until the 15th C. (For ground plan, see illustration in CHURCH PLAN TYPES.)

LIT. R. Krautheimer, "The Constantinian Basilica," *DOP* 21 (1967) 115–40. C. Delvoye, *RBK* 1:514–67. Dj. Stričević, "La rénovation du type basilical dans l'architecture ecclésiastique des pays centraux des Balkans au IXe–XIe siècles," *12 CEB* 1 (Belgrade 1963) 165–211. G. Stanzl, *Längsbau und Zentralbau als Grundthemen der frühchristlichen Architektur* [= *Denk Wien* 139] (Vienna 1979) 16–29, 60–74.

—M.J., J.W.

BASILICA DISCOPERTA, or "hypaethral basilica," a type of basilica in which the aisles and apse are roofed but the nave left open to the sky. The existence of this type is based on tenuous evidence. Only two ruined buildings—at Marusinac near Salona (426) and at Pécs—and a confused description by the PIACENZA PILGRIM of a monument in Hebron, "a basilica built with a *quadriporticus*, with the middle atrium uncovered," suggest the type. The interpretation of the buildings at Salona and Pécs is debated, though they appear to have been roofless basilicas or open courtyards with exedrae along one of the short sides. E.

Dyggve (*ZKirch* 59 [1940] 103–13) argued that this type represented the link between the classical *heroon* and the Christian MARTYRION, and that the type was also adopted for use in Late Antique PALACES (idem, *Ravennatum Palatium Sacrum* [Copenhagen 1941] 30f). Both theories have been largely discounted.

LIT. A.M. Schneider, "Basilica discoperta," *Antiquity* 24 (1950) 131–39. K. Wessel, *RBK* 1:507–14. —M.J.

BASILIKA (τὰ Βασιλικά, "the imperial [laws]"), or the *Basilics*, the term used from the 11th C. onward to designate an extensive collection of laws divided into six volumes or 60 books, begun under Emp. Basil I and completed in the first years of the reign of Leo VI (probably Christmas 888, A. Schminck, *SubGr* 3 [1989] 90–93). According to the preface composed by Leo, the work was to be a clearly arranged compilation of the legal material contained in the CORPUS JURIS CIVILIS, eliminating everything superfluous. The collection is based on all four parts of the Justinianic corpus, though there is little from the *Institutes*. The Latin texts, esp. those of the *Digest* and the *Codex Justinianus*, are presented in Greek translations (mainly of the 6th C.). The books are subdivided into titles, which are arranged according to subject and are always structured so that pertinent chapters from the *Digest* precede those from the *Codex*, which in turn precede those from the *Novels*. Many books of the *Basilika* have been handed down in only one MS; others can be reconstructed only partially through the indirect evidence provided esp. by the EPANAGOGUE AUCTA, the SYNOPSIS BASILICORUM, the PEIRA, the TIPOUKEITOS, and the commentary of BALSAMON. Presumably in the middle of the 11th C. a CATENA commentary was appended to the work, composed mainly of excerpts from the writings of the 6th-C. ANTECESSORES (the so-called "old scholia"); compared with these, the "newer scholia" (from the 11th and 12th C.) are fewer in number.

—A.S.

The Basilika as a Source. The *Basilika* was considered the official collection of actual law, and the *Book of the Eparch* (1.2) prescribes that a notary be thoroughly familiar with the "60 books of the *Basilika*." The *Basilika* contains some precepts, however, esp. in the sphere of administrative and social regulations, that were definitely obsolete by

the 9th C., and its terminology is sometimes out of date and misleading (A. Kazhdan, *JÖB* 39 [1989] 7–10). Some jurists, for example, the author of the *MEDITATIO DE NUDIS PACTIS*, argued for the higher merit of Justinianic law over the *Basilika*.

—A.K.

ED. *Basilicorum libri LX*, Text, 8 vols., Scholia, 9 vols., ed. H.J. Scheltema, N. van der Wal, D. Holwerda (Groningen 1953–88).

LIT. H.J. Scheltema, "Über die Natur der Basiliken," *Tijdschrift* 23 (1955) 287–310. Schminck, *Rechtsbücher* 17–54. F.H. Lawson, "The Basilika," *The Law Quarterly Review* 46 (1930) 486–501; 47 (1931) 536–56. N. van der Wal, "Der Basilikentext und die griechischen Kommentare des sechsten Jahrhunderts," in *Syntheseleia Vincenzo Arangio-Ruiz*, vol. 2 (Naples 1964) 1158–65.

BASILIKE (Βασιλική), a public building in Constantinople, located on the Mese, not far from the Milion. It formed a vast square courtyard, surrounded by colonnades inside and porticoes outside. Its relationship with the *TETRASTOON* is unclear. In the centuries immediately following the foundation of Constantinople it served as a legal and cultural center of the city: rhetoricians and lawyers assembled there, and in the 5th C. it housed the university and a library. A law of Theodosios II of 440 prohibited the establishment of shops and boutiques in the Basilike, bringing in horses, or celebrating marriages there. The building was burned down in 476 but immediately restored. Justinian I constructed a cistern nearby, probably the one now called Yerebatansaray (see under *CONSTANTINOPLE, MONUMENTS OF*). Justin II placed in the Basilike a *HOROLOGION* (perhaps a sundial). After the 6th C. the Basilike lost its position as an intellectual center and was considered primarily as a repository of old statues, including those of the emperors Herakleios and Justinian II. In such a connection "the golden-roofed Basilike" is cited several times in the *PARASTASEIS SYNTOMOI CHRONIKAI*. After the 10th C. it is no longer mentioned.

LIT. Janin, *CP byz.* 157–60, 208f. Guiland, *Topographie* 2:3–6. Speck, *Univ. von KP* 93–99.

—A.K.

BASILIKOI ANTHROPOI (βασιλικοὶ ἄνθρωποι, "imperial men"), sometimes simply *basilikoi*, a term applied in the *Kletorologion* of PHILOTHEOS to two categories of functionaries. In a broad sense, the term embraced all high-ranking

officials; thus Philotheos (Oikonomides, *Listes* 215.7–8) speaks of banqueting *magistroi*, *praipositoi*, *patrikioi*, and other *basilikoi anthropoi*. In a restricted sense, the term designated a relatively low echelon of imperial servants—including *spatharokandidatoi* and *stratores* (205.25–26)—who consisted, at least partially, of foreigners (like the troops of *HETAIREIA*), that is, Pharganoi, Khazars, Hagarenes, and Franks (177.29–30). Their commander apparently was *protospatharios* of the *basilikoi*, one of the *STRATARCHAI*, even though his staff did not include *basilikoi anthropoi*, but consisted rather of the *domestikoi* of the *basilikoi*, *spatharioi*, *kandidatoi* of the Hippodrome, and imperial *mandatores*. In the *De ceremoniis* (e.g., *De cer.* 20.20) and the *TAKTIKON* of Escorial (Oikonomides, *Listes* 269.35), their commander is also called the *katepano* of the *basilikoi*. Oikonomides (ibid. 328) suggests that *basilikoi anthropoi* formed a military detachment, since some sources describe *spatharioi* participating in military actions. On seals *basilikoi* are often civil officials of relatively low rank: Constantine, *hypatos* and *basilikos* in the bureau of the *sakellarios*, 11th C. (Zacos, *Seals* 2, no.971); *spatharokandidatos* Anastasios, *basilikos* in the district of Amastris and head of the *oikeiakoi*, 10th–11th C. (ibid., no.88); and *spatharokandidatos* Chosnis, *basilikos* of Tarsos, 10th C. (ibid., no.108). In the 10th C. the *domestikoi* of the *basilikoi anthropoi* was evidently a courtier (ibid., no.1065).

LIT. Bury, *Adm. System* 111–13.

—A.K.

BASILIKON (βασιλικόν), a small silver coin weighing 2.2 g introduced by Andronikos II shortly before 1304 and modeled in weight, fineness, and general appearance on the Venetian grosso or silver ducat. Both coins have on one side a seated figure of Christ, and on the other two standing figures, but on the Byz. coins these are Andronikos II and Michael IX instead of St. Mark and the doge. By analogy with its prototype of the duchy (*ducatus*) of Venice, it was called a *basilikon* (from *BASILEUS*), but Byz. sources of the early 14th C. often made no distinction between the two and called both *doukatoi*. The *basilikon* was worth 1/12th of a *HYPERPYRON*, so that it corresponded to the old *MILIARESION*, which had become no more than a money of account as two *KERATIA*. The value of the actual coins, however, fluctuated with the price of silver and was usually less, as

ratios of between 12.5 and 15 to the *hyperpyron* were common. Half *basilika* were also minted. The introduction of the *basilikon* marked a revival in the empire of the large-scale use of silver for coinage, but in the 1330s and 1340s its weight was reduced in response to a general silver shortage that affected western Europe and the Mediterranean world. In the 1340s the *basilikon* weighed no more than 1.25 g and after the 1350s it ceased to be struck.

LIT. V. Laurent, "Le basilicon, nouveau nom de monnaie sous Andronic II Paléologue," *BZ* 45 (1952) 50–58. Grierson, *Byz. Coins* 280f, 295–98, 338. Hendy, *Economy* 531f.

—Ph.G.

BASILIKOS LOGOS (βασιλικὸς λόγος), a variety of *ENKOMION* addressed to an emperor on some notable occasion. MENANDER RHETOR (pp.76–94) set out the form and the sentiments considered appropriate; the major points were the emperor's origin, physical appearance (esp. his handsomeness), upbringing, habits, deeds in peace and war, four virtues (courage, righteousness, prudence or moderation, and good sense), philanthropy, and good fortune (*TYCHE*). The term is rare: Michael Italikos devoted *basilikoi logoi* to both John II and Manuel I, but the regular title of an imperial *enkomion* was *logos eis ton autokratora*, "speech to the emperor"; such an *enkomion* was delivered on special occasions and regularly on the feast of EPIPHANY. EUSEBIOS OF CAESAREA, in his panegyric of Constantine I, established the principle of encomiastic oratory as depicting the ideal emperor rather than giving a factual account. Hunger (*Lit.* 1:157) distinguishes between a conventional panegyric-*enkomion* and a more individualized *MIRROR OF PRINCES*. The structure of the *basilikos logos* varied: Italikos's panegyric of Manuel I contains many conventional elements (origin, prophecy, portrait), whereas his *enkomion* of John II is primarily historical. The Byz. *basilikos logos* became "Christian" with an emphasis on piety, and the concept of *tyche* disappeared. As a specific kind of *basilikos logos*, Menander (p.180) distinguished the *presbeutikos*, a speech to the emperor on behalf of a city in difficulty. In Byz. this subgenre disappeared, and the term *presbeutikos* designated the report of an ambassador (e.g., Theodore METOCHITES) on his mission.

LIT. Martin, *Rhetorik* 205f. P. Hadot, *RAC* 8:601–19.

—A.K., E.M.J.

BASILISKOS (Βασιλίσκος), more fully Flavius Basiliskos, usurper (Jan. 475–summer 476); died Limnae in Cappadocia after Aug. 476. Brother of the empress VERINA, Basiliskos was consul in 465 and *magister militum* from 468. His expedition against the Vandal king GAISERIC in 468 ended in disaster, but Verina saved him from punishment. He helped to overthrow ASPAR for which he received the title of first senator in 474. When Leo I and soon after him Leo II died, the anti-Isaurian faction in Constantinople urged Emp. Zeno to flee. Basiliskos was acclaimed augustus. Basiliskos wanted to gain the support of the Monophysites. He published an edict (*enkyklion*) abolishing the decisions of the Council of Chalcedon. This policy met with broad resistance from the people of Constantinople, led by Patr. AKAKIOS and DANIEL THE STYLITE. An enormous fire in the capital, which destroyed many books and works of art, was interpreted as a sign of divine wrath against Basiliskos. The army commanders, such as Basiliskos's former allies ILLOS and Armatus, joined Zeno who returned to the capital welcomed by the faction of the Greens. Basiliskos sought asylum in a church. He was promised that he would not be executed, was exiled with his wife and child, and was starved to death. Zeno crowned the son of Armatus, also named Basiliskos, as caesar and heir to the throne, but soon thereafter executed Armatus and enrolled the younger Basiliskos among the clergy; the latter probably lived until the reign of Justinian I.

LIT. Bury, *LRE* 1:390–94. *PLRE* 2:212–14. L. Hartmann, *RE* 3 (1899) 101–02. B. Croke, "Basiliscus the Boy-Emperor," *GRBS* 24 (1983) 81–91. E. Dovere, "L'Εγκύκλιον Βασιλίσκου: Un caso di normativa imperiale in Oriente su temi di dogmatica teologica," *Studia et documenta historiae et juris* 51 (1985) 153–88.

—T.E.G.

BASILIUS PICTOR, mosaicist whose name is given in both Latin and Syriac at the bottom of a frieze of angels set up ca.1169 in the Church of the Nativity, BETHLEHEM, where EPHRAIM also worked. Kühnel (*infra*) suggested that an abbreviation in the Syriac inscription yields the toponym Moschem and that this northern Syrian village was the painter's place of origin. There is no necessary reason to connect Basilus with the inscription *Basili[us] me fecit* in the Melisende Psalter (see *CRUSADER ART AND ARCHITECTURE*) said to have been made in Jerusalem.

LIT. Buchthal, *Miniature Painting*, xxix, 2–9. G. Kühnel, "Neue Feldarbeiten zur musivischen und malerischen Ausstattung der Geburts-Basilika in Bethlehem," *Kunstchronik* 37 (1984) 507–13. —A.C.

BASIL OF ANKYRA, bishop (336–43, 350–60); died Illyria ca.364. An erudite and eloquent former physician, Basil was appointed in 336 to replace MARKELLOS as bishop of Ankyra by the synod of Constantinople. He was deposed in 343, restored after 350, and finally deposed in 360 and exiled to Illyria. As a moderate Arian, he was caught between the Scylla of his own extremists and the Charybdis of Orthodox opposition. ATHANASIOS of Alexandria (*De synodis* 41) confirms his role as leader of the HOMIOUSIANS. He played a prominent role in the arianizing synods of Sirmium (351), Ankyra (358), and Seleukeia (359). EPIPHANIOS of Salamis preserves (*Panarion* 73.12–22) a Trinitarian treatise (*Hypomnematismos*), which Basil co-authored with George of Laodikeia. Many scholars ascribe to Basil the essay *On Virginity* that is included among the spuria of BASIL THE GREAT (F. Cavallera, *RHE* 6 [1905] 5–14). Other works such as a polemic called *Against Markellos* mentioned by JEROME are lost.

ED. *Hypomnematismos*—PG 42:425–44. *On Virginity*—PG 30:669–809. *De virginitate de saint Basile*, ed. A. Vaillant (Paris 1943), Slav. text with Fr. tr.

LIT. J. Schladebach, *Basilius von Ancyra* (Leipzig 1898). R. Janin, *DHGE* 6 (1932) 1104–07. F.J. Leroy, "La tradition manuscrite du 'De virginitate' de Basile d'Ancyre," *OrChrP* 38 (1972) 195–208. —B.B.

BASIL OF IALIMBANA. See GEORGE OF CYPRUS.

BASIL OF OHRID, metropolitan of Thessalonike, rhetorician; died ca.1169. In 1154 Basil had a debate with ANSELM of Havelberg, yielding on many points. Pope Adrian IV (1154–59) sent Basil a letter asking for help in bringing about the UNION OF THE CHURCHES. Basil participated in the council at Constantinople in 1157 against Soterichos PANTEUGENOS (see under CONSTANTINOPLE, COUNCILS OF). In 1160 Basil delivered a funeral oration on BERTHA OF SULZBACH, wife of Manuel I, with conventional praise of both the emperor and the late empress. Basil corresponded with TZETZES.

ED. Regel, *Fontes* 311–30. J. Schmidt, *Des Basilius aus Achrida, Erzbischofs von Thessalonich, bisher unedierte Dialoge* (Munich 1901).

LIT. Beck, *Kirche* 626. J. Darrouzès, "Un faux Théodore de Cyzique," *REB* 25 (1967) 291f. —A.K.

BASIL THE BOGOMIL, leader of the BOGOMILS of Constantinople; died Constantinople ca.1111. Nearly all we know about him comes from Anna Komnene (An.Komn. 3:218–28), who describes his arrest, trial, and execution. A monk and a doctor, he appears to have become a teacher in the Bogomil sect ca.1070. According to Anna, he was tall, clean-shaven with a withered countenance, and went about with 12 disciples whom he called apostles. One of them betrayed him under torture. Emp. Alexios I invited Basil to the palace and persuaded him to expound his teaching; if Anna can be believed, her father then dramatically drew back a curtain, revealing a secretary who had secretly written down Basil's confession. Verbal persuasion having failed, and on the advice of Patr. NICHOLAS III GRAMMATIKOS and the synod, the emperor ordered Basil to be publicly burned in the Hippodrome. Anna's account of the execution is uncommonly vivid. Her horror at Basil's beliefs cannot wholly conceal a grudging admiration for "an inflexible and very brave Bogomil." About these beliefs she says very little, referring the reader to the relevant section of the *Panoplia dogmatike* of Euthymios ZIGABENOS, who presumably used Basil's palace confession as his main source.

LIT. Ja.N. Ljubarskij, "Rasprava imperatora Alekseja I Komnina s bogomilom Vasilijem," *Voprosy istorii religii i ateizma* 12 (1964) 310–19. —D.O.

BASIL THE COPPER HAND, leader of an uprising against ROMANOS I; born in Macedonia, died Constantinople ca.932. According to the chronicle of SYMEON LOGOTHETE (*TheophCont* 912.6–7), Basil was an impostor who falsely assumed the name of Constantine DOUKAS (killed in 913) and collected a following of "many people." Arrested by Elephantinos, *tourmarches* of Opsikion, he was brought to Constantinople and condemned by the eparch of the city to have his hand cut off. Basil returned to Opsikion and had manufactured for himself a copper hand holding an enormous sword. He then gathered a "crowd

of the poor" and started "the great rebellion" against the empire. The rebels seized the stronghold of Plateia Petra, where various kinds of vic-tuals were collected and, according to Symeon Logothete, looted at random. Defeated by imperial troops, Basil was transferred to Constantinople, where he accused many magnates of involvement in his rebellion. After an investigation proved his charges false, he was burned at the stake on the Forum Amastrianum.

The major problem concerning Basil's revolt is whether it can be considered a popular uprising; besides the direct evidence of Symeon Logothete, this hypothesis finds support in Constantine Doukas's popularity among the common people. The chronology of the revolt (before THEOPHYLAKTOS was elected patriarch) suggests dating the event between the famine of 928 and Romanos's novel of 934 and treating it hypothetically as a reflection of peasants' wrath and an incentive for the emperor's agrarian legislation.

LIT. A. Kazhdan, "'Velikoe vosstanie' Vasilija Mednoj Ruki," *VizVrem* n.s. 4 (1951) 73–83, with criticism by H. Grégoire, *Byzantion* 21 (1951) 500–02. —A.K.

BASIL THE GREAT, bishop of Caesarea (from 370/1), writer and saint; born Caesarea in Cappadocia ca.329, died probably in Caesarea 1 Jan. 379; feastdays 1 and 2 Jan. His two brothers, GREGORY OF NYSSA and Peter of Sebaste, also became bishops, while his sister, St. Makrina the Younger, was a model ascetic. Education in Constantinople and Athens grounded Basil in both Christian and classical culture. During the course of his studies he met GREGORY OF NAZIANZOS, who became his lifelong friend; his student friendship with the future emperor JULIAN, however, was doomed by circumstances. He soon abandoned rhetoric, an early interest, for the monastic life. After travels to monasteries in Egypt and Syria, he settled near Neokaisareia in Asia Minor.

As one of the CAPPADOCIAN FATHERS, Basil contributed much to the development of the concept of the TRINITY as based on the principle of HOMIOUSIOS. In so doing he became involved in political and ideological struggles, esp. in combating EUNOMIOS. Basil encouraged an active economic, social, and cultural role for monks; he

preferred the KOINOBIOTON to the eremitic life and viewed the monastery as a community of brethren who had to live and work together. Basil wrote sets of Rules for monks and nuns that are preserved in a short and a long version; they greatly influenced the development of MONASTICISM both in Byz. and outside the empire and are characterized by a tone of moderation and common sense. Of his homilies, those on the HEXAEMERON are most noteworthy for their content and style.

The letters of Basil furnish much geographical and secular information about the Roman Empire in the 4th C. A work of special interest and importance is the essay (written for his nephews) on deriving Christian benefit from pagan literature. Basil argues that pagan works, both prose and poetry, should be read eclectically, not uniformly censored or condemned; classical literature can be morally beneficial to Christians and, since pagan morality sometimes approaches Christian ethics, may serve as a propaedeutic to the true faith. Of the many authors cited, Homer and Plato (not surprisingly) stand out. His authorship of the LITURGY ascribed to him is questionable, even though attested as early as the 6th C.

Representation in Art. Basil, as a purported author of a liturgy, is regularly depicted at the head of one line of the procession of bishops adorning a church apse; JOHN CHRYSOSTOM leads the other. Basil has a distinctive pointed black beard and narrow face, evident already on a Sinai icon of about the 7th C. (Weitzmann, *Sinai Icons*, no.B.24). Episodes from his vita by pseudo-AMPHILOCHIOS OF IKONION were illustrated as early as the 9th–10th C. in churches in Rome (J. Lafontaine, *Peintures médiévales dans le temple dit de la Fortune Virile à Rome* [Brussels-Rome 1959] 77f), while the 9th-C. PARIS GREGORY MS contains a variety of scenes relating to the saint in conjunction with Gregory's *Homily* 43 on Basil (fol.104r). Some of these scenes recur in 11th-C. MSS of the homilies as well (Galavaris, *Liturgical Homilies* 46–52). Among the frescoes in the Church of Hagia Sophia in OHRID is one showing the saint first performing the liturgy (R. Hamann-MacLean, H. Hallensleben, *Die Monumentalmalerei in Serbien und Makedonien*, vol. 1 [Giessen 1963] fig.25); this theme also appears at the beginning of those liturgical ROLLS that contain the text of the liturgy of Basil. Narrative compositions from later periods are rare,

though there is a vita icon of Basil of the 13th C., now in the De Menil collection, Houston (*Splendeur de Byz.* 36, Ic.2).

ED. PG 29–32. *The Letters*, ed. R. Deferrari, 4 vols. (London–New York 1926–34), with Eng. tr. *Lettres*, ed. Y. Courtonne, 3 vols. (Paris 1957–66), with Fr. tr. *On Greek Literature*, ed. N. Wilson (London 1975), with Eng. tr.

LIT. *Basil of Caesarea: Christian, Humanist, Ascetic*, ed. P. Fedwick (Toronto 1981). M.M. Fox, *The Life and Times of Basil the Great as Revealed in His Works* (Washington, D.C., 1939). *Basilio di Caesarea: La sua età, la sua opera e il basilianesimo in Sicilia*, vol. 1 (Messina 1983). G. de Jerphanion, "Histoires de saint Basile dans les peintures Cappado-ciennes et dans les peintures romaines du moyen âge," *Byzantion* 6 (1931) 535–58. J. Myslivec, *LCI* 5:337–41.

—B.B., A.K., N.P.Š.

BASIL THE NOTHOS ("bastard"), *parakoimomenos*; born ca.925, died after 985. The son of ROMANOS I by a bondwoman of "Scythian" (Slav?) origin, Basil was a eunuch from his boyhood. In 944–47 he was *megas* BAIYOULOS. Basil supported CONSTANTINE VII against Romanos I's sons Stephen and Constantine and was rewarded with the titles of *patrikios* and *parakoimomenos*. In 958 he participated in the campaign of JOHN I TZIMISKES against SAYF AL-DAWLA and was granted a triumphal procession at the Hippodrome (*TheophCont* 462.4). ROMANOS II pushed Basil into the background and replaced him with Joseph BRINGAS, thus inciting Basil's hatred of Bringas; siding with NIKEPHOROS II PHOKAS in his struggle against Bringas, Basil received from Nikephoros the highest title of *proedros*. Basil's alliance with Nikephoros was brief: he joined Tzimiskes against Nikephoros, but again changed sides; he reportedly poisoned Tzimiskes (Skyl. 312.15–20). Basil administered the empire while BASIL II was a child and used his power to accumulate enormous wealth. In 985, however, Basil II dispensed with his tutelage, exiled him to the shores of the Bosphoros, and confiscated his property. In his Novel of 996 Emp. Basil annulled all the ordinances promulgated by Basil the Nothos.

Basil was one of the most lavish Byz. art patrons. Psellos (*Chron.* 1:13.11–22) comments on Basil's concern for the monastery of St. Basil that he built in Constantinople. To this or some other house, he presented two reliquaries of a Symeon the Stylite, including one that allegedly contained the saint's skull and is now at Camaldoli di Arezzo. The Treasury of St. Mark's in Venice contains a splendid yellow jasper paten and chalice, the latter

inscribed with the supplication of "Basil, *proedros* and *parakoimomenos*," and thus datable after 963 (H. Belting, *CorsiRav* 29 [1982] 52–57). The well-known enamel cross-reliquary now at LIMBURG-AN-DE-LAHN was commissioned by Basil in 964/5. He also ordered three very large books written on parchment of high quality: a collection of ΤΑΚΤΙΚΑ, including his own work on naval battles (Milan, Ambros. B 119 Sup.); a copy of the homilies of JOHN CHRYSOSTOM (Athos, Dion. 70) dated to 955; and a Gospel book with the Pauline epistles in Leningrad (Publ. Lib. gr. 55).

LIT. Guiland, *Institutions* 1:182f. W.G. Brokaar, "Basil Lekapenus," *Studia bizantina et neohellenica Neerlandica* 3 (1972) 199–234. M. Ross, "Basil the Proedros Patron of the Arts," *Archaeology* 11 (1958) 271–75. E. Follieri, "L'ordine dei versi in alcuni epigrammi bizantini," *Byzantion* 34 (1964) 447–64. Zacos, *Seals* 2, no.795. —A.K., A.C.

BASIL THE YOUNGER, saint; died in Constantinople 26 Mar. 944 (less probably 952). His origins and early career are unknown. According to his vita he was brought by imperial officials from Asia Minor to Constantinople, where he was interrogated by SAMONAS, flogged, and thrown into the sea, but miraculously saved by dolphins. Angelide (*infra*) dates Basil's arrival in Constantinople in 896, but the chronology of the vita is not reliable. Basil did not belong to any monastic community but lived in private homes (first with a certain John and his wife Helene, thereafter in the houses of the *primikerios* Constantine and of the Gongylas brothers), preaching morality and performing miracles.

Basil's vita was written by his contemporary, the layman Gregory, a disciple of the eunuch Epiphanius; Gregory was a modest landowner possessing a *proasteion* near Rhaidestos. Although Gregory depicts some ordinary people, he focuses on Emp. Romanos I, his family, and courtiers such as Romanos Saronites and the *patrikia zoste* Anastasia. The hagiographer describes important political events: the revolt of Constantine Doukas in 913, the death of Christopher Lekapenos, the Rus' attack of 941, the fall of Romanos I. While some of these episodes took place outside, most of the action occurred indoors (Mango, *Byzantium* 82). A salient episode of the vita is the vision of the pious Theodora who served Basil for many years: during its journey to heaven Theodora's soul passed customs houses (*teloneia*), and there-

after Theodora saw the celestial Jerusalem and observed the punishment of sinners. The vita has an evident anti-Semitic tendency: according to Basil, the Jews are doomed to eternal punishment despite their closeness to the Christian concept of God and their veneration of the Old Testament.

ED. S.G. Vilinskij, *Žitie sv. Vasilija Novogo v ruskoj literature* (Odessa 1911–13). A.N. Veselovskij, "Razyskanija v oblasti russkogo duchovnogo sticha," *Sbornik Otdelenija russkogo jazyka i slovesnosti Imperatorskoj Akademii nauk* 46 (1889–90) supp. 3–89; 53 (1891–92) supp. 3–174.

LIT. BHG 264–264f. G. da Costa-Louillet, "Saints de CP," *Byzantion* 24 (1954) 492–511. Ch. Angelide, *Ho bios tou hosiou Basileiou tou Neou* (Ioannina 1980). L. Rydén, "The Life of St. Basil the Younger and the Date of the Life of St. Andreas Salos," in *Okeanos* 568–77. —A.K.

BASTARDS. See ILLEGITIMATE CHILDREN.

BATHMOS (βαθμός), grade or degree. The word was used by late Roman writers to designate "rank"; thus JOHN LYDOS (*On Magistracies* 2.8) says that the consul in ancient Rome held a higher *bathmos* than the king. In the *Kletorologion* of PHILOTHEOS the term has a technical meaning differing from that of OFFICE or TITLE—it meant the position on the hierarchical ladder according to which the ATRIKLINES seated the individual at imperial banquets. In the ecclesiastical hierarchy, the sacred (*hieros*) *bathmos* meant the degree conferred by a sacramental ordination as distinct from the office, i.e., function (Darrouzès, *Offikia* 1). —A.K.

BATHS (sing. *βαλανεῖον*, *λουτρόν*) remained an important element of urban culture during the late Roman period, functioning as centers of leisure and social intercourse. In Constantinople the most famous were the Baths of ZEUXIPPOS. The *Notitia urbis Constantinopolitanae* indicates that 5th-C. Constantinople contained as many as nine public and 153 private baths (see also CONSTANTINO-PLE, MONUMENTS OF). Separate facilities were provided for men and women, and the interiors were sumptuously decorated with marbles and statuary; they were heated by HYPOCAUSTS. Gregory of Nyssa (PG 46:449C) ridiculed a miserly money-lender in a Cappadocian town who did not go to the public bath because he was reluctant to pay the price of three obols. Even clergy and monks used public baths, which were occasionally deco-

rated with subjects from Christian iconography. The church, however, regarded public baths as centers of immorality, issued regulations prohibiting mixed bathing, and condemned frequent visits to the baths by clergy.

After the 6th C. a profound change occurred: most of the huge public baths fell into disuse either because of the decline in population or simply because they proved too costly to maintain. Some establishments were destroyed, others transformed into churches or army barracks. Some public baths continued to operate in major cities, but the overall attitude of the public toward baths and bathing had gradually changed. Attendance at the baths was no longer a normal part of everyday life but had become a luxury or hygienic necessity. The new attitude toward bathing, shaped by teachings of the church, is reflected in monastic *typika*; those of the 11th and 12th C., for example, vary as to the frequency of bathing they prescribe: from twice a month to three times a year, with the norm being once a month. Kekaumenos testified without astonishment that the Macedonian town of Servia at the beginning of the 11th C. had only one bath, located outside the city walls. Michael Choniates described a provincial bath as a smoky and drafty hut heated by an open hearth. An extraordinary exception to this trend is the sumptuously decorated bathhouse of Leo VI, which is the subject of an *ekphrasis* by Leo Choiro-sphaktes (P. Magdalino, *DOP* 42 [1988] 97–118).

Baths came to be associated with healing: sick monks or nuns and patients in monastic hospitals were permitted more frequent or even unlimited baths. This connotation entered Christian symbolism so that the church building was sometimes called a spiritual *balaneion*, and God might be designated *balaneus*, or bathkeeper (GERMANOS II, *Homily* 2, ed. S. Lagopates, 225.7–11).

Relatively few baths of post-6th-C. date have been uncovered by archaeological excavations, for example, at Sparta (Ch. Bouras, *ArchEph* 121 [1982] 99–112) and Trikkala (A. Tziaphalias, *ArchDelt* 31.2.1 [1976] 178–81). The evidence suggests that they continued the Roman principles of planning and construction, generally being divided into a series of vaulted or domed rooms for dressing, exercise, and cold, warm, or hot bathing. Monastic baths, which constitute a distinctive and important category, continued to be built throughout the Byz. era (Orlandos, *Monast.Arch.* 95–108).

LIT. C. Mango, "Daily Life in Byzantium," *JÖB* 31.1 (1981) 338–41. A. Berger, *Das Bad in der byzantinischen Zeit* (Munich 1982). Kazhdan-Constable, *Byzantium* 69f. –Ap.K., M.J., A.K., R.B.

BATOPEDI. See VATOPEDI MONASTERY.

BATTLE STANDARD AND FLAG (σημεῖον, βάνδον, φλάμμονλον). Battle standards such as the Roman eagle or dragon were used by late Roman infantry units until the 6th C., while cavalry units were identified by the *vexillum*, a square banner on a pole. The raising of the standards was the traditional signal to begin battle, and since they often served as rallying points, the rank of standard-bearer (*bandophoros*) was assigned to an exceptionally brave soldier (Prokopios, *Wars* 4.10.4). Armies of the 9th and 10th C. carried standards bearing relics or icons (McCormick, *Eternal Victory* 247f), and banners suspended from a cross are also mentioned (Vasiliev, *Byz. Arabes* 2.2:59). The LABARUM, the cross itself, and cross-like standards were used from Constantine I onward, esp. by Iconoclastic emperors, and later by Nikephoros II Phokas (Leo Diac. 8.5–7). Regimental standards were commonly used in imperial ceremonies and processions (Haldon, *Praetorians* 287f) and the imperial units or *tagmata* kept their ceremonial standards (*ptychia*, *skeptra*) both in the Churches of St. Stephen of Daphne, and in the Church of the Lord (*De cer.* 640.16–641.5).

Battle flags (*banda*) in the shape of a square field (*kephale*) with trailing streamers (*phlammoula*, from Lat. *flammulae*, "small flames") appeared as early as the 6th C. and were used for signalling and identification. The *Strategikon of Maurice* (*Strat. Maurik.* 1.2, p.82.75–80) notes that each unit (*meros*) had a flag whose field was of one color with variously colored streamers attached to identify the division (*moira*). The *Strategikon* warns that too many flags might be a hindrance and source of confusion in battle (2.10). The units of the baggage train (*TOULDOS*) were also designated by separate flags (1.9, p.102.9–12). The 10th-C. *Praecepta militaria* (*Praecepta Milit.* 14.27–34) records that separate flags identified each 50-man cavalry unit (*bandos*) and its spare horses in battle; flags were also used to mark the places of each unit when preparing the CAMP (18.30–33). Battle flags are often depicted in illustrations (S. Dufrenne,

Byzantion 43 [1973] 51–60), and the Madrid MS of John Skylitzes offers a rich repertoire of standards and flags without, however, assigning them to specific nations. Under Michael II (Grabar-Manoussacas, *Skylitzès*, no.60, fig.18), for instance, both Byz. and Arab armies carried dragon streamers. Wall paintings in Cappadocia depict several types of standard featuring the cross (D. Wood, *Archaeology* 12 [1959] 38–46).

Flags for signaling and identification were also important in naval warfare. A special dark-colored banner (*hamellaukion*) was hoisted on the flagship as the signal to begin battle (TAKTIKA OF LEO VI 19.41).

LIT. R. Grosse, "Die Fahnen in der römisch-byzantinischen Armee des 4.–10. Jahrhunderts," *BZ* 24 (1923/4) 359–72. G.T. Dennis, "Byzantine Battle Flags," *ByzF* 8 (1982) 51–59. –E.M., A.C.

BAWĪT, village in Upper Egypt, site of the monastery of Apa Apollo, probably founded in the late 4th C. The two churches (north and south) are both of basilican plan and are richly outfitted with columns, pilasters, and various carved friezes, most being spolia of the 4th–6th C. There are several monastic complexes; some contain small chapels, as well as large transverse halls, probably prayer-halls, which are furnished with painted niches. The niche in hall no.6 of the northernmost complex represents the Virgin Mary flanked by Apostles. Some complexes have kitchens. The large complex (I–XV) southwest of the two churches probably housed the monks. There are also several tombs nearby.

Bawīt's history resembles that of the monastery of Apa Jeremias at SAQQĀRA. The two churches of Bawīt evolved from structures which were not originally ecclesiastical in purpose. The surviving wall paintings, though simple and provincial in character, use Byz. themes of decoration (e.g., MAJESTAS DOMINI, Virgin "Galaktotrophousa" [see VIRGIN MARY: Types of the Virgin Mary]). The monastic community continued to flourish in the 9th C., as seen from papyri.

LIT. J. Clédat, *Le monastère et la nécropole de Baouît* (Cairo 1904). E. Chassinat, *Fouilles à Baouît* (Cairo 1911). J. Maspero, *Fouilles exécutées à Baouît*, 2 vols. (Cairo 1931–43). H.-G. Severin, "Gli scavi eseguiti ad Ahnas, Bahnasa, Bawit e Saqqara," *CorsiRav* 28 (1981) 309–14. Timm, *Ägypten* 2:643–53. H. Torp, "Le monastère copte de Baouît," *Acta Norv* 9 (1981) 1–8. –P.G.

BAYEZID I (Παῖαζιτης and similar forms), Ottoman sultan (1389–1402); born 1354, died Akşehir 8 Mar. 1403. The successor of MURAD I, he was the first of the sultans to attempt the conquest of Constantinople. From 1389 to 1394 Bayezid maintained his authority over the Palaiologoi through established tributary alliances and by manipulating their dynastic struggles to his advantage. As of 1389, his key Palaiologan vassals were JOHN V and MANUEL II in Constantinople, THEODORE I in Mistra, and JOHN VII in Selymbria. It is unlikely that Manuel and John VII participated in his first Anatolian campaign, which included the conquest of PHILADELPHIA (1389–90). Early in 1390, however, Bayezid probably sanctioned John VII's plans for a coup in Constantinople. By March 1390 John was besieging the city with Turkish troops. Although John VII seized Constantinople (13–14 Apr.), afterward he made no major concessions to Bayezid, who was then campaigning in KARAMAN. Following Manuel's recovery of Constantinople for John V and himself (17 Sept. 1390), John VII took refuge with Bayezid, then returned to Selymbria and remained the sultan's loyal vassal until 1399. Likewise, John V dispatched Manuel to Bursa (see PROUSA) to reaffirm their tributary alliance with Bayezid, at which time Bayezid pressured John V to dismantle recently built fortifications outside the GOLDEN GATE in Constantinople. When John V died (16 Feb. 1391) Manuel returned to Constantinople and established his rule—doubtless with Bayezid's consent. Bayezid then summoned Manuel and John VII to join his campaign against Süleyman Pasha of Kastamonu (see KASTAMON) and Kadi Ahmed Būrhaneddin of Sivas (June–Dec. 1391). In spring 1392, Bayezid appointed Manuel to prepare a naval expedition to Sinope, but then aborted the enterprise.

Bayezid's rapport with Manuel and Theodore deteriorated in 1393. Manuel's efforts to achieve reconciliation with John VII were betrayed by the latter himself to Bayezid, and Theodore's seizure of Monemvasia from Paul Mamonas (another of Bayezid's dependents) also angered the sultan. Late in 1393 or early in 1394 Bayezid summoned Manuel, Theodore, John VII, and other vassals to his court at Serres. Amid acrimonious confrontations, Bayezid allegedly resolved at one point to execute Manuel and additionally pressured Theodore to surrender control of Monemvasia and

Argos. Shortly thereafter both Manuel and Theodore renounced their pacts with Bayezid, and he assaulted them as rebels. By summer 1394 Bayezid had begun the siege of Constantinople, which lasted eight years. Meanwhile, devastating raids were launched into the Morea in late 1394 or 1395, and again in 1397. In 1399 John VII was reconciled with Manuel and governed Constantinople during Manuel's journey to the West. By 1401 the morale of the citizens was low, and John VII was negotiating with Bayezid for surrender. The city was saved, however, when TIMUR defeated and captured Bayezid at Ankara (see ANKARA, BATTLE OF) on 28 July 1402. Eight months later, Bayezid purportedly committed suicide, still a captive of Timur.

Many Byz. perceived Bayezid archetypically as a neo-Pharaoh or Sennacherib, whose blasphemous attack on the people of God and their holy city inevitably evoked God's saving wrath. In this vein, Bayezid's epithet *yıldırım* ("lightning bolt") was usually interpreted as an allusion to all-consuming violence and destruction, and not merely alacrity or impetuous daring.

LIT. Barker, *Manuel II* 67–218. H. İnalcık, *EF* 1:1117–19. Schreiner, *Kleinchroniken* 2:339–70. E. Zachariadou, "Manuel II Palaeologos on the Strife Between Bāyezid I and Kādī Burhān al-Dīn Aḥmad," *BSOAS* 43 (1980) 471–81. –S.W.R.

BEACON (φάνος). In the 9th C., Byz. created a series of beacons across Asia Minor to give advance warning of Arab attack. Signals were flashed from Loulon north of the CILICIAN GATES, where the Arabs would be first observed, to Argos on the Hasan Dağ in Cappadocia, and thence by a series of unidentified stations to Mokilos above PYLAI, then to Mt. AUXENTIOS and the imperial palace, a distance of about 450 miles. The system was reportedly created by LEO THE MATHEMATICIAN, who devised a code for the interpretation of signals, and had two identical water clocks (see HOROLOGION) made for the terminal stations. His work took account of the difference in longitude and of the time the signal needed for transmission. Modern experiments suggest that one hour would suffice for the entire distance. The beacons consisted of huge bonfires on platforms or towers within fortifications on isolated hills; two have been identified at Loulon and Argos (*TIB* 2:135–37, 223). In the open country of central Anatolia,

where the air is clear, stations were more than 60 miles apart, while in the broken country of the northwest the average separation was about 35 miles. The system was curtailed or modified by Michael III, whose victories reduced the necessity for it. Smaller chains of beacons served to notify places off the main line and along the frontier; others were in use in 13th-C. Greece. Remains of a beacon station near KOTYAIION (C. Foss, *Survey of Medieval Castles of Anatolia I: Kütahya* [Oxford 1985] 86–94) indicate that the system was revived by Manuel I.

LIT. P. Pattenden, "The Byzantine Early Warning System," *Byzantion* 53 (1983) 258–99. —C.F.

BEARD (γένειον). In late antiquity the norm for men was to be clean-shaven, and imperial portraits of the 4th–6th C. present predominantly beardless rulers; after that date bearded images on coins came to symbolize imperial power or imperial seniority, although some exceptions can be found, such as Constantine V. On coins, a beard and moustache are often not portrait elements but conventions to distinguish a senior from a junior emperor. Later images of Constantine I, who was historically clean-shaven, show him with a beard, the shape of which was often changed to conform to the type worn by the current emperor. The huge beard of Constans II, added as an afterthought to the dies of his coins, gave rise to his nickname, Pogonatos (P. Grierson, *NC* 70 [1962] 159f).

The defense of beards originated not only within Christian circles, but also among pagan "philosophers" who saw, as JULIAN did, in the shaggy beard a symbolic rejection of effeminacy and a return to the classical fashion; Julian's satiric treatise *Misopogon* is addressed to those who criticized his beard. Beards served in the Byz. view as an indication of manliness, contrasted with beardless EUNUCHS; the deprivation of one's beard was considered a severe punishment. Monks were normally bearded.

After the SCHISM of 1054 the beard became a symbol of national pride that differentiated Byz. from clean-shaven Latins. The cult of the beard was ridiculed, however, by satirists such as Theodore PRODROMOS (Boissonade, *AnecGr* 4:430–35). On the other hand, many 12th-C. authors (esp. ZONARAS) relate that youths preferred to shave

off their beard, evidently following the Latin style; the same fashion was mentioned by a 14th-C. historian (Greg. 1:396.17). Social prejudices against the beardless are reflected, to some extent, in proverbs and satiric texts, such as SPANOS. Touching the beard was an important element of BODY LANGUAGE.

LIT. Ph. Koukoules, "Peri kommoseos ton Byzantinon," *EEBS* 7 (1930) 3–37. L. Bréhier, *La civilisation byzantine* (Paris 1950) 47f. H. Leclercq, *DACL* 2:478–86.

—Ap.K., A.C.

BEASTS OF BURDEN (sing. ὑποζύγιον). To transport loads, the Byz. used animals, since in mountainous areas the CART could not always be employed. HORSES were rarely used for transport or cartage; the main pack animals were asses (*onika*) and mules (*hemionoi*). Cattle and esp. donkeys are depicted as beasts of burden in illustrations of Old Testament narratives (Uspenskij, *Seral'skij kodeks*, nos. 260, 302), while, as in illustrations of BARLAAM AND IOASAPH, the ass remained the primary form of humble transportation. CAMELS and their drivers, *kamelarioi*, are usually mentioned in connection with Syria or Egypt; John VI Kantakouzenos, however, kept a number of camels in Thrace.

It is difficult to calculate the weight of a load; in the vita of PHILARETOS THE MERCIFUL (ed. A. Vasiliev, *IRAIK* 5 [1900] 72.4) a *hypozygion* carried 6 *modioi* of grain. The load was sometimes put (or poured) into ceramic vessels attached on both sides of an animal. The rural population, unless exempt from this fiscal burden, was required to provide so-called *parangaria*—the duty of supplying military contingents or imperial officials with pack animals.

LIT. A. Leone, *Gli animali da trasporto nell'Egitto greco, romano e bizantino* (Rome-Barcelona 1988).

—J.W.N., A.K., A.C.

BEAUTY (κάλλος). Physical beauty was not perceived by Christian apologists as a virtue—our bodies, according to Augustine, are defective, and will be improved by the Creator after our resurrection (V. Byčkov in *Eikon und Logos* [Halle 1981] 23f); Christ, in his Incarnation, assumed not a handsome body, but a plain and undistinguished one. Emphasis was placed on spiritual beauty, which might be accentuated by external ugliness,

esp. if the body was distorted and mutilated during a martyrdom or in ascetic exercises. Pseudo-DIONYSIOS THE AREOPAGITE developed a hierarchy of beauty: the absolute beauty of God—an efficient and final cause, radiating into the world and attracting everything to itself; the beauty of heavenly beings; and the visible beauty of corporeal objects and beings. This visible beauty was understood as moral goodness rather than external handsomeness.

Beauty was also an AESTHETIC category. The beauty of nature and that of the Holy Writ, having been created by God, stood on a higher level of aesthetic values than the work of painters and writers (Gregory of Nyssa, PG 44:1197B). Although in theory beauty was linked to simplicity, Byz. ideologists discarded the early apologists' contempt for sumptuous ornamentation of the body and of buildings; external "beauty" came to occupy a significant place in both court ceremonial and liturgy. *Ekphraseis* praised the visible beauty of churches, icons, palaces, gardens, etc.; female beauty was described in romances and verses, and noted in funeral orations; and preambles to historical works named beauty of speech as one of the highest qualities.

LIT. V. Byčkov, *Vizantijskaja estetika* (Moscow 1977) 65–107. C.C. Putnam, *Beauty in the Pseudo-Denis* (Washington, D.C., 1960).

—A.K.

BEBAIAS ELPIDOS NUNNERY, located in Constantinople, dedicated to the Theotokos Bebaias Elpidos ("of sure hope"). It was founded in the 1320s or 1330s by Theodora Synadene, niece of Michael VIII and wife of the *megas stratopedarches* John Komnenos Doukas SYNADENOS. When widowed, Theodora Synadene retired to her new foundation, taking the monastic name of Theodoule; her daughter Euphrosyne, the "second founder" of the convent, accompanied her. The monastery is known only from its lengthy rule, written by Theodora between 1327 and 1342 and preserved in a deluxe parchment MS (Oxford, Lincoln College gr. 35), known as the "Lincoln College Typikon." It includes ten pages of double portraits, showing the founder's family as married couples in court and/or monastic costume. The sequence closes with images of the Mother of God, inscribed "he bebaia elpis," in the pose of the VIRGIN HODEGETRIA, gesturing toward Theodora and



BEBAIAS ELPIDOS NUNNERY. Portraits of the founders of the nunnery Theodora (Theodoule) and her daughter Euphrosyne. Miniature in the manuscript of the *typikon* of the nunnery (Lincoln College, Oxford, gr. 35 fol.11r). Bodleian Library, Oxford.

Euphrosyne on the facing recto. The final miniature (fol.12r) depicts nuns and novices gathered about their superior.

The convent, in the Heptaskalon region, first housed 30 nuns, then 50. It followed the *typikon* of St. SABAS with regard to liturgy and dietary regulations. The convent possessed considerable property in Constantinople, its environs, and Thrace. It also received valuable donations of money and liturgical objects from relatives and descendants of Theodora who wished to assure their posthumous commemoration at the convent.

SOURCE. H. Delehay, *Deux typica byzantins de l'époque des Paléologues* (Brussels 1921) 10–14, 18–105, 141–72.

LIT. A. Cutler, P. Magdalino, "Some Precisions on the Lincoln College Typikon," *CahArch* 27 (1978) 179–98. Janin, *Églises CP* 158–60.

—A.M.T., A.C.

BEDE, called "the Venerable," English Benedictine monk, polymath, historian, and theologian; born near Wearmouth (Northumberland) ca.672/3, died Jarrow (Durham) 25/6 May 735. The Latin church fathers were major sources for him, but Bede also knew some Greek and possibly some Hebrew. His works on spelling, metrics, and computus, for instance, contain a little Greek (M.C. Bodden in *Sources of Anglo-Saxon Culture*, ed. P.E. Szarmach, V.D. Oggins [Kalamazoo, Mich., 1986] 55, 62, n.16). W.F. Bolton considered Bede's use of Greek "passive," based on earlier writers such as Jerome and Isidore of Seville and on interlinear Greek-Latin texts, but K.M. Lynch (*Traditio* 39 [1983] 432-39) argues that, by the late 720s when Bede wrote his second commentary on Acts, he read biblical Greek. L.T. Martin (*American Benedictine Review* 35 [1984] 211-16) and A.C. Dionisotti (*Revue Bénédictine* 92 [1982] 123-29) show that in this work and in *On Spelling*, respectively, Bede systematically compares variants, both Greek and Latin.

Where his *Ecclesiastical History of the English People* touches on events at Constantinople, he seems generally to draw on preserved sources (e.g., bk.1, ch.13 on a 5th-C. famine, plague, and earthquake; bk.5, ch.15 on the pilgrim Arculf's trip to the Levant and Constantinople; see ADOMNAN), but he supplies independent testimony on Theodore of Tarsus, archbishop of Canterbury, who supported the Lateran Council of 649 and glorified "the Holy Spirit ineffably proceeding from the Father and the Son" (bk.4, ch.17). Bede's Anglo-Saxon connections with Rome presumably explain his revision of the Latin translation of the Passion of St. Anastasius (cf. C. Virgilio Franklin and P. Meyvaert, *AB* 100 [1982] 373-400) as well as the independent testimony on contemporary events in Constantinople supplied in the chronicle appended to his *De temporum ratione*, such as Justinian II's career (chs. 567 and 577-78, pp. 529 and 531), Philippikos's destruction of conciliar images (ch. 581, p.523), and the Arab siege of Constantinople and attack on the Bulgars in 717-18 (ch. 592, pp. 534f).

ED. *Ecclesiastical History*, ed. B. Colgrave, R. Mynors (Oxford 1969). See list in Brown (*infra*). *De temporum ratione*, ed. T. Mommsen, C. Jones, in *CCL* 123b (1977) 463-544.

LIT. *Bede: His Life, Times, and Writings*², ed. A.H. Thompson (Oxford 1969). G.H. Brown, *Bede the Venerable* (Boston 1987). —C.B.T., M.McC.

BEDS (sing. *κραβάτιον*) were used, at least until the 10th C., not only as a place for sleeping, but also for reclining during BANQUETS, even though the custom of sitting at TABLES to dine became more and more usual (Koukoules, *Bios* 5:167f). The bed was normally made of wooden planks, whereas the rich bedecked their *klinai* (bedsteads) with silver (e.g., John Chrysostom, PG 55:516.34-35) or ivory (Symeon Metaphrastes, PG 115:909B). The frame was provided with ropes or chains that supported the *stromne*, or mattress. The frame was placed on two trestles or on four legs, which were sometimes decorated. Beds of this kind are often depicted in miniatures. The *stromnai* were filled with rushes, straw, or wool; in rich houses they were covered with CARPETS, animal skins, or silk cloths of gay colors (M. Gedeon, *BZ* 5 [1896] 115.1-3). Pillows were used at one end of the bed to elevate the head (Psellos, *Scripta min.* 2:206f). Folding beds were also employed (MM 6:243.4). Warriors and ascetics prided themselves on rejecting the comfort of beds: Manuel I reportedly slept on brushwood during his campaigns, and Nikephoros II Phokas slept on the floor even in the palace. St. Andrew the Fool reportedly preferred to spend the night on a dunghill (PG 111:705AB). Eustathios of Thessalonike ridiculed the ascetics' habit of spending their nights on the ground.

LIT. Koukoules, *Bios* 2.2:67-77.

—Ap.K., A.K.

BEEKEEPING. See APICULTURE.

BEER. See BEVERAGES.

BEG (mod. Turk. *bey*), a Turkish title of unknown origin appearing on the oldest monument of the Turkish language, the 8th-C. Orkhon inscriptions, meaning "nobility" and opposed to *bodun*, i.e., "the mass of the people"; later it acquired the meaning "lord" and was widely used in the Islamic world as the equivalent of the Arabic title 'amir (see EMIR). The Karakhanids and the founders of the SELJUK dynasty used it. The 14th-C. Turkish emirates or beyliks were ruled by a senior lord known as the *ulu* (big) *beg*, whose territory was

divided into provinces governed by members of his family, simple begs. The title was also used in the Ottoman Empire and was introduced into Greek as a loanword (*πάκας*, *πέγ*, etc.).

LIT. L. Bazin, *ET*² 1:1159. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* 2:250f. E.A. Zachariadou, "Observations on Some Turcica of Pachymeres," *REB* 36 (1978) 261-67. —E.A.Z.

BEGGAR (*ἐπαίτης*). Assistance to beggars was consistent with Byz. PHILANTHROPY toward the unfortunate. The texts rarely distinguish "professional" beggars from the POOR, who are described as *ptochoi*, *penetes*, AKTEMONES, or APOROI. Scenes of begging are, however, abundant in the sources: thus, a 14th-C. historian (Greg. 3:225.14-16) describes indigents in the streets who were stretching out their hands to the crowd, pleading for a small coin to buy some bread; Ptochoprodromos tells of a rich woman who fed her husband less well than the beggars who came to her house. PALLADIOS in the *Lausiac History* (164.7-10) writes of indigent people who lived in the stoa of a church and were in constant search of food; a woman even gave birth to a child in this stoa. The beggars were either naked or wore specific clothes, the beggar's cloak, *himatia epaitika* (PG 65:228B). Anna Komnene (An.Komn., bk.12.3; 3:63.19-20) relates that her mother Irene distributed money among *epaitai*, who were either naked or *sisyrophoroi*, clad in goathair cloaks. Some beggars are described as insolent: when one of them was given a loaf of bread, he demanded a cloak instead (Moschos, PG 87:2860A). The Homeric Iros (*Odyssey*, bk.18) was for the Byz. an archetypal image of the insolent beggar. The vita of Andrew the Fool (PG 111:708C) speaks of the "poor robbers" who stole Andrew's cloak; the hagiographer comments that citizens called them "children of the *archiereus*," a term probably indicating an institutionalized organization of Constantinopolitan beggars. It is not clear whether "the poor brethren in Christ" who were fed at the PTOCHOTROPHEION of ATTALEIATES (*Typikon*, ed. Gautier, 47.493-501) and the poor people who were annually chosen to have their feet washed by the emperor (Treitinger, *Kaiseridee* 126f) were genuine beggars or poor people able to sustain themselves. The government tried to restrict the number of beggars in Constantinople by prescribing

that the quaestor employ able-bodied beggars or expel them from the city.

LIT. Constantelos, *Philanthropy* 5, 26f, 119, 130, 260.

—A.K.

BEHAVIOR. The Byz. developed several images of ideal behavior. One of them was the eremitic ideal, with its tendency to mortification of the flesh in forms such as flight to the desert or wilderness, STYLITE life on a pillar, seclusion, and fasting. This ideal was contrasted with the communal life of the KOINOBIOTON: both were based on the principle of *tapeinotes*, "humility" (see MODESTY, TOPOS OF), but the cenobitic ideal placed more emphasis on discipline and activity than on individual abnegation. Attitudes toward PHILANTHROPY also varied; usually treated as a virtue, it was questioned by people such as Symeon the Theologian. Another criticism of ASCETICISM (esp. in the 12th C.) came from clerical and lay intellectuals (such as Eustathios of Thessalonike) who contrasted hermits with virtuous married people living in the world.

The secular ideal of behavior was construed in several forms: individualistic behavior concentrated on the interests of the nuclear family, emphasizing obedience to the law and fealty to the ruling emperor (Kekaumenos); behavior based on tolerance and OIKONOMIA, with developed bonds of FRIENDSHIP and values such as education and moderate enjoyment of life (Psellos); the knightly ideal, with stress on military prowess and personal fealty (Eustathios of Thessalonike). The ideal of WOMEN's behavior slowly shifted from that of extreme piety (the prostitute transformed into an ascetic, a woman in male disguise eagerly searching for salvation) to the model housewife; in the 12th C. a new image appeared—the woman actively involved in political affairs, a patron of art, a faithful mistress.

Byz. ideals of behavior were developed particularly in hagiography and in special moralistic treatises, such as those by KEKAUMENOS or SPANEAS, in MIRRORS OF PRINCES, and in rhetorical writings (panegyrics, monodies, etc.). (See also ETHICS; BODY LANGUAGE.)

LIT. Kazhdan, *Social'nyj sostav* 241-43. Patlagean, *Structure*, pt.XI (1976), 597-623. W. Hörandner, "Customs and Beliefs as Reflected in Occasional Poetry," *ByzF* 12 (1987) 235-47. —A.K.

BEIRUT. See BERYTUS.

BÉLA III (Alexios to the Byz.), king of Hungary (from 1172); born ca.1148, died 23 Apr. 1196. Second son of Géza II (ruled 1141–61/2), by agreement with his brother István III Béla went to Constantinople ca.1163 to be betrothed to Maria Komnene, heiress apparent of MANUEL I; Béla may have been named DESPOTES (but see L. Stiernon, *REB* 21 [1963] 292). Manuel envisaged an eventual union of Hungary and Byz. In 1166 Béla helped fight Hungary to regain Croatia and Dalmatia, his promised inheritance. After the birth of ALEXIOS II, the engagement to Maria was terminated; Béla (now caesar) wedded Anne of Châtillon, half-sister of Manuel's empress. Upon the death of István III, Béla occupied Hungary with Byz. assistance. In 1181, he seized Croatia and Dalmatia; ca.1182–84 he took the Morava valley and Niš (Naissus). Following Anne's death (1184), he sought the hand of Manuel's relative Theodora, which would have given him a claim to the throne. When this marriage was denied, Béla's daughter Margaret married ISAAC II ANGELOS. In 1192 he and Isaac met at Belgrade, but only in 1195 were they able to agree on joint action against Bulgaria. Isaac's overthrow frustrated their cooperation.

LIT. Moravcsik, *Studia Byz.* 305–13. Idem, *Byzantium and the Magyars* (Amsterdam 1970) 82–84, 89–95. Brand, *Byzantium* 79f, 88–96. F. Makk, "Relations hungaro-byzantines à l'époque de Béla III," *ActaHistHung* 31 (1985) 3–32. —C.M.B.

BELGRADE. See SINGIDUNUM.

BELISARIOS (Βελισάριος), general; born Germania on borders of Thrace and Illyricum ca.505, died Constantinople March 565. Belisarios became guard officer of Justinian I (who was then *magister militum*), *doux* of Mesopotamia (526), and then *magister militum* of the East (529). He defeated the Persians near Dara in 530, but Justinian recalled him because these operations ultimately failed. In 532 Belisarios suppressed the NIKAI REVOLT. Belisarios commanded the successful expeditionary force that reconquered Africa in late 533, decisively defeated the Vandals, destroyed their kingdom in 533–34, and celebrated a triumph

at Constantinople in 534. He occupied Sicily, then entered Rome on 9/10 Dec. 536. His victories were represented in mosaic on the CHALKE Gate. Belisarios was recalled to Constantinople because of Justinian's mistrust and fear of Persia. The emperor again sent Belisarios to Italy in 544, but recalled him in 548. Despite internal dissension and inadequate resources, he skillfully directed the reconquest of much of Italy from the Ostrogoths. In 559–60 he led an emergency defense against Cotrigur Huns who threatened Thrace and Constantinople. Justinian removed him as *comes domesticorum* in 562 but restored him to favor on 19 July 563. Belisarios was greatly influenced by his wife, ANTONINA, but was apparently indifferent to politics. He possessed many (possibly 7,000) *buccellarii* (private guardsmen). Master of strategy, operations, and tactics, with a swift and instinctive grasp of the potential in a situation, Belisarios was probably the best Byz. general. PROKOPIOS OF CAESAREA, Belisarios's *assessor*, described many of Belisarios's campaigns and contributed to his high reputation.

LIT. Cameron, *Procopius* 51–55, 156–64, 171–76. Stein, *Histoire* 2:284–93, 312–24, 346–55. Thompson, *Romans & Barbarians* 77–109. —W.E.K., A.C.

BELISARIOS, ROMANCE OF, an anonymous verse text composed probably in the late 14th C. (cf. ROMANCE). The fate of the hero, blinded and reduced to begging at the central crossroads of Constantinople, exemplifies the workings of Envy. He has little connection with the historical BELISARIOS, Justinian I's general, though both Prokopios and Theophanes the Confessor comment that envy destroyed Belisarios's career. The legend first appears in a 12th-C. MS of the PATRIA OF CONSTANTINOPLE and the *Chiliades* of TZETZES, while the developed story reflects episodes from the 12th C. (the PETRALIPHAS brothers and the siege of Kerkyra, 1149) and the 14th C. (the career of Alexios PHILANTHROPENOS). An underlying theme, unusual in Byz. literature, is a class-based tension between aristocrats and populace, which may account for the poem's continued popularity in the post-Byz. period, when it circulated in two rhymed versions.

ED. *Istoria tou Belisariou*, ed. W.F. Bakker, A.F. van Gemert (Athens 1988). Wagner, *Carmina* 322–78. —E.M.J., M.J.J.

BELL (κῶδων). Bells were used by the Romans for various purposes, for example, as children's toys (bells of this kind were found in catacombs) and as devices to signal the opening of public baths and help keep track of livestock. A bas-relief discovered in Galata and dated to the reign of Justin II shows a bell, struck by two men, that was apparently used to announce the beginning of circus games (H. Leclercq, *DACL* 3.2:1970).

Small bells for animals survive from the 4th C. onward; one is inscribed "St. Theodore help the horse (*alogon*)" (unpublished; Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, inv. 1980.26). Small bells were also among the silver horse fittings (see CHARIOT MOUNTS AND HORSE FITTINGS) excavated in Nubia (W.B. Emery, L.P. Kirwan, *The Royal Tombs of Ballana and Qustul* [Cairo 1938] 262–71, pls. 55–56). A pavement mosaic at Umm Harateyn in Syria, dated 499/500, shows a bull with three bells hanging from its neck (J. Balty, *Mosaïques antiques de Syrie* [Brussels 1977], fig.61). The *Farmer's Law* (ch.30) establishes the punishment for a thief who removed a *kodon* from a cow or sheep.

The metal content of two 6th- or 7th-C. small bronze bells in the Ashmolean Museum has been analyzed and found to conform to the traditional high-tin formula for bells, a formula imported into the western world from southeast Asia where it originated in the Iron Age (P. Craddock in *Application of Science in Examination of Works of Art*, ed. P.A. England, L. van Zelst [Boston 1985] 64).

Theodore of Stoudios (PG 99:841A), when describing the persecution of the faithful in Constantinople, exclaims that the tolling of bells (*kodonismos*) was heard throughout the whole city—Theodore's hostile attitude toward the *kodonismos* suggests that he meant secular rather than ecclesiastical bells, since Byz. churches at that time used a gong or SEMANTRON for signaling the hour.

In the West, however, bells were widely used from the 6th C. to summon the faithful to church services. The sophistication of the Latin West in bell-founding is amply demonstrated by Theophilus Presbyter's extensive description (11th C.?) of the techniques involved (*Schedula diversarum artium*, ed. A. Ilg [Vienna 1874; rp. Osnabrück 1970] 319–31). Such experience may have led Basil I to seek bells in the West: according to the CHRONICON VENETUM (ed. G. Monticolo, 126.13–16), the Venetian doge Orso II (864–81) sent to Constantinople 12 bells "and from this time on-

ward the Greeks started having *campanae*." LIUTPRAND OF CREMONA (*Antapodosis* 3:34) describes a *machina* in the NEA EKKLESIA that struck (*sonat*) ecclesiastical hours—it may have been an AUTOMATON equipped with a bell.

Some monasteries used *kodones* instead of *semantra* to summon monks: one is mentioned in the *hypotyposis* of Athanasios of Athos (Meyer, *Haupturkunden* 136.22–23), another in the *typikon* of the KECHARITOMENE NUNNERY (P. Gautier, *REB* 43 [1985] 77.1035). Balsamon (Rhalles-Potles, *Syntagma* 4:521.32–522.5), however, considers the *semantron* as typical of Byz. and stressed that the Latins used the "brass-tongued" *kampana*. Another 12th-C. writer (Eust. Thess., *Capture*, pp. 134.23–136.14) also describes the animosity of the Normans toward wooden gongs and asks in astonishment why they were not hostile to "the large *semantikoi kodones*" in the Church of St. Demetrios. Texts of the 14th and 15th C. more frequently mention church bells that also rang at times of danger. After 1453 the Turks prohibited the tolling of bells. Allatios, in the first half of the 17th C., wrote that bells of brass and copper were rare in Greece, although many very old bells were preserved on Mt. Athos.

LIT. L. Allatios, *The Newer Temples of the Greeks* (University Park, Pa.—London 1969) 5f. E.V. Williams, *The Bells of Russia* (Princeton 1985) 21–24. E.M. Zumbroich, *LMA* 4:1500f. —M.M.M., A.C., A.K.

BELL TOWER, a multistoried structure built as an integral part of, or adjacent to, a church with the purpose of hanging BELLS. Though at times functionally and formally related to monastic PYRGOS, bell towers are invariably distinct from them. Belfries are made of masonry-bearing walls, perforated on all four sides. The top floor, where the bells are hung, usually has the largest openings. Relatively few Byz. churches with bell towers have been preserved (e.g., at the Omorphoklisia near Kastoria; Zoodochos Pege near Samara, Messenia; Aphentiko, Brontocheion monastery, Mistra); several others survive in Serbia (e.g., Bogorodica Ljeviška in PRIZREN; main church of Žiča monastery) and Bulgaria (Pantokrator church at MESEMBRIA). No surviving example appears to antedate 1200. This led earlier scholars (G. Millet, *L'école grecque dans l'architecture byzantine* [Paris 1916; rp. London 1974] 137f) to assume that the form was imported from the West during the Latin

occupation of Constantinople. Recent research indicates that many churches in Constantinople (KALENDERHANE CAMII, Kilise Camii, PAMMAKARISTOS, CHORA) once had belfries, although none survive. Their destruction may be related to the general Turkish prohibition on bells. The origins of the Byz. bell towers remain murky. Their existence by the 9th C. at the latest is attested in miniatures depicting Holy Sion in the Khludov Psalter (Ščepkina, *Miniatury*, fols. 51r, 86v).

LIT. Ch. Barla, *Morphe kai exelixis ton byzantinon kodonostasion* (Athens 1959). H. Hallensleben, "Byzantinische Kirchtürme," *Kunstchronik* 19 (1966) 309-11. O.M. Kandić, "Kule-zvonici uz srpske crkve XII-XIV veka," *ZbLkUmet* 14 (1978) 3-75. -S.C.

BELT (ζώνη, Lat. *cingulum*), in the early Roman Empire an element of military costume. During the reforms of Diocletian and Constantine I, a *zone* became part of the dress of every official, with the exception of the empress, who did not wear a belt since she was not considered a true officeholder. The fashion for belts spread, and in 382 the state tried to restrict the use of belts by civilians. Monks and priests followed the trend, viewing the belt as a symbol of purity, temperance, and manliness.

Byz. belts were made of leather or cloth, with buckles of bronze. Luxurious specimens could be purple or gilded. Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos (*De cer.* 470.10-12) mentions purple and quasi-purple *zostriai* (the price of which ranged from 8 to 16 miliaresia apiece). As official *INSIGNIA*, belts of court functionaries differed in form and color; some were studded with precious stones. Higher orders of the clergy (from priests on up) wore belts, made of silk, over the *STICHARION* and the *EPITRACHELION*; the *EPIGONATION* was attached to the belt. All-metal belts are unknown, except for gold *MARRIAGE BELTS*. Numerous *BELT FITTINGS* have been found, primarily on the frontiers of the empire, in civilian as well as in military contexts.

The Virgin's girdle was one of the most important relics in Constantinople. Brought to the capital perhaps in the 5th C. and contained in a special reliquary box or *SOROS*, it was housed in the Church of the *CHALKOPRATEIA*, and ultimately at the Church of *BLACHERNAI*. Its deposit at the *Chalkoprateia* was celebrated annually on 31 Aug.

LIT. Koukoules, *Bios* 2.2:50-55. M. Sommer, *Die Gürtel und Gürtelbeschlüge des 4. und 5. Jahrhunderts im römischen*

Reich (Bonn 1984). Braun, *Liturgische Gewandung* 101-17. M. Jugie, "L'église de Chalcopratia et le culte de la Ceinture de la Sainte Vierge à Constantinople," *EO* 16 (1913) 308-12. -A.K.

BELT FITTINGS. Until recently most excavated belt fittings of the 5th-7th C. were from barbarian graves and it was assumed that those found on Byz. soil were imports (Davidson, *Minor Objects* 267); recent finds from Constantinople and Asia Minor, however, suggest that the Byz. appropriated and diffused barbarian fittings. Most surviving specimens may be assigned to the 6th-7th C.; they are primarily bronze, with rare examples in gold, lead, iron, or silver. The discovery of bronze stamping molds in Cherson testifies to the existence of the local production of belt fittings of Byz. type in the 7th C. (A.I. Ajababin, *SovArch* 3 [1982] 190-98). A fairly limited range of design types is replicated in various media. A few deluxe fittings even bear gemstones.

Byz. belt fittings assumed a variety of forms: those with hinged buckles versus those on which only the tongue is hinged; those secured to the belt strap with pierced studs versus those with a slit through which the end of the strap could be looped. Examples of the later type, with rigid buckle and strap loop, tend to be of the 8th-10th C. and most bear zoomorphic decoration. Earlier (6th-7th C.) specimens boast a greater variety of shapes (hearts, triangles, lozenges) and often bear highly stylized floral or zoomorphic motifs. Iconic images (Christ, the Virgin Hodegetria) occasionally appear, as do simple biblical scenes (e.g., the Annunciation), pagan heroes (e.g., Herakles), invocations, and expressions of good luck. Most common, however, are personal monograms, which suggests that personalized belt fittings may have facilitated the retrieval of one's clothing at the baths. (See also *BELT*; *MARRIAGE BELT*.)

LIT. J. Werner, "Nomadische Gürtel bei Persern, Byzantinern und Langobarden," *Atti del Convegno sul tema la civiltà dei Longobardi in Europa* (Rome 1974) 109-39. M. Sommer, *Die Gürtel und Gürtelbeschlüge des 4. und 5. Jahrhunderts im römischen Reich* (Bonn 1984). -G.V.

BELTHANDROS AND CHRYSANTZA (Βέλθανδρος και Χρυσάντζα), an anonymous ROMANCE in 1,348 unrhymed POLITICAL VERSES, written probably during the 14th C. in a language that shows the confusion of VERNACULAR and learned

elements characteristic of this genre. A striking feature of the plot is the elaborate *Erotokastron* (Castle of Love) in which, in a dreamlike atmosphere, Belthandros selects from a *BRIDE SHOW* the girl destined to be his wife. He eventually finds her in Antioch and, after many hazards including a false marriage with her maid, they live happily ever after. The romance is familiar with some of the vocabulary (e.g., *LIZIOS*, "liege") and habits (e.g., *HAWKING*) of westernized feudal society. Antecedents for the plot have thus been sought in Western literature, for example, in the (admittedly rare) *château d'amour* of Provençal poetry or in the Tristan story (for a marriage with the beloved's maid). Equally likely, however, are precedents within the Byz. learned tradition itself, in chroniclers' accounts of bride shows (C. Cupan, *JÖB* 33 [1983] 221-48) and in the *EKPHRASEIS* of gardens and buildings in the 12th-C. romances. The mixture of motifs reflects the Western penetration of Byz. society following the Fourth Crusade.

ED. Kriaras, *Mythistoremata* 85-130. Germ. tr., E. von Nischer-Falkenhof, "Belthandros und Chrysantza: Ein byzantinischer Minnesang aus dem 13. Jahrhundert," *JÖB* 8 (1959) 87-122.

LIT. Beck, *Volksliteratur* 120f, 124-27. M. Chatzigiakoumes, *Ta mesaionika demode keimena: symbole ste melete kai sten ekdose tous* (Athens 1977) 60-69, 104-26, 213-46. H. and R. Kahane, "The Hidden Narcissus in the Byzantine Romance of Belthandros and Chrysantza," *JÖB* 33 (1983) 199-219. G. Fulciniti, "Il romanzo di Beltrando e Crisanza: un tentativo di Analisi narratologica," *Università di Napoli. Annali di Facoltà di lettere e filosofia* 27 (1984-85) 229-41. -E.M.J., M.J.J.

BEMA (βῆμα), the area of the church containing the *ALTAR*, also referred to as the *presbyterion* or *hierateion* (sanctuary). In Byz. churches, the bema occupied the position at the east end of the naos, directly in front of the *APSE*, though in some cases it extended laterally to include areas in front of the subsidiary apses. In Syria the bema was placed in the middle of the naos. In early churches the bema was usually raised on a platform one step high, enclosed by the chancel barrier and later the *TEMLON*. The entire closed area was accessible only to the members of the clergy who celebrated the liturgy there. In theological terms, the bema was viewed as the Christian equivalent of the "Holy of Holies" in the ancient Jewish Temple. The "bema of the *anagnostai* (readers)" was another name for the *AMBO* (Sozom., *HE* 9.2.11); John Chrysostom is said (ibid. 8.5.2) to have

preached in the middle of his crowded audience, sitting on the bema of the *anagnostai*.

LIT. C. Delvoye, *RBK* 1:583-99. A.M. Schneider, *RAC* 2:129f. R. Taft, "Some Notes on the Bema in the East and West Syrian Tradition," *OrChrP* 34 (1968) 326-59.

-M.J.

BENEVENTO (Βενεβεντός), city in CAMPANIA, capital of the province of Samnium in the late Roman Empire. In the late 530s Benevento was contested between Justinian I's general Belisarios and the Goths. Circa 545 Totila conquered the city and destroyed its walls. The Lombards occupied Benevento ca.570; various Byz. attempts at reconquest (e.g., Constans II's siege of 663) failed, and the city and the duchy of Benevento remained under the nominal suzerainty of Lombard kings.

Much construction occurred during this period. Theuderata, wife of the duke Romuald, built the monastery of S. Pietro outside Benevento (680s). Duke Arechis II (758-87) is credited with building a palace (perhaps an addition to the existing ducal palace), extending the city walls, constructing the palace-church of S. Sofia, and granting the monastery connected with S. Sofia a water pipe to supply its bath as well as a yearly supply of wood for heating. The chapel of S. Sofia is described in 8th-C. documents as a likeness of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople. Excavations in 1950 revealed that the church originally was star-shaped, with two inner rings of supports and a low dome. It had marble and mosaic decoration that does not survive.

When the Lombard state was crushed by the Franks in 774, Benevento gained full independence. After its political surge in the 8th C., Benevento experienced internal strife (*SALERNO* detached itself from the duchy in 849) and hostile attacks on its territory: the Carolingian king Louis II managed to repel the Arabs in 872, but only temporarily. Emp. Basil I sought an alliance with Lombard principalities, and in 876 a Byz. ambassador was sent to Benevento, Salerno, and Capua but had no success (*Reg* 1, no.495). In Oct. 891 the Byz. captured Benevento and the Byz. *strategos* remained there until 895, when he was forced to leave the city and its territory. Benevento was still politically dependent upon the empire, however, until the Norman invasion. With the help of the Normans, Atenulf III, prince of Benevento, defeated in 1041 the Byz. army of the *katepano*

Boioannes the Younger, but soon thereafter the Normans left the service of Atenulf and supported Salerno against him. The subsequent events are obscure; George MANIAKES seems to have retaken Benevento from the Normans in 1042 (Skyl. 427.52–56), but the Byz. could not retain the city; in 1051 Benevento, in the face of a Norman attack, accepted the suzerainty of the pope.

LIT. H. Belting, "Studien zum beneventanischen Hof im 8. Jahrhundert," *DOP* 16 (1962) 141–93. Ward-Perkins, *From Classical Antiquity* 16, 20f, 171f, 230–34. *Aggiornamento Bertaux* 4:273–77. —A.K., R.B.H., D.K.

BENJAMIN I, patriarch of Alexandria (626–65); born ca.590, died 3 Jan. 665; feastday (Coptic church) 3 Jan. Born to a wealthy and apparently hellenized Egyptian family, Benjamin became a monk ca.621 but soon entered the service of the Monophysite patriarch Andronikos, who later named him as his successor. The Byz. reconquest of Egypt from the Persians and esp. the arrival in 631 of Patr. KYROS compelled Benjamin to take refuge in Upper Egypt from Kyros's persecutions. He returned only in 644 after the Muslims had captured Alexandria, reportedly following a decree by 'AMR recalling him. Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam (died 871) claims that 'Amr sought and received from Benjamin specific advice on administering Egypt. Benjamin probably left Alexandria during the temporary Byz. reoccupation (645) and may have offered 'Amr support in exchange for lenience toward the local populace. The Coptic church reveres Benjamin for having encouraged and organized the Egyptian Monophysites during and after the persecutions of the 630s and for rebuilding churches and monasteries. An account, preserved only in Coptic and Arabic versions but probably composed in Greek by Benjamin's *synkellos* and successor Agathon, records Benjamin's consecration of a church at Dair Macarius (*Livre de la consécration du sanctuaire de Benjamin*, ed. R.-G. Coquin [Cairo 1975]). Of Benjamin's writings, only a "Homily on the Wedding at Cana" is extant in toto; written in Coptic, its vocabulary reveals strong Greek influences.

ED. C. Müller, "Neues über Benjamin I, 38. und Agathon, 39. Patriarchen von Alexandrien," *Muséon* 72 (1959) 323–47. Idem, *Die Homilie über die Hochzeit zu Kana und weitere Schriften des Patriarchen Benjamin I. von Alexandrien* (Heidelberg 1968).

LIT. C. Müller, "Benjamin I., 38. Patriarch von Alexandrien," *Muséon* 69 (1956) 313–40. Butler, *Arab Conquest* 169–79, 439–46. —P.A.H.

BENJAMIN OF TUDELA, or Bar Yonah, the most important and informative medieval Jewish traveler; fl. mid-12th-C. Spain. His *Itinerary* (*Sepher Masa'oth*), apparently unedited notes, outlines his travels during the 1160s from Spain along the Mediterranean coast to Byz. It also includes data on the Islamic world, Ethiopia, and Europe. Benjamin recorded unique censuses of Jewish congregations, economic observations, local pronunciation of Greek, and folklore. Our main source for 12th-C. Byz. Jewish history, the *Itinerary* also contains early descriptions of Vlachs, Oghuz Turks, Druses, and Assassins. His description of Constantinople is among the best extant. He mentioned guilds of Jewish silkworkers in Thebes, Thessalonike, and Pera; tanners in Pera; and even an agricultural settlement near Delphi. He visited about 25 Byz. cities and recorded some 9,000 Jews.

ED. *The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela*, ed. M.N. Adler (London 1907).

LIT. A. Andréadès, "Sur Benjamin de Tudèle," *BZ* 30 (1929/30) 457–62. Ankori, *Karaïtes* 141–61. —S.B.B.

BERA (Βήρα), identified with modern Pherrai in western Thrace, site of the monastery of the Theotokos Kosmosoteira, founded before 1152 by the *sebastokrator* Isaac KOMNENOS, son of Alexios I. Isaac built the cenobitic monastery as his residence and final resting place; he requested that his tomb be transferred to this new foundation from the church of the CHORA MONASTERY in Constantinople, which he had restored earlier (N.P. Ševčenko, *GOrThR* 29 [1984] 135–39). The complex, surrounded by a wall, included a cistern, mill, and library. The monastery also had a GEROKOMEION with 36 beds and a bathhouse for the use of monks and villagers. The monastery continued in use until the mid-14th C.

The *typikon*, drafted by Isaac starting in 1152, was closely modeled, for its liturgical sections, on the *typikon* of the EUERGETIS MONASTERY in Constantinople. It provided for 74 monks, of whom 50 were to be choir brothers, the rest serving brothers. All the monks were to be over 30 years of age, and no eunuchs were permitted. Isaac

emphasized the independent status of the monastery and endowed it with substantial properties in Thrace. The *typikon* is an important source for local toponyms, esp. since it contains numerous Slavic place names (V. Tüpkova-Zaimova, *Balkansko ezikoznanie* 2 [1960] 123–27) and for social and economic relations: as the former estate of a secular owner, the estates of the Kosmosoteira housed certain "vassals" who were given land in exchange for their service to the master (V. Arutjunova-Fidanjan, *Tipik Grigorija Pakuriana* [Erevan 1978] 32–34).

The church at Pherrai, which is presumed to be the *katholikon* of the Kosmosoteira monastery, is a large modified cross-in-square structure with frescoes of the 12th C. By 1433 it had been transformed into a mosque; it was restored and reconsecrated in 1940.

SOURCE. L. Petit, "Typikon du monastère de la Kosmosoteira près d'Aenos (1152)," *IRAIK* 13 (1908) 17–75.

LIT. S. Sinos, *Die Klosterkirche der Kosmosoteira in Bera (Vira)* (Munich 1985). A.K. Orlandos, "Ta byzantina mne-meia tes Beras," *Thrakika* 4 (1933) 3–34. N. Patterson (Ševčenko), "Byzantine Frescoes at Pherrai" (M.A. thesis, Columbia University 1964). —A.M.T., N.P.Š.

BERBERS. See MAURI.

BERROIA (Βέ[ρ]ροια), name of cities in Syria and Macedonia.

BERROIA IN SYRIA (Ar. Halab, Aleppo in mod. Syria), city and bishopric of SYRIA I; it stood on the road leading east from Antioch, about halfway to Hierapolis to the northeast and to the Tigris River to the east. It was raised to a metropolitan bishopric in 536. In 540, the citizens of Berroia gave only half of the 4,000 pounds of silver demanded by Chosroes I, who burned the city; the local military garrison then deserted to the Persians, complaining of a lack of pay (Prokopios, *Wars* 2.7). By the 580s, the Legio IV Parthica was stationed at Berroia (Theoph. Simok. 2.6.9). The city was under Persian rule from 604 to 628 and Arab rule after 636; after NIKEPHOROS II PHOKAS took and sacked it in 962, Berroia was again Byz. between 995 and 1017. Among the few Byz. vestiges at Berroia is part of an aisled tetraconch (cathedral?) church (in the Madrasah al-Halā-wiyya) with sculpture characteristic of the early 6th C.

LIT. J. Sauvaget, *Alep* (Paris 1941). H. Gaube, E. Wirth, *Aleppo* (Wiesbaden 1984). W.E. Kleinbauer, "The Origins and Functions of the Aisled Tetraconch Churches in Syria and Northern Mesopotamia," *DOP* 27 (1973) 101–03. —M.M.M.

BERROIA IN MACEDONIA, city at the west end of the central Macedonian plain, sometimes confused in the sources with Beroe-Stara Zagora in Thrace. In late antiquity Berroia belonged to the province of Macedonia I. In the 7th C. DROUGOUBITAI settled in the plain below the city. In the late 8th C. the empress Irene is said to have rebuilt Berroia and named it Eirenoupolis; some texts, including Theophanes (Theoph. 457.8–10), place Berroia-Eirenoupolis in Thrace (Chionides, *Historia* [1970] 2:14–18). The 10th-C. *Taktikon of Escorial* (Oikonomides, *Listes* 265.32) mentions a *strategos* of Berroia alongside that of Strymon, and an act of 1196 specifically names the theme of Berroia (*Lavra* 1, no.69.3). A letter of THEOPHYLAKTOS of Ohrid (ep.123, ed. Gautier 563.1) is addressed to a *doux* of Berroia. For a short time Samuel of Bulgaria held the city, but in 1001 Dobromir, its *kataarchon* (i.e., governor or master), surrendered Berroia to Basil II. The city does not appear again in the sources until the end of the 12th C. It is questionable whether Peter and Asen conquered Berroia, since the evidence on this may refer to Thracian Beroe (Chionides, *infra* [1970] 2:27, n.3).

After 1204 Berroia was assigned to BONIFACE OF MONTFERRAT. In 1224 it was taken by Theodore I Komnenos Doukas of Epiros, then in 1246 by John III Vatatzes. John VI Kantakouzenos took an interest in Berroia, but in 1343/4 it was surrendered to STEFAN UROŠ IV DUŠAN; Kantakouzenos retook the city in 1350, but it soon fell again into Serbian hands and was administered from 1358 by the Serbian noble Radoslav Chlapen. Berroia was once more Byz. ca.1375, but Ottoman attacks began at just that time. The Turks seized the city several times, definitively ca.1430.

The bishopric of Berroia, suffragan of Thessalonike, is known from 347. After 1261 Michael VIII promoted Berroia to an archbishopric, and by 1300 it had become a metropolis.

A considerable number of the monuments of the Byz. city have survived, and some of the many post-Byz. churches may have been built on Byz. foundations. An Early Christian cemetery with

more than 50 tombs has been excavated (*ArchDelt* 33.2 [1978] 264–66, 268, 273–82). Some churches with frescoes of the 12th and 13th C. are still standing, but the most significant monument is the Church of the Anastasis, an unpretentious, single-aisled basilica with spectacular frescoes dated by inscription to the year 1315 (S. Pelekanides, *Kallierges: Holes Thettalias aristos zographos* [Athens 1973]). The artist is named KALLIERGES, the donors a certain Psalidas and his wife Euphrosyne. The paintings bear comparison with the mosaics of the PAMMAKARISTOS in Constantinople and the HOLY APOSTLES in Thessalonike, and esp. with the frescoes of St. NICHOLAS ORPHANOS, also in Thessalonike. The program of the Anastasis church includes “panels” of the Crucifixion and the Anastasis in niches opposite each other. On the north and south walls are a Feast cycle with an expanded Passion sequence and the portrait of a monk in *proskynesis* before St. Artemios. The church may have been the *katholikon* of a patriarchal monastery (*RegPatr*, fasc. 5, no. 2018). The old cathedral is a Byz. construction using *spolia* from some Early Christian basilica (Ph.A. Drosogianne, *ArchDelt* 18.2 [1963] 249f).

LIT. G.Ch. Chionides, *Historia tes Beroias* 2 (Thessalonike 1970). Idem, “Perigramma tes ekklesiastikes historias tes Beroias,” *GregPal* 65 (1982) 159–81. Laurent, *Corpus* 5.1:342. N.K. Moutsopoulos, *He laike architektonike tes Beroias* (Athens 1967). Ch. Mauropoulou-Tsioumi, “Verroia,” in *Alte Kirchen und Klöster Griechenlands*, ed. E. Melas (Cologne 1972) 126–30. —T.E.G., N.P.S.

BERTHA OF SULZBACH, sister-in-law of CONRAD III and first wife of MANUEL I; she was given the name Irene after her marriage; died Constantinople ca. 1160. To confirm the alliance of 1140 with John II, Conrad sent Bertha to marry Manuel in 1142, but the wedding occurred only in Jan. 1146. She is said to have been just, charitable, pious, opposed to cosmetics, stubborn, and narrow-minded. She acted as a patron, and TZETZES dedicated some of his works to her. Manuel soon neglected her in favor of other women, partly because she failed to bear a male heir; allegedly, Patr. Kosmas II Attikos, on being deposed (Feb. 1147), cursed her womb. In 1152 she bore Maria KOMNENE and ca. 1156 Anna, who died ca. 1160. Bertha warned the emperor about the conspiracies of Andronikos Komnenos and STYPEIOTES.

She was commemorated in an EPITAPHIOS by BASIL OF OHRID (Regel, *Fontes* 1.2:311–30).

LIT. C. Diehl, *Figures byzantines*² (Paris 1938) 170–91. Lamma, *Comneni* 1:33–39. Barzos, *Genealogia* 1:454–59. —C.M.B.

BERTRANDON DE LA BROQUIÈRE, Burgundian pilgrim to the Holy Land; died Lille 1459. Bertrandon, who was a knight of Philip III the Good of Burgundy, described his journey in a book entitled *Voyage d'outremer*. He set off in Feb. 1432 from Ghent to Palestine and visited Jerusalem, Damascus, Antioch, and many other places in the area; then, in a caravan, he traversed Asia Minor as far as Pera and Constantinople (which he left on 23 Jan. 1433). Bertrandon describes the city walls of Constantinople, its churches (Hagia Sophia, St. George, the Pantokrator, the Holy Apostles, Blachernai), and squares. The city seemed to him smaller than Rome, and he described it as having more open space than built-up areas. He saw Emp. John VIII and his brother Demetrios Palaiologos, *despotes* of the Morea, as well as the empress Maria Komnene, daughter of the emperor of Trebizond; Bertrandon writes how Maria mounted—“like a man”—a horse with a magnificent saddle; she wore a mantle and a tall pointed hat. Bertrandon also attended a solemn church service and a wedding of one of the emperor's relatives. From Constantinople Bertrandon traveled across Macedonia, observing that the countryside was completely devastated and, except for Selymbria, was in the hands of the Turks. The description is sober and concise but tinged with animosity toward the Greeks: he finds them less honest than the Turks and deceitful in their submission to the Roman church. It is worth noting that the court of Constantinople sought information from Bertrandon about Joan of Arc.

ED. *Le Voyage d'Outremer de Bertrandon de la Broquière*, ed. C.H.A. Schefer (Paris 1892). Eng. tr. in *Early Travels in Palestine*, ed. T. Wright (London 1848) 283–382. —A.K.

BERYTUS (Βηρυτός, now Beirut [Ar. Bayrūt] in mod. Lebanon), city in the province of Phoenicia Maritima under TYRE and independent metropolitan bishopric under the patriarch of ANTIOCH. Berytus was damaged by earthquakes in 347/8, 501/2, and 550/1; after the last, the city was re-

stored by Justinian I (Theoph. 227.21–228.4), epigraphic and other vestiges of which work (including a bath) have been found in the forum. Berytus was still noted in the 6th C. for its famous LAW SCHOOL and for its state silk factories (Prokopios, *SH*, ch.25) as well as its private purple-dyeing industry. The Arabs took Berytus in 635; it was held briefly by JOHN I TZIMISKES in 975.

LIT. R. Mousterde, “Regards sur Beyrouth phénicienne, hellénistique et romaine,” *MéUnivJos* 40 (1964) 147–90. P. Collinet, *L'école de droit de Beyrouth* (Paris 1925). —M.M.M.

BESSARION (Βησσαρίων), Greek expatriate scholar and theologian in Italy, cardinal (1439–72), and titular Latin patriarch of Constantinople from 1463; baptismal name John; born Trebizond 1399/1400?, died Ravenna 18 Nov. 1472. Educated in Constantinople and Mistra, Bessarion studied with John CHORTASMENOS, George CHRY-SOKOKKES, and Gemistos PLETHON. He became a monk in 1423 and subsequently deacon, priest, and *hegoumenos* of the monastery of St. Basil in Constantinople. Appointed metropolitan of Nicaea in 1437, he attended the Council of FERRARA-FLORENCE as a leader of the pro-Unionists. In 1439 he converted to Catholicism and was made a cardinal. After a brief return to Constantinople, he spent the rest of his career in Italy. He was appointed to numerous high ecclesiastical positions, including that of papal legate, and was twice a candidate for the papacy (1455 and 1471). Ever mindful of his Greek origins, he lobbied unsuccessfully for a crusade against the Turks.

It was as a scholar that Bessarion made his greatest impact. He wrote prolifically in Greek and in Latin, of which he acquired an excellent knowledge. During the Byz. portion of his career, he composed pro-Unionist theological treatises, refuting the views of Orthodox scholars such as Mark EUGENIKOS. He was also the author of numerous orations and *enkomia*, including a panegyric of his native Trebizond (ed. O. Lampsides, *ArchPont* 39 [1984] 3–75), probably written in 1436–37. He emphasized its seapower, military preparedness, and strong fortifications. The oration also described the layout of Trebizond, esp. the imperial palace and the thriving commercial and manufacturing quarter of this *emporion tes oikoumenes* or “marketplace of the world.”

In Rome Bessarion headed an academy that produced new and/or more accurate translations of ancient Greek authors. To this end he was an energetic collector of Greek MSS, which he eventually (1468) bequeathed to Venice, where they became the nucleus of the Biblioteca Marciana. He himself also copied some MSS (H.D. Saffrey, *ST* 233 [1964] 263–97). Bessarion took a moderate position in the mid-15th-C. debate over Plato and Aristotle; he did, however, write (in Greek) a lengthy work, *Against the Calumniator of Plato*, attacking the extreme Aristotelian views of GEORGE TRAPEZOUNTIOS. He was the patron of Greek émigrés such as Theodore GAZES and Michael APOSTOLES, who wrote his funeral oration (PG 161:CXXVII–CXL).

ED. PG 161:137–744. *Against the Calumniator of Plato*, ed. L. Mohler, *infra*, vol. 2. For list of ed., see *Tusculum-Lexikon* 121f.

LIT. L. Mohler, *Kardinal Bessarion als Theologe, Humanist und Staatsmann*, 3 vols. (Paderborn 1923–42). *PLP*, no. 2707. Gill, *Personalities* 45–54. *Miscellanea Franciscana* 73.3–4 (1973). L. Labowsky, *Bessarion's Library and the Biblioteca Marciana* (Rome 1979). *Miscellanea Marciana di studi Bessarionei* (Padua 1976). —A.M.T.

BESSARION RELIQUARY, a wooden *staurotheke*, that is, a container for fragments of the TRUE CROSS, composed of several parts, now in the Accademia in Venice; it took its name from the 15th-C. cardinal who presented it to the Scuola della Carità in that city. BESSARION may have obtained it from “Gregory Pneumatikos,” as he is called on the cross within the RELIQUARY, perhaps Patr. Gregory III (1443–50/1). A second inscription speaks of “Irene Palaiologina, daughter of the emperor's brother,” whom Frolov (*infra*) believed to be the niece of John VIII rather than of Michael IX. The sliding lid of the *staurotheke* is painted with seven scenes of the PASSION OF CHRIST surrounding the Crucifixion. Beneath this cover, a silver-gilt cross with the crucified Christ, flanked by Constantine and Helena in niello, is surrounded by eight framed ENAMEL panels; four of these have windows for relics. This part of the reliquary may be Western, but the cross itself carries Byz. enamel with Greek letters, which Frolov reads as the initials of such phrases as “The place of Calvary has become Paradise.” Similar medallions are found on the back.

LIT. *Venezia e Bisanzio*, ed. I. Furlan (Venice 1974) no.112. Frolov, *Relique*, no.872. G. Fogolari, "La teca del Bessarione e la croce di San Teodoro di Venezia," *Dedalo* 3 (1922-23) 138-60. —M.E.F., A.C.

BESTIALITY (ζωοφθορία, κτηνοβασία), human intercourse with animals, was prohibited by the Old Testament, which associated it with HOMOSEXUALITY (Lev 18:22-23). This connection dominated Byz. canon law, which often imposed the same EPITIMION for both sins (NOMOKANON OF FOURTEEN TITLES 13.2). The *Ecloga* (17.39) imposed the penalty of castration and ranked bestiality after incest and consanguinous intercourse as the third sexual sin, before homosexuality. The condemnation of bestiality continued throughout Byz. history, from Basil the Great in the 4th C. to Demetrios CHOMATENOS and John APOKAUKOS in the 13th C., always stressing the perversity of this form of intercourse. In the *Penitential* attributed to John IV Nesteutes, both men and women were condemned for bestiality (PG 88:1893D). Some monastic communities, such as Mt. Athos, prohibited the residence of children, eunuchs, women, and female animals in or near monasteries to deter fornication, homosexuality, and bestiality. The *typikon* of the PHOBEROU MONASTERY (pp. 75.14-77.10, 82.9-25) denied access to female animals specifically to prevent bestiality; at other monasteries their prohibition seems to reflect a general repudiation of the female sex (C. Galatariotou, *REB* 45 [1987] 121).

Ancient myths with their elements of totemistic bestiality endured in literature and art, for example, in epigrams about Zeus's transformation into a bull or swan to seduce EUROPA or Leda (*AnthGr*, bk.5, nos. 65, 125, 307) and on the Europa casket. Pasiphaë, who disguised herself as a heifer to have intercourse with a bull and thus conceive the Minotaur, was interpreted as the embodiment of female initiative and its terrible consequences.

LIT. Troianos, *Poinalios* 36-38. H.-G. Beck, *Byzantinisches Erotikon* (Munich 1986) 140f. —J.H.

BESTIARY. See PHYSIOLOGOS.

BETHANY (Βηθανία, Ar. al-Āzariya or Āyzarīyah), located 3 km east of Jerusalem, is the site associated with the Raising of Lazarus. EUSEBIOS

OF CAESAREA (*Onomastikon* 58:15) speaks of Bethany's Lazarion or "Place of Lazarus"—evidently a rock tomb. EGERIA (ca.380) implies the existence of a church there, which was used in the stationary liturgy on Palm Sunday. Its proximity to JERUSALEM made it part of that city's "pilgrimage circuit." The early church, which had guest rooms, was rebuilt in the 5th C. A monastery existed there as well, and a second church, dedicated to Mary Magdalene, was erected during the time of the Latin Kingdom.

LIT. Wilkinson, *Pilgrims* 151. Ovadiah, *Corpus* 29-31. —G.V.

BETHLEHEM (Βηθλεέμ), village in the Judaeen hills, 9 km south of Jerusalem, that was revered from the 4th C. as Jesus' birthplace. The first church on the site of the traditional cave of the Nativity was built by Constantine I, probably on the initiative of Helena. It was a five-aisled basilica with an octagonal *martyrion*, preceded by an atrium. This church was destroyed at the time of the SAMARITAN revolt of 529. Justinian I replaced it with another basilica, larger and more ornate: a narthex was added, a trefoil apse constructed, and two entrances cut leading to the cave of the Nativity. Much later, under Manuel I, the east end of the church received lavish mosaic decoration at the hands of EPHRAIM. Other points of pilgrimage were the shrine of the Holy Innocents; the Well of the Star; and the tomb of St. JEROME, who, with a group of matrons, had established two monasteries at Bethlehem.

After the Arab conquest of Palestine, Bethlehem was venerated by Muslims as the birthplace of "Īsā ibn Maryam" (Jesus, son of Mary) but never developed into an important center. The Crusaders occupied Bethlehem in 1099 and tried to create a bishopric there but lost it to Saladin in 1187.

LIT. Wilkinson, *Pilgrims* 151f. Ovadiah, *Corpus* 33-37. W. Harvey, *Structural Survey of the Church of the Nativity, Bethlehem* (London 1935). B. Bagatti, *Gli antichi edifici sacri di Betlemme* (Jerusalem 1952). *EAEHL* 1:198-206.

—G.V., Z.U.M.

BETH MISONA TREASURE, dated to the 6th or 7th C., four liturgical vessels in silver acquired by the Cleveland Museum of Art in 1950. None of the objects has SILVER STAMPS but two bear

dedicatory inscriptions: the paten was offered by a certain Domnos to the Church of St. Sergios in the village (*chorion*) of Beth Misona, possibly to be identified with the modern village of Msibine, southwest of Aleppo (BERROIA) in northern Syria; one of the three nearly identical chalices, with repoussé decoration, was presented to the same church by Kyriakos, son of Domnos. Because of the dedication to St. Sergios, a misreading of the village name, and confusion over modern provenance, the Beth Misona Treasure has mistakenly been called the Ruṣāfa Treasure (see SERGIOPOLIS); instead it is one of several silver TREASURES given to village churches in the 4th-7th C.

LIT. Mango, *Silver* 228-31. —M.M.M.

BETH SHEAN. See SKYTHOPOLIS.

BETROTHAL (μνηστεία, Lat. *sponsalia*). Roman law had no specific form of contract preceding MARRIAGE; no penalty for breach of promise existed. The legislation of Constantine I (*Cod.Theod.* III 5.2, etc.) introduced the concept of ARRHA SPONSALICIA, the prenuptial gift, and by so doing transformed the informal agreement into a formal contract. Ensuing developments led to the reinforcement of the ties of the betrothal and a gradual disappearance of the clear distinction between it and marriage: the Council in Trullo (canon 98) equated marrying another person's betrothed to ADULTERY, and the *Ecloga* prescribed the punishment of cutting off the nose for one who engaged in intercourse with another's betrothed. In 1066 a synod under Patr. John VIII Xiphilinos proclaimed the legal equality of the two institutions, and in 1084 Alexios I confirmed their identity (*Reg.* 2, no.1116). The celebration of the betrothal continued, nevertheless, after Alexios's novel, and Demetrios CHOMATENOS (Laiou, *infra* 295) strongly contrasts *mnesteia* and marriage, defining the former as "the prearrangement and preagreement of a marriage."

Despite the lack of consistency in the Byz. treatment of betrothal the following features seem to have characterized *mnesteia*, distinguishing it from *gamos*: (1) the type of priestly benediction—even in the later period "incomplete" betrothal, without priestly benediction, was possible; (2) the age of the partners, the betrothed being allowed to be of five to seven years (and older); (3) the lack of

economic ties, the DOWRY not yet being transmitted to the family of the groom; (4) the tendency to avoid (if not legally prohibit) sexual relations between the betrothed; (5) a broader range of valid grounds for dissolution of the betrothal, for example, madness, religious differences—in the 11th C. it was debated whether the reduced means (*aporia*) of one of the parties could cause the termination of a betrothal (*Peira* 49.26); (6) certain betrothals (those not blessed by a priest) could be terminated, but under the penalty of a PROSTIMON.

LIT. A. Laiou, "Ho thesmos tes mnesteias sto dekata trito aiona," in *Aphieroma Svoronos* 1:280-98. S. Papadatos, *Peri tes mnesteias eis to Byzantinon dikaion* (Athens 1984). Hunger, *Grundlagenforschung*, pt.XI (1967), 322-24. Ritzer, *Marriage* 178-91. —J.H., A.K.

BEVERAGES (ποτά). WATER was the basic beverage, closely followed by WINE (often mixed with water), which was consumed in large quantities and considered a staple of the diet. An acidic wine, *phouska* (really a mixture of vinegar and water), was served in cheap taverns called *phouskaria* (E. Kislinger, *JÖB* 34 [1984] 49-53). In monasteries, during the fasting periods, monks and nuns substituted for wine a hot drink made of boiling water mixed with SPICES such as pepper, cumin, and anise (*eukraton* or *kyminothermon*). Liqueurs were prepared from FRUITS such as dates, pears, and prunes. Neither dairy drinks nor beer seem to have been very popular. Eustathios of Thessalonike relates that "semibarbarians" prepared an intoxicating winelike drink from BARLEY; he denotes this drink with an old Russian word, *olovina* or "beer" (A. Kazhdan in *Okeanos* 355). The *biberatikon* ("drink payment") was a reward given to laborers for their work (M. McCormick, *AJPh* 102 [1981] 160f).

LIT. Koukoules, *Bios* 5:121-35. Koder-Weber, *Liutprand* 76-84. M. Poljakovskaja, A. Čekalova, *Vizantija: byt i nruvy* (Sverdlovsk 1989) 127-30. —Ap.K., A.K.

BEZANT (Lat. *bizantius aureus*, OF *besant*), the name given in western Europe to the Byz. gold NOMISMA. The word is mainly found in documents of the 10th-13th C., and its use subsequently is literary or heraldic, the coins themselves being known to merchants as HYPERPYRA or perperi.

—Ph.G.

BIBLE (Βιβλία, lit. "books"), also *graphe* (scripture) usually with the epithet "holy," the collection of books that constitute the foundation of the Christian creed. Even though the Bible consists of two sections, the OLD TESTAMENT and the NEW TESTAMENT, written in different languages and in different historical situations, the CHURCH FATHERS emphasized its unity and the concordance of Old Testament and New Testament that derives from divine inspiration, the Bible being a work of the Holy Spirit. However, some heretics (e.g., the BOGOMILS) contrasted the Old Testament and New Testament, rejecting the former (wholly or in part) as inspired by Satan.

The Bible presents to the human mind various difficulties and alleged contradictions, the solution of which can lead to a profounder understanding of the text. A special discipline, EXEGESIS, arose, aimed at the interpretation of the Bible, while homiletics sought to explain biblical situations in SERMONS, the material of which was set out as scenes, dialogues, and rhetorical imagery. Two major branches of exegesis were founded: the ALEXANDRIAN SCHOOL, which stressed the allegorical interpretation, and the ANTIOCHENE SCHOOL, which stressed "historical" interpretation. The "true" exegesis of the Bible was the focal point of doctrinal discussions, beginning with the Arian controversy. Each faction of the theologians tried to find in the Bible appropriate references or to interpret biblical citations in a sense that accorded with their views; consequently the idea of biblical "obscurity" requiring interpretation became important.

After the 5th C., the church assumed the exclusive right to interpret the Bible; tradition (*paradosis*) based on the sanctified church fathers imposed limits on previously free understanding. Dispute then centered on interpretation of the Fathers, rather than of the Bible itself.

LIT. *The Cambridge History of the Bible*, vol. 1 (Cambridge 1970). *Le monde grec ancien et la Bible*, ed. C. Mondésert (Paris 1984). H.M. Biedermann, "Bibelverständnis der Ostkirchen," *OstSt* 31 (1982) 122–41. M. Harl, "Origène et les interprétations patristiques grecques de l' 'obscurité' biblique," *VigChr* 36 (1982) 334–71. —J.L., A.K.

BIBLIOTHECA, also *Myriobiblon* (Μυριοβιβλον, "thousand books"), conventional titles of a work of PHOTIOS. In the oldest MS (Venice, Marc. gr. 450) the heading of the work is "List and Descrip-

tion of Books We Have Read." The *Bibliotheca* contains 280 chapters ("codices") that describe 386 books according to Treadgold (*infra* 5). It also has a preface and epilogue, both addressed to Photios's brother Tarasios. If we take them at face value, Photios compiled the *Bibliotheca* before leaving on an embassy to the "Assyrians," i.e., Arabs; this embassy has been variously identified with those of 838, 845, or 855. F. Halkin (*AB* 81 [1963] 414–17), however, suggested a much later date of composition (after 875). Most recently A. Markopoulos (*Symmeikta* 7 [1987] 165–82) proposed that the bulk of the *Bibliotheca* represents a revised version written in Photios's old age. B. Hemmerdinger hypothesized that Photios worked in Greek libraries in Baghdad (*REGr* 69 [1956] 101–03). N. Wilson surmised that Photios was working from memory (*infra* 95–99).

The *Bibliotheca* surveys both pagan and Christian authors, sometimes very extensively, sometimes briefly. Photios evidently avoids school texts (poets, Plato, Aristotle), is very interested in heretical works, and devotes more attention to historians than to natural science; very indicative is his concern for LEXIKA since he himself wrote one. The composition is not systematic, although several "codices" are organized in thematic groups. Photios sometimes provides biographical data on the author, summarizes the contents, and in some cases presents a theological and stylistic evaluation. Although Photios preferred a simple style, the *Bibliotheca* demonstrates that he could appreciate diverse stylistic approaches. Since his compilation includes many texts now lost, historians of ancient literature have studied it closely. Less attention has been paid to the *Bibliotheca* as reflecting the Byz. worldview. It is significant, for example, that Photios understood HERODOTUS as a historian of the Persian *basileis* and of an illegitimate revolt against them (cod. 60), and not as one who described the victory of the Greek city-states over a monarchy.

ED. *Bibliothèque*, ed. R. Henry, vols. 1–8 (Paris 1959–77), with Fr. tr. Eng. tr. J.H. Freese, vol. 1 (London 1920). LIT. W. Treadgold, *The Nature of the Bibliotheca of Photios* (Washington, D.C., 1980). Wilson, *Scholars* 93–111. G. Kustas, "The Literary Criticism of Photios," *Hellenika* 17 (1962) 132–69. T. Hägg, *Photios als Vermittler antiker Literatur* (Stockholm 1975). T. Hägg, W. Treadgold, "The Preface of the *Bibliotheca* of Photios Once More," *Symbolae Osloenses* 61 (1986) 133–38. J. Schamp, *Photios historien des lettres: La Bibliothèque et ses notices biographiques* (Paris 1987). —A.K.

BILLETING. See MITATON.

BINBIRKILISE (Turk., lit. "thousand and one churches"), ecclesiastical site in LYKAONIA, apparently medieval Barata (Βάραρα), attested as a bishopric from the 4th to the 12th C. The area contains the remains of over 40 churches, in two main groups. The majority stand in the lower town (Madenşehir) and consist primarily of vaulted basilicas with horseshoe-shaped apses of a massive ashlar construction, together with an octagonal church that strikingly corresponds to the description of a "martyrium" by GREGORY OF NYSSA (ep. 25). Those of the upper town (Değle) include cross-in-square churches of less regular masonry with decorative brickwork. Dating is difficult and disputed; it appears that the lower town flourished from the 4th to the 7th C. and was reoccupied in the 9th, while the upper town was a refuge during the Arab invasions.

LIT. W.M. Ramsay, G. Bell, *The Thousand and One Churches* (London 1909). *TIB* 4:138–43. M. Restle in *RBK* 1:690–718. S. Eyice, *Recherches archéologiques à Karadağ (Binbirkilise)* (Istanbul 1971). —C.F.

BIOGRAPHY, a literary genre created in antiquity that flourished during the Roman Empire. It was considered an intermediate form lying somewhere between ENKOMION and HISTORIOGRAPHY and having as its purpose the presentation of the hero's character (*ethos*) and/or actions (*praxeis*) in logical rather than chronological sequence. The material was presented in anecdotes, maxims (sayings), catalogs of works, etc. Biographies were often combined in series, as by Plutarch. Late Roman biography included emperors (HISTORIA AUGUSTA), philosophers (Diogenes Laertius in the 3rd C.), and rhetoricians (the *Lives of the Sophists* by EUNAPIOS OF SARDIS). There was a tendency to transform the wise man into a "godlike" holy man like Pythagoras and Plotinos in their biographies by PORPHYRY, Origen in his *Life* written by EUSEBIOS OF CAESAREA (bk.6 of the *Ecclesiastical History*), and esp. APOLLONIOS OF TYANA. Works of this kind, along with the books of the Maccabees and the Acts of the Martyrs, contributed to the development of HAGIOGRAPHY, the vita of ANTONY THE GREAT by Athanasios of Alexandria being the model for the new genre. The late Roman biography of the holy man was based on a precon-

ceived ideal of behavior, presented the hero's life as a continual acme from cradle to grave, and had the purpose of defending the principles of particular philosophical and religious schools.

In Byz., secular biographies were not very common, nor were they produced in series (unlike the *Historia Augusta* and Eunapios). The demarcation of the genre from both hagiography and historiography was vague: the Life of Basil I (VITA BASILII) commissioned by Constantine VII was included in a historical compilation; Anna Komnene's panegyric on her father, the *Alexiad*, was construed as a book on history; the biographies of some emperors (JOHN III VATATZES) or empresses (THEODORA, wife of Theophilos) who became revered as saints were couched in the form of VITAE. The Byz. elaborated the genre of pejorative biography (INVECTIVE) such as the anonymous dialogue ANACHARSIS, and the pamphlets of Nikephoros BASILAKES on a certain Bagoas, and of John Argyropoulos (?) on Katablattas (N. Oikonomides, P. Canivet, *Diptycha* 3 [1982–83] 5–97).

LIT. P. Cox, *Biography in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley 1983). A. Priessnig, "Die literarische Form der spätantiken Philophenromane," *BZ* 30 (1929–30) 23–30. —A.K.

BIRDS (ὄρνιθες). The Byz. raised birds for food and for use in sport and hunting. Book 14 of the GEOPONIKA is dedicated to rearing domestic fowl, primarily pigeons and hens. Ornithology fascinated Byz. artists and sportsmen, much as it had earlier Greek and Roman naturalists and bird-catchers. Aristotle's study of birds (esp. in *Parts of Animals*) left a heavy imprint on later ornithologists, but additional data were included by Alexander of Myndos (fl. 1st C. B.C.?) and elaborated by a certain Dionysios (fl. 1st C. A.D.?) in a tract called *Ornithiaka* or *Ixeutikon*. Dionysios's original text is lost, but a paraphrase with magnificent illuminations of 48 birds is part of the Vienna DIOSKORIDES. The illustrations in this MS (esp. fol.483v with 24 birds in a grid) suggest observations in the field of varied species such as the ostrich, various ducks, the moor hen, bustard, partridge, and many others. Later tracts on ornithology include an excellent work on HAWKING by Demetrios PEPAGOMENOS, who apparently used sources different from those of FREDERICK II in his *On the Art of Hunting with Birds* (*De arte venandi*

cum avibus—C.H. Haskins, *Studies in the History of Mediaeval Science* [Cambridge, Mass., 1924] 299–326). Besides falcons, the Byz. kept other tamed birds: PEACOCKS to decorate their gardens or partridges and geese (*Great Palace, 1st Report*, pl.29) as house pets.

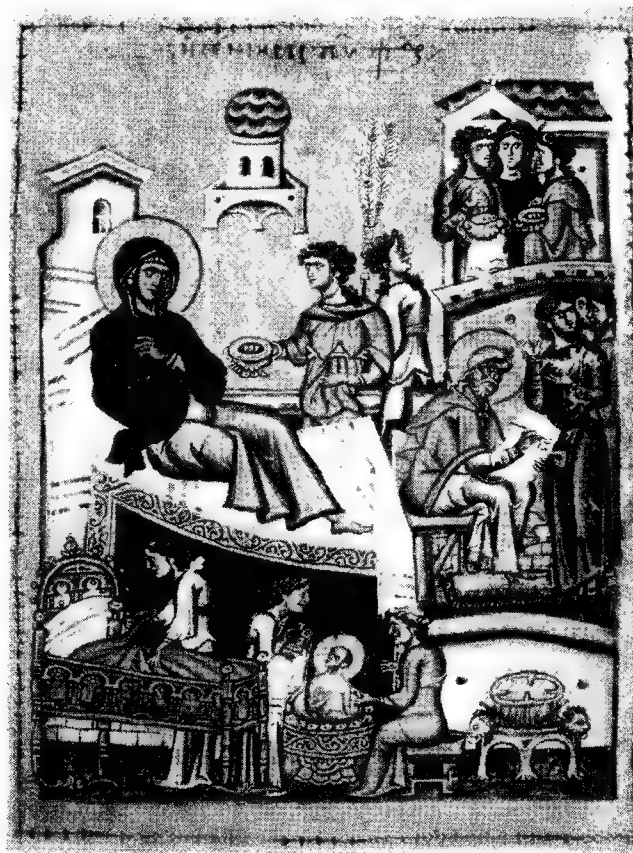
The mosaics of the ACHEIROPOIETOS CHURCH in Thessalonike depict ducks and other birds, used in Roman fashion apparently without the symbolic content that had earlier been attached to the peacock; at the mausoleum of Galla Placidia in RAVENNA, birds drinking from a chalice are depicted as attending a FOUNTAIN OF LIFE. This interpretation persisted in the veritable aviaries that adorn the CANON TABLES and HEADPIECES of illuminated MSS. On the other hand, birds were sometimes seen as part of the natural world inappropriate to Christian decoration. The author of the Life of STEPHEN THE YOUNGER (PG 100:1120C) objected to the Iconoclastic mosaic program of the church at BLACHERNAI in Constantinople, which included “cranes, crows, and peacocks, thus making the church, if I may say so, altogether unadorned.” Yet, as winged creatures free of earthly bonds, birds were widely represented in sacred settings and were a favorite motif in relief SCULPTURE, as on the drum cornice of the Church of Constantine LIPS. Bird-filled trees figured among the AUTOMATA of the Magnaura witnessed by Liutprand of Cremona.

In Byz. mythology birds played a lesser role than animals or SNAKES; a deep significance was ascribed to the dove, however, as a symbol of the HOLY SPIRIT, and to the peacock and pelican. The theme of the EAGLE fighting the serpent was popular in art. Birds are *dramatis personae* in the POULOLOGOS.

SOURCE. A. Garzya, *Dionysii Ixeutikon seu De aucupio libri tres in epitomen metro solutam redacti* (Leipzig 1963).

LIT. Z. Kádár, *Survivals of Greek Zoological Illuminations in Byzantine Manuscripts* (Budapest 1978) 77–90. D'A.W. Thompson, *A Glossary of Greek Birds* (Oxford 1936; rp. Hildesheim 1966). —J.S., A.C.

BIRTH (γέννησις). Women usually gave birth at home with the assistance of relatives and/or a midwife. There were, however, some lying-in HOSPITALS, such as the institutions established in Alexandria by St. JOHN ELEEMON, according to one version of his vita (H. Delchaye, *AB* 45 [1927] 22.17–27). Paramedical and magical means were



BIRTH. The birth of John the Baptist. Miniature in a Gospel book (Vat. Urb. gr. 2, fol. 167v); 12th C. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

commonly used to achieve an easier delivery, for example, Anna, the mother of the future empress Theophano, was given, during her labor, a girdle from a monastery of the Virgin (E. Kurtz, *Zwei griechische Texte über die heilige Theophano* [St. Petersburg 1898] 2.28–34). The newborn baby was washed and swaddled in woolen wrappings. The placenta was sometimes retained as a talisman.

After childbirth the mother and those who assisted her were considered unclean and a priest was summoned to exorcise the evil spirits, yet the mother could not partake of communion until 40 days had passed. The wet-nurse was common, even though some moralists disapproved of this practice (J. Beaucamp, *JOB* 32.2 [1982] 549–58). Male babies were preferred (e.g., PRODROMOS, *Hist. Gedichte*, no. 44.6–7), but in general the birth of a child was a *panegyris* that provided an occasion for a BANQUET, visits, and gifts; if the baby was an heir to the throne, special festivities were held throughout the empire. The gross birth rate

in 14th-C. rural Macedonia is estimated as 44 per 1,000, but because of high mortality the net birth rate was 22 (Laiou, *Peasant Society* 292–94).

Birth scenes, with mothers shown frontally seated with raised skirts, are treated particularly candidly in the Vatican Book of Kings (Lassus, *Livre des Rois*, figs. 3, 6). Childbirth and the washing of the newborn infant are also depicted in images of the NATIVITY of Christ and John the Baptist.

LIT. Koukoules, *Bios* 4:9–42.

—Ap.K., A.K., A.C.

BIRTH OF THE VIRGIN (γέννησις τῆς Θεοτόκου), one of the five Marian GREAT FEASTS, celebrated 8 Sept. with both a forefeast and a four-day afterfeast. The feast originated in Jerusalem with the dedication of a 5th-C. church at the Probatic Pool (Jn 5:2–9), where tradition placed the house of Mary's parents Ioakeim and Anna (H. Vincent, F.-M. Abel, *Jérusalem*, vol. 2 [Paris 1926] 669–76). From the 6th C. onward, it was celebrated at this spot with a reading from the PROTOEVANGELION OF JAMES (G. Garitte, *Le calendrier palestino-géorgien du Sinaiticus 34* (X^e siècle) [Brussels 1958] 324f). The earliest evidence for the existence of the feast in Constantinople, a *kontakion* by ROMANOS THE MELODE (no. 35, ed. Maas-Trypanis, 276–80), is a paraphrase of this apocryphal narration, which was also incorporated into Byz. *MENOLOGIA* and *panegyrika* for use on the feast (Ehrhard, *Überlieferung* 1:57, 204).

The feast opened in the evening with a *pannychis* (see VIGIL) at Hagia Sophia, in which the patriarch took part. After the *orthros* service there was a procession, with a station (LITE) at the Forum (Mateos, *Typicon* 1:18–21), in which “the sovereigns and the whole senate proceed with great pomp” to the Church of the CHALKOPRATEIA (Philotheos, *Kletor.* 223.10–11). Once the liturgy was over, the emperor offered a banquet in the Triklinos of Justinian.

In art the standard composition is first seen in the *MENOLOGION* OF BASIL II (p. 22) with Anna reclining on a bed, three gift-bearing women approaching, and midwives bathing the child. Used in narratives of the Life of the VIRGIN MARY, the scene also occurs among Christological feasts, as in the naos at DAPHNI. Versions from the 12th C. onward stress the wealth of the Virgin's parents, adding a peacock fan (Daphni), richly carved cradle (MSS of JAMES OF KOKKINOBAFOS), palatial

setting (King's Church, STUDENICA), and numerous attendants (CHORA). Ioakeim joins the scene in the 14th C. (Chora).

LIT. G. Babić, “Sur l'iconographie de la composition 'Nativité de la Vierge' dans la peinture byzantine,” *ZRVI* 7 (1961) 169–75. J. Lafontaine-Dosogne, *Iconographie de l'enfance de la Vierge dans l'Empire byzantin et en Occident*, vol. 1 (Brussels 1964) 89–121. —R.F.T., A.W.C.

BĪRŪNĪ, AL-, more fully Abū'l-Rayhān Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Bīrūnī, Muslim scientist, historian, and observer of cultures; born Kāth (in Khwārizm) 4 Sept. 973, died Ghazna? 11 Dec. 1048 (E. Kennedy, *LMA* 2:226) or after 1050 (D. Boilot, *EI*² 1:1236). Under royal patronage in Khwārizm, al-Bīrūnī studied the sciences. After the Ghaznavid conquest (1017), he was lavishly maintained in Ghazna until his death. He visited India, but journeyed westward only to Iran.

Bīrūnī ranks among the greatest scholars of medieval Islam and wrote almost 150 works on science, geography, chronology, and history. He considers Byz. in his *Vestiges of the Past* (Chronology of Ancient Nations), written in 1000, incorporating much cultural information within discussions of calendars and eras. Major topics for Bīrūnī are doctrine, hagiography, customs concerning Lent, and MELCHITE festivals. Bīrūnī digresses at length on the Greek ecclesiastical hierarchy and the organization of the Byz. administration and army. Though sometimes offering secondhand information from Melchites in Khwārizm, Bīrūnī refers to *The Learning of the Greeks*, a book (now lost) by a certain Abū'l-Ḥusayn (or Ḥasan) al-Ahwāzī (9th C.) based on his experiences in Constantinople.

ED. *Chronologie orientalischer Völker*, ed. E. Sachau (Leipzig 1878; rp. Leipzig 1923) 288–308. Tr. E. Sachau in *The Chronology of Ancient Nations* (London 1879; rp. Frankfurt 1969) 282–305. For other works, see A.S. Khan, *A Bibliography of the Works of Abū'l-Rayhān al-Bīrūnī* (New Delhi 1982).

LIT. Vasiliev, *Byz. Arabes* 2.2:427–30. H.M. Said, *Al-Bīrūnī: His Times, Life and Works* (Karachi 1981). P.G. Bulgakov, *Žizn' i trudy Beruni* (Tashkent 1972). —L.I.C.

BISHOP (ἐπίσκοπος), the highest ranking minister among the major orders of the Byz. CLERGY, supreme in all matters concerning the discipline (cf. EPISCOPALIS AUDIENTIA), doctrine, and administration of the bishopric (*episkope*). As a generic term the title also included METROPOLITANS, pa-

triarchs, etc. St. Ignatius of Antioch (ca.100) is the earliest witness of the monarchic episcopate and describes the bishop as the source and center of church unity. Although the exclusive focus of unity and authority in his district—as PROEDROS and *archiereus* of his flock and of his CHOREPISKOPOS—a bishop was still subordinate to the metropolitan of the province of which his bishopric was a part. His nomination was in fact confirmed by the provincial metropolitan, from whom he also received consecration (NICAEA II, canon 3). Normally he was restricted for life to the see for which he was ordained, although translations were not unknown.

All ecclesiastical properties, charitable institutions, and hospitals of the bishopric were under the bishop's disposition but were actually managed and administered by various officials, such as the OIKONOMOS. The revenues of the see were derived from property, voluntary offerings, and donations, and, from the 11th C., from ecclesiastical taxes as well, such as the KANONIKON and KANISKION. The income was used for the upkeep of the bishop and his clergy but also for the sick, poor, the redemption of war prisoners, and the maintenance of churches. Despite their considerable privileges and authority, Byz. bishops (with some exceptions) did not play the role of feudal magnates, unlike their counterparts in the West, although they often enjoyed considerable political influence. Their vestments were similar to those worn by PRIESTS except (later) for the episcopal SAKKOS and OMOPHORION. (For list of bishoprics, see NOTITIAE EPISCOPATUUM.)

LIT. I.I. Sokolov, "Izbranie archiereev v Vizantii IX–XV v.," *VizVrem* 22 (1915–16) 193–252. D.T. Strotmann, "L'évêque dans la tradition orientale," *Irénikon* 34 (1961) 147–64. A. Guillou, "L'évêque dans la société méditerranéenne des VI^e–VII^e siècles: Un modèle," *BECh* 131 (1973) 5–19. S. Troianos, "Ein Synodalakt des Sisinius zu den bischöflichen Einkünften," *FM* 3 (1979) 211–20. —A.P.

BITHYNIA (Βιθυνία), a region of northwest Asia Minor, opposite Constantinople. Bithynia became a separate province in the early 4th C. Besides its capital, NIKOMEDEIA, Bithynia contained a few important cities (NICAEA, CHALCEDON, PROUSA) and rich agricultural land. Although its cities were eclipsed by the growth of Constantinople, Bithynia prospered from its location on the trade and military routes between Constantinople and An-

atolia. The suburban coastal region east of Constantinople flourished particularly as the seat of many rich villas. Bithynia became part of the OPSIKION theme in the 7th C., then was divided between that theme and the OPTIMATOI. The civil province of Bithynia continued to exist into the 8th C., when Slav captives were settled there (Zacos, *Seals* 1:190f). Frequent later references are to the geographical region. Texts of the 13th C. mention a district called Mesothynia, which apparently denotes the peninsula of Nikomedeia (D. Zakythenos, *EEBS* 19 [1949] 3). Bithynia preserves the remains of numerous fortifications but is esp. noted for its churches (SIGE, MEDIKION, PELEKETE, Nicaea). It was also a monastic center that grew in importance in the Iconoclastic period (Mt. AUXENTIOS, Mt. OLYMPOS). Ecclesiastically, Bithynia was divided into three provinces after 451: Nikomedeia, Nicaea, and Chalcedon.

LIT. R. Janin, "La Bithynie sous l'empire byzantin," *EO* 20 (1921) 168–82, 301–19. Janin, *Églises centres* 1–191. J. Sölch, "Historisch-geographische Studien über bithynische Siedlungen," *BNJbb* 1 (1920) 263–337. —C.F.

BIZYE (Βιζύη, mod. Vize), city in Thrace, north-east of ARKADIOPOLIS. A *polis* in the late antique province of Europe, Bizye appears in Byz. texts as *kastron* (Beševliev, *Inschriften* 184, no.27), *polis* (*TheophCont* 68.6–7), or *polichnion* (Zon. 3:346.15). The vita of MARY THE YOUNGER refers to Bizye as a *polis*, but describes the town's inhabitants as engaging in agricultural work (AASS Nov. 4:699BC, 700F); in the eyes of the chronicler Geoffrey VILLEHARDOUIN (par.428), Vizoi (Bizye) was "good and strong."

As a fortress Bizye played an important role during the 9th-C. revolt of THOMAS THE SLAV, whose son fled there but then surrendered to the emperor. Symeon of Bulgaria captured Bizye, demolished it, and later rebuilt the city walls. In the 13th C. Bizye was one of the larger *asteis* (Akrop. 1:54.14–15) and the base of many military operations; the city was one of the focal points during the CIVIL WAR OF 1341–47, and its *demos* actively participated in the political struggle (Weiss, *Kantakuzenos* 75f). Bizye was finally taken by the Turks in 1453.

A bishopric by 431, then autocephalous archbishopric, Bizye became metropolis in the 14th C. It served as the place of exile for several impor-

tant ecclesiastical dissidents such as Maximos the Confessor (PG 90:160C).

The remains of ramparts still survive in the city. A.M. Mansel (*Trakyanin kültür ve tarihi* [Istanbul 1938] 45) suggests that their upper part was constructed in the 6th C. On the other hand, D. Dirimtekin (*Ayasofya müzesi yillığı* 5 [1963] 15–25) dates this section to the time of the Palaiologoi. The large Church of Hagia Sophia in Bizye combines the floor plan of a basilica with the elements of a cross-in-square church; its plan is similar to that of Dere Ağzı. C. Mango (*ZRVI* 11 [1968] 9–13) suggests, on the basis of a painted inscription, now lost, that the church was built in the late 8th or 9th C. and housed the tomb of St. Mary the Younger in the 10th C. However, S. Eyice argues that the church dates to the 13th or 14th C., and may have replaced the earlier church where St. Mary was venerated (18 *CorsiRav* [1971] 293–97).

LIT. V. Velkov, "Die thrakische Stadt Bizye," in *Studia in honorem V. Beševliev* (Sofia 1978) 174–81. R. Janin, *DHGE* 9 (1937) 44–46. E. Oberhummer, *RE* 3 (1899) 552.

—T.E.G.

BLACHERNAI, CHURCH AND PALACE OF.

The name *Blachernai* (Βλαχέρναι) designates an area possessing a spring of water in the north-western corner of Constantinople. A basilica of the Virgin Mary, which became the most famous Marian shrine of the city, is said to have been built there by Empress Pulcheria (ca.450). Leo I added a circular reliquary chapel (SOROS) after the "honorable robe" (see MAPHORION) of the Virgin had been brought from Palestine. Situated a short distance outside the walls, the church was miraculously spared during the Avar siege of 626, after which Emp. Herakleios extended the walls to enclose it. A New Testament cycle in mosaic was destroyed by Constantine V and replaced by vegetal ornament and pictures of birds (*Vita S. Stephani Junioris*, PG 100:1120C). The church was burned down in 1070 and rebuilt. Fire destroyed it completely in 1434. Next to it was a bathhouse (*louma*) in which the spring flowed. The latter is now enclosed in a modern Greek church.

South of the church complex and on higher ground, an imperial palace was set up by ca.500. It is known to us from protocols described in *De cer.* (bk.1, chs. 27, 34; bk.2, chs. 9, 12) and included one hall named Anastasiakos, another called

Okeanos, and a third called Danoubios, the last communicating with the church complex by means of staircases. Under the Komnenoi the Blachernai palace became the customary residence of the emperor and was so strongly fortified as to resemble a castle. Alexios I and Manuel I built additional halls of great splendor. The Palaiologoi also lived in the Blachernai palace. Its approximate situation is marked by the mosque of Ivaz Efendi, but the evidence is too slight to allow even an approximate reconstruction (see also TEKUR SARAYI).

LIT. J.B. Papadopoulos, *Les palais et les églises des Blachernes* (Thessalonike 1928). V. Grumel, "Le 'miracle habituel' de Notre-Dame des Blachernes à Constantinople," *EO* 30 (1931) 129–46. A.M. Schneider, "Die Blachernen," *Oriens* 4 (1951) 97–105. S. Runciman, "Blachernae Palace and Its Decoration," in *Studies in Memory of D. Talbot Rice* (Edinburgh 1975) 277–83. A. Wenger, "Notes inédites," *REB* 10 (1952) 54–59. Janin, *CP byz.* 123–28. Janin, *Églises CP* 161–71. Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon* 223f. —C.M.

BLACHERNAI, COUNCIL OF. See CONSTANTINOPLE, COUNCILS OF: Local Council of 1285.

BLACK DEATH. See PLAGUE.

BLACK SEA (Πόντος Εὐξεινος, Μαύρη Θάλασσα).

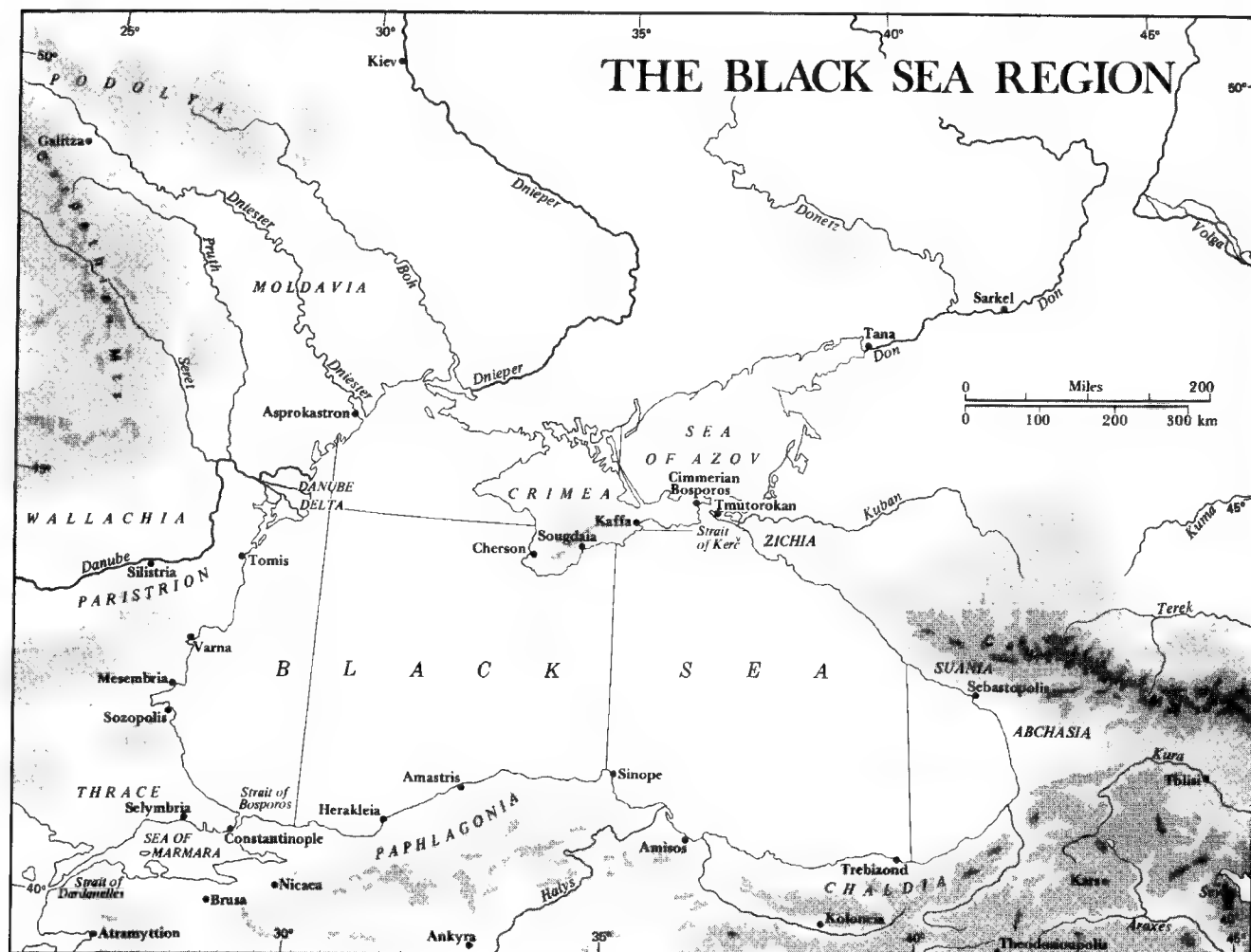
Throughout its history Byz. sought to maintain control of the Black Sea, in part to preclude foreign powers from establishing a foothold there and threatening Constantinople. Justinian I prevented the Sasanian Persians from gaining permanent access to the coast of LAZIKA; from the 7th C. Byz. policy in the area focused on diplomatic efforts and control of CHERSON. Herakleios made a treaty with KUVRAT in hope of hindering KHAZAR access to the AZOV SEA and the CRIMEA, and the Khazars were afterward the focus of Byz. diplomatic and missionary activity in the area. The Arabs never established a presence on the coast of the Black Sea, but the Rus' of Kiev repeatedly sailed through the Black Sea to attack Constantinople, beginning in 860. The city and naval arsenal of Cherson remained a Byz. possession (apart from a brief occupation by VLADIMIR I of Kiev in 988) until the Fourth Crusade, after which it passed into the hands of the empire of TREBIZOND. Only in 1215/16 did the Seljuk Turks establish a temporary naval base at SINOPE; the

southeastern coast of the Black Sea remained under the control of Trebizond until 1460.

Byz. naval control was not matched by similar commercial success. The Black Sea was important as a source of food for Constantinople; fish came from its waters, and grain from the Dobrudja and Crimea. It was also a crossroads of long-distance trade, linking Byz. with central Europe, Russia, the Caucasus, Central Asia, and China. This trade attracted Italian merchants, particularly Venetians and Genoese, from the 11th C. Manuel I, seeking an ally against Venice, granted GENOA the right to trade in the Black Sea. In 1261 Michael VIII granted the Genoese exclusive access to the Black Sea, together with tax exemptions, by the Treaty of NYMPHAION. Thereafter they dominated the Black Sea trade from their colonies of Galata, VICINA, KAFFA, TANA, AMASTRIS, and Samsun (AMISOS), and the profits of this trade were lost to Byz.

LIT. G.I. Brătianu, *La Mer Noire* (Munich 1969). Balard, *Romanie génoise*. A. Poppe, "The Political Background to the Baptism of Rus': Byzantine-Russian Relations between 986-89," *DOP* 30 (1976) 195-244. O. Lampsidis, "La Mer Noire byzantine," *ArchPont* 35 (1978) 363-69. E. Todorova, "The Thirteenth-Century Shift of the Black Sea Economy," *EtBalk* 23.4 (1987) 112-16. —R.B.

BLASIOS OF AMORION, saint; secular name Basil; born in village of Aplatianais near Amorion, died Constantinople ca.912; feastday 20 Dec. After elementary schooling in his village, Blasios (Βλάσιος) came to Constantinople and chose an ecclesiastical career; Patr. IGNATIUS consecrated him deacon of Hagia Sophia. En route to Rome he had various adventures: he was sold into slavery to the "Scythians" (Pechenegs rather than Bulgarians), freed, robbed by pirates on the Danube, and saved by an angel; he returned to Bulgaria, met the local bishop and the "first archon" of the barbarians, and eventually reached Rome.



There he took the monastic habit and stayed for 18 years, mostly in the monastery of St. Caesarius, where he was consecrated priest. To escape his increasing fame, Blasios returned to Constantinople, joining the monastery of Stoudios ca.897. Around 900 he retreated to Athos, which he was forced to leave 12 years later because of a controversy. He returned to Constantinople but died soon after he had received a chrysobull from Leo VI. He was buried at the Stoudios monastery.

The anonymous author of his Life (written in the 930s or 940s and preserved in a single 10th-C. MS) claimed to have received his information from Blasios's disciple Loukas; it is plausible that the Life was produced in the Stoudios. The hagiographer praises Blasios's sociability and intellectual qualities (e.g., his work as a calligrapher) and defends moderation: the *hegoumenos* who flogged the young monk Euphrosynos for having a filthy garment was condemned in a vision.

SOURCE. AASS Nov. 4:657-59.

LIT. BHG 278. H. Grégoire, "La vie de Saint Blaise d'Amorium," *Byzantion* 5 (1929-30) 391-414. V. Gjuzelev, "Žitieto na Vlasij Amorijski kato izvor za bulgarskata istorija," *GSU FIF* 61 (1968), istor. 3, 19-33. —A.K.

BLASTARES, MATTHEW, canonist and theologian, monk and priest in the monastery of Kyr Isaac in Thessalonike; died Thessalonike after 1346. In 1335 Blastares (variously spelled Βλαστάρης, Βλάσταρης, Βλάσταρις) completed his principal work, *Syntagma kata stoicheion* (lit. *Alphabetical Treatise*) in 24 sections, most of them subdivided into chapters. Each chapter is devoted to a separate legal topic (e.g., 1.12 on robbers) and contains first the statements of CANON LAW and then those of civil law, the *nomoi politikoí*. In the preamble, Blastares defines his goal as gathering "all the canons" as well as interpreting and paraphrasing them (5.7-33). This attempt at reconciling canon and civil law differentiates the work of Blastares both from previous NOMOKANONES in which civil legislation is but an insignificant appendix and from previous synopses that ignore canon law (A. Soloviev, *SBN* 5 [1939] 700). As sources Blastares used not only the *Basilika* and other Byz. compendia but the *Codex* and *Digest* of Justinian I as well as the novels of various emperors (e.g., the novel of Andronikos II of 1306); he also used the *Nomokanon of Fourteen Titles* and the commentary of Theodore Balsamon. The Syn-

tagma became popular beyond the borders of the empire and was translated into Serbian during the reign of Stefan Uroš IV Dušan. Blastares also wrote several short synopses of canon law, an index of Latin legal terms, theological works, hymns, etc.

ED. Rhalles-Podles, *Syntagma*, vol. 6. P.B. Paschos, *Hapanta ta hymnographika tou Matthaïou Blastare* (Athens 1980).

LIT. S. Troianos, "Peri tas nomikas pegas tou Matthaïou Blastare," *EEBS* 44 (1979-80) 305-29. N. Il'inskij, *Sintagma Matfeja Vlastarja* (Moscow 1892). St. Novaković, *Matije Vlastara sintagmat* (Belgrade 1907). P.B. Paschos, *Ho Matthaïos Blastares kai to hymnographikon ergon tou* (Thessalonike 1978). *PLP*, no.2808. —A.K.

BLATADON MONASTERY, established ca.1355 on the north edge of Thessalonike, next to the acropolis. Blatadon (Βλατάδων, Βλαταίων, Βλατέων) was founded by Dorotheos Blates, metropolitan of Thessalonike (1371-79), and his brother Mark, a hymnographer and hieromonk from the Great Lavra (*PLP*, nos. 2818-19). Both were disciples of Gregory PALAMAS and accompanied him to Thessalonike in 1352 after the triumph of PALAMISM. The monastery was dedicated to Christ Pantokrator and the Transfiguration. IGNATIJ OF SMOLENSK visited it in 1405. The monks of Blatadon were anti-Unionist and opposed the Venetian occupation of Thessalonike (1423-30); Stogioglou (*infra* 162-73), however, rejects the tradition that they betrayed the city to the Turks in 1430 by suggesting to MURAD II that he cut off the water supply. During the Turkish occupation, Blatadon was sometimes called Çavuş Manastir.

Blatadon is the sole monastery of Byz. origin still functioning in Thessalonike; its much-restored 14th-C. church, on an inscribed-cross plan, is the only surviving Palaiologan building at the monastery. Frescoes dated between 1360 and 1380 by Ch. Mauropoulou-Tsioumi (*He Thessalonike* 1 [1985] 231-54) are preserved in the south chapel, and the library contains a number of Byz. MSS. Today the stauropagic monastery houses the Patriarchal Institute of Patristic Studies (founded 1965), which owns an important collection of microfilms of MSS from Mt. ATHOS.

LIT. G.A. Stogioglou, *He en Thessalonike patriarchike mone ton Blatadon* (Thessalonike 1971). A. Xyngopoulos, *Tessares mikroi naoi tes Thessalonikes ek ton chronon ton Palaiologon* (Thessalonike 1952) 49-62. S. Eustratiades, *Katalogos ton en te mone Blateon (Tsaous-monasteri) apokeimenon kodikon* (Thessalonike 1918). Janin, *Églises centres* 356-58.

—A.M.T., A.C.

BLATTION (βλάττιον), a term that originally meant the color PURPLE, and, by extension, the cloths, both SILK and wool, dyed in the highest quality purple. By the 10th C., however, the term *blattion* had come to mean silk in general, regardless of shade (R. Guiland, *infra*). Silk curtains and festive hangings such as those in the Great Palace (*De cer.* 12.20, 572.2); hangings covering icons (Patmos inventory, ed. C. Astruc, *TM* 8 [1981] 21.33); and silk garments were all referred to as *blattia*. The meaning of the terms *diblattia* and *triblattia* is obscure. They have been thought to refer to the number of times the silk cloth was dipped in the dye, or to the number of colors used in weaving it. Guiland has suggested that these may be double or triple bands of silk attached or applied to the basic piece of silk cloth, a proposal that neither the extant silks nor the depictions of court COSTUME can readily substantiate. The term *blatopoles* (Prodromos in PG 133:1265B) designated a vendor of *blattia*.

LIT. J. Ebersolt, *Les arts somptuaires de Byzance* (Paris 1923) 21–23. R. Guiland, "Sur quelques termes du Livre des Cérémonies de Constantin VII Porphyrogénète," *REGr* 62 (1949) 333–48. Sjuzumov in *Bk. of Eparch* 151f. Koukoulos, *Bios* 2.2:39. —A.G.

BLEMMYDES, NIKEPHOROS, teacher and writer in the empire of Nicaea; born 1197, died Ephesus ca.1269. Son of a doctor, Blemmydes (Βλεμμύδης, Βλεμμίδης) moved with his parents ca.1204 from Latin-occupied Constantinople to Bithynia where he pursued studies, including seven years of medicine, until his 26th year. His subsequent career in the church was initiated by Patr. GERMANOS II, who ordained him *anagnostes*, deacon, and *logothetes* in quick succession (1224–25). Ten years later Blemmydes took monastic vows, keeping his name, and ca.1237 was appointed *hegoumenos* of the monastery of Gregory Thaumaturgos in Ephesus. In 1241 he founded his own monastery near Ephesus. His attempts to ensure its independence failed, however, for it became a *metochion* of the GALESIOS monastery ca.1273.

Famous in his time for his learning, Blemmydes' most important role was as a teacher. His best known students were George AKROPOLITES, whom he instructed in philosophy, and THEODORE II LASKARIS. In connection with his teaching duties

he traveled to Athos, Thessalonike, Larissa, and Ohrid in search of books (1239–40) and wrote epitomes of logic and physics (PG 142:685–1320). A difficult man by most accounts, Blemmydes left a remarkable two-part autobiography, the *Partial Account* (1264, 1265), a defense of his life that contains elements of a hagiographical work (J.A. Munitiz in *Byz. Saint*, 164–68). His other surviving works include the *Imperial Statue*, a MIRROR OF PRINCES for Theodore II (which George GALESIOTES and George OINAIOTES paraphrased in the 14th C.), occasional verses, ascetic works, and fragments of a *typikon* (J.A. Munitiz, *REB* 44 [1986] 199–207).

ED. *Autographia sive curriculum vitae*, ed. J.A. Munitiz (Turnhout-Leuven 1984). Eng. tr. J.A. Munitiz, *A Partial Account* (Leuven 1988). *Curriculum vitae et carmina*, ed. A. Heisenberg (Leipzig 1896). Hunger-Ševčenko, *Blemmydes*, esp. 13–18, 43–147. *Gegen die Vorherbestimmung der Todesstunde*, ed. W. Lackner (Leiden 1985), with Germ. tr.

LIT. I. Ševčenko, "Nicéphore Blemmydès, Autobiographies (1264 et 1265)," *La Civiltà bizantina dal XII al XV secolo* (Rome 1982) 111–37. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:163f, 166f; 2:42, 243. —R.J.M.

BLEMMYES (Βλέμυες), a tribe of perhaps Libyan Berber origins that inhabited the eastern desert between the Nile and Red Sea in Upper Egypt. A 4th-C. historian (Amm.Marc. 14:4.3) describes them as half-naked warriors, all of equal rank, riding swift horses and camels. Diocletian in 297 ended the raids of the Blemmyes in Egypt by handing over to them the territory south of the First Cataract and by fortifying the island of Philae. The Blemmyes were concentrated in this area. Their embassies to the imperial court in the 320s and 330s are reported by Eusebios (*Vita of Constantine*) and in the ABINNAEUS ARCHIVE. They resumed attacks in 373 (J. Desanges, *Meroitic Newsletter* 10 [1972] 33f); PALLADIOS of Helenopolis met crowds of refugees from the Blemmyes at Tabennesi in the early 5th C. OLYMPIODOROS OF THEBES, who visited the Blemmyes ca.423, reported that they possessed several cities and emerald mines and had developed a rudimentary form of administration headed by a "king." An uprising of the Blemmyes was quelled ca.452 when Maximinos, the military commander of the THEBAID, defeated them and negotiated a hundred-year peace; at that time the Blemmyes were acting in concert with the Noubades (Nobatae), a neigh-



BLEMMYES. Monks of Sinai martyred by the Blemmyes. Miniature in the *Menologion of Basil II* (Vat. gr. 1613, p. 315). Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

boring tribe, but soon a conflict arose between the two, and Silko, king of the Noubades, conquered the Blemmyes, as he boasted in an inscription.

Probably to the 6th C. belong documents from the island of Gebelein (Greek and Coptic texts on leather from gazelle and crocodile skins) that record the names of some chieftains of the Blemmyes and indicate the penetration of Christianity into their predominantly pagan society. Justinian I reportedly destroyed their sanctuaries at Philae dedicated to Isis, Osiris, and Priapus. Greek papyri of the 6th C. often mention the Blemmyes, and in the early 7th C. a certain Dioskoros is known who, as a scribe of the Blemmyes, dealt with *kommerkia*. Kosmas Indikopleustes (11.21:2–5) indicates that the Blemmyes sold emeralds to the Axumites in Nubia, who then sent them to India. The numerous Coptic papyri of the 7th and 8th C. contain only two references to the Blemmyes.

SOURCE. *Anonymi fortasse Olympiodori Thebani Blemmyomachia* (P. Berol. 5003), ed. H. Livrea (Meisenheim-Glan 1978).

LIT. R.T. Updegraff, "A Study of the Blemmyes" (Ph.D. diss., Brandeis University, 1978). M. Satzinger, "Urkunden der Blemmyer," *Chronique d'Égypte* 43 (1968) 126–32. T. Hägg, "Blemmyan Greek and the Letter of Phonen," in *Nubische Studien* (Mainz 1986) 281–86. —R.B.H., A.K.

BLINDING (τύφλωσις) as a punishment did not exist in the law of Justinian I; the evidence concerning the blinding of Christian martyrs during the persecution is probably legendary. The first certain case of punitive blinding is that of Patr. Kallinikos in 705 by Justinian II (Theoph. 375.13). The ECLOGA mentions blinding only once (17.15)—as a punishment for stealing from the altar. The FARMER'S LAW (pars. 68–69) prescribes blinding for the thief of grain or wine who had been caught for the third time. Blinding became the major means of punishing political rivals; among the victims of blinding were ARTABASDOS, CONSTANTINE VI, MICHAEL V, ROMANOS IV, and JOHN IV. Michael VIII was probably the last emperor to resort to total blinding, although in 1373 John V, under pressure from Murad I, was compelled to order the partial blinding of Andronikos IV and his son, the future John VII (R. Loenertz, *EO* 38 [1939] 335). Blinding was a PENALTY for heretics, magicians, and traitors. Basil II employed mass blinding of prisoners to terrorize the Bulgarians with whom he was at war. Blinding was carried out by pouring boiling vinegar, gouging out the eyes, or applying a red-hot iron. The degree of blindness achieved could be of varying severity,

so that some generals continued to command armies after this operation. An attempt to introduce blinding in Kievan Rus' in 1097 failed because of general indignation.

LIT. O. Lampsides, *He poine tes typhloseos para Byzantinois* (Athens 1949). —A.K.

BLIND MAN, HEALING OF THE. The Gospels record several blind men healed by Christ: two who followed Jesus in Jericho (Mt 9:27–34); two who sat by the way in Jericho (Mk 10:46–52, Lk 18:35–43); one healed at Bethesda (Mk 8:23–26); and the man born blind, healed at Siloam (Jn 9:1–12). Gaining sight was an apt metaphor for gaining faith, and Early Christian art abounds in generic vignettes of Christ healing a blind person. Byz. art uses fewer such images, though no miracle cycle lacks some scene of blindness cured. Most frequently distinguished from the others is the healing at Siloam, usually depicted in at least two phases: Jesus placing mud on the man's eyes, and the man washing them. This is the most fully narrated of all healings: the Paris FRIEZE GOSPEL (fol.186r) uses eight vignettes. This healing is also distinctive in being one of the three water miracles recounted in the Gospel of John (also Christ and the Samaritan woman, Jn 4:5–30; paralytic at Bethesda, Jn 5:2–9) that are often joined in exegesis (E. Hoskyns, *The Fourth Gospel* [London 1947] 363–65) and art (Sopoćani, exonarthex of CHORA) to convey the healing power of faith.

LIT. Underwood, *Kariye Djami* 4:256–61. —A.W.C.

BLOOD (αἷμα) was understood in Byz. as the biblical "life of the living body" (Lev 17:11) and was consequently surrounded by taboos. The Book of the Eparch (8.4) prohibited the use of blood for dyeing raw silk; the penalty for ignoring this prohibition was having one's hands cut off. Some blood taboos, such as the prohibition of eating blood, were imposed only on the clergy (APOSTOLIC CANONS 62), whereas the cooking of blood broth (*aimatia*) was widespread among laymen. Bloodshed, as in military actions, was completely forbidden to the clergy. The precious Blood of Christ was regarded as the price of human REDEMPTION. The Church repeated the sacrifice of Jesus in the EUCHARIST, when the WINE was thought to become the true Blood of Christ. Since blood

was identified with life and redemption, the color PURPLE, symbolizing blood, assumed an important role in the imperial cult. For Niketas Choniates, however, the imperial purple symbolized the shedding of blood and murder. Blood that left the body was identified with death, and a constant bloodthirstiness was ascribed to demons. Blood was also the symbol of union, as of FAMILY ties and particularly aristocratic LINEAGES.

LIT. *Atti della settimana Sangue e Antropologia nella letteratura cristiana* (Rome 1983). J. McCarthy, "The Symbolism of Blood and Sacrifice," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 88.2 (1969). —A.K.

BLOOD VENGEANCE. Killings in revenge are not well attested in Byz. sources. A. Mirambel (*Byzantion* 16 [1944] 381–92) mistakenly saw evidence for it in the term PHONIKON (but see P. Charanis, *Speculum* 20 [1945] 331–33). There are examples, however, of compensating the family of the deceased by handing over the person responsible for the MURDER: in the *Peira* (66.27; also 66.28) a slave who murdered a soldier at his master's order was given by the judges to the widow "to serve her." Neilos of Rossano advised the princess of Capua to give, as a form of penitence, one of her sons to the family of the man murdered by her sons at her instigation "for them to do with him whatever they wish" (AASS Sept. 7:308D–F).

The sources also preserve measures taken to prevent blood vengeance. Constantine VII legislated that the person guilty of a willful killing was to be subjected to lifelong exile far from the scene of the crime, thus protecting the victim's relations from the painful reminder of the crime and also helping to prevent a killing in retaliation (Zepos, *Jus* 1:233). Other factors that may have helped to check blood vengeance were the private settlement, which could be arranged between the murderer and the victim's family and which provided a form of compensation (*Basil.* 11.2.1; 60.53.1; *Peira* 66.25 and 66.27), and the "warning" attached to documents issued by the church, addressed to civil officials and members of the deceased's family, admonishing them not to harm the killer, on penalty of excommunication (R.J. Macrides, *Speculum* 63 [1988] 509–38). —R.J.M.

BLUES. See FACTIONS.

BOBBIO AMPULLAE. See AMPULLAE, PILGRIMAGE; MONZA AND BOBBIO, TREASURIES OF.

BODRUM CAMII. See MYRELAION, MONASTERY OF.

BODY (σῶμα), sometimes distinguished from flesh (*sarx*), was considered in Byz. ANTHROPOLOGY as one of the two "natures" that constituted man: unlike the SOUL, the body was construed as three-dimensional, visible, and corruptible (mortal). It consisted of four elements (*stoicheia*): earth, dry and cold; water, cold and wet; air, wet and warm; fire, warm and dry. It had four humors (*chymoi*): black bile, analogous to earth; phlegm—to water; blood—to air; light bile—to fire. The main somatic qualities were divisibility, qualitative change (warming, cooling, etc.), and mutability in response to voiding (*kenosis*) that created physical desires (hunger, thirst, etc.). A peculiar definition of the body is to be found in ANASTASIOS I, patriarch of Antioch, and ANASTASIOS OF SINAI: the body is all that "was not uncreated" or "what originates from nothingness." The concept of a double creation—of the inner man and of the unity of the soul and body—had no chance of survival after the condemnation of ORIGENISM. The body distinguishes man from both the ANGELS and DEMONS, even though sometimes the concept of angelic (demonic) finer flesh was maintained. Thus, PSELLOS, in his demonology, insisted that the astral bodies of demons (*pneumata*) were vehicles to transfer false images, fantasies, and hallucinations, and to deceive mankind.

A major problem for Byz. theology was determining an appropriate moral or soteriological role for the body. The Byz. rejected the Stoic image of the body as the cage or prison of the soul as well as the Manichaean vision of the body as the embodiment of evil. The body, created by God himself, was conceived of as ethically irrelevant, an instrument through which the soul could sin. Corruptible as it was, the body was to expect RESURRECTION.

LIT. H.J. Blumenthal, "Some Problems about Body and Soul in Later Pagan Neoplatonism," in *Platonismus und Christentum: Festschrift für Heinrich Dörrie* (Münster 1983) 75–84. P. Brown, *The Body and Society* (New York 1988). A. Kazhdan, "Der Körper im Geschichtswerk des Niketas Choniates," in *Fest und Alltag in Byzanz*, ed. G. Prinzing, D. Simon (Munich 1990) 91–106. —K.-H.U.

BODYGUARD (σωματοφύλαξ). In addition to guards entrusted with the defense of the palace (HETAIREIA), there were small units designed to protect the person of the emperor; when the emperor traveled, the palatine *somatophylakes* guarded him (e.g., Attal. 9.20). Belisarios, while removed from supreme command, served as *archon* of the emperor's *somatophylakes* (Prokopios, *Wars* 8.21.1). In the 14th C. the corps of bodyguards was under the command of the *primikerios* of the court (*aule*) and consisted of several units, each of which had its own station: the VARANGIANS stood watch at the doors of the emperor's chamber, the so-called *paramonai* in the palace court. There were also TSAKONES and other mounted and foot soldiers (pseudo-Kod. 179f). The distinction between bodyguards, palace guards, and imperial retinue was blurred, and Niketas Choniates (Nik.Chon. 184.11, 322.49) defined *somatophylakes* and *doryphoroi* (retainers) together as the contingents closest to the emperor.

Bodyguards were often recruited from foreigners in West and East. Protection of the emperor was also assigned to some courtiers, one of whom, the PARAKOIMOMENOS, slept at the threshold of the emperor's chamber. In the 5th- or 6th-C. romance *The Tale of the Persian Affairs*, it is said that King Kyros had female bodyguards, *somatophylakissai* (E. Bradtke, *Das sogenannte Religionsgespräch am Hof des Sasaniden* [Leipzig 1899] 20.1–2)—but it is questionable whether this evidence reflects the existence of a corps of female bodyguards (of the empress?) at the late Roman or Byz. court. High-ranking military officers and influential private individuals might also have bodyguards (sometimes called BOUKELLARIOI). —A.K.

BODY LANGUAGE. The ideal of late Roman and Byz. BEHAVIOR was "statuary": one should imitate the statue (*agalma*), avoiding unnecessary movements and appearing solemn and quiet. Early medieval attitudes condemned passionate EMOTIONS, including lamentations, and art and literature rarely present dramatic gesturing (M. Barasch, *Gestures of Despair* [New York 1976] 34f). SYMEON THE THEOLOGIAN (*Catéchèses*, no.26.28–31) prescribed strict discipline for the body during prayer, and Psellos followed the same vein when he censured a priest for excessively moving his lips, shoulders, and hands (Ljubarskij, *Psell* 238).

Nevertheless, body movement was a significant component of state ceremonial (with PROSKYNESIS the extreme physical expression of self-submission), LITURGY (the gestures of the priest), funerals (tearing of hair, beating of breasts), or marriage rites. It was also a part of everyday behavior—embraces and kissing signified greeting and respect (e.g., vita of BASIL THE YOUNGER, ed. Vilinskij 1:338.14–16); a movement of a finger could denote a charitable attitude (vita of Basil the Younger, ed. Veselovskij 2:106.34–107.1); pulling out the hair of the beard expressed dismay (PG 111:797A); touching the beard indicated pleading for mercy (ATHANASIOS I of Constantinople, ep.94.19–22).

Some GESTURES—in reality or in fiction?—stressed a tragic situation, as in a description of the execution of Andronikos I (Nik.Chon. 351.53–54): the maimed emperor, whose hand had been amputated, in pain extended the stump to his mouth as if trying to suck out the dripping blood. On the other hand, the strange and indecent body language of a holy fool (such as SYMEON OF EMESA) was interpreted metaphorically as an expression of the saint's utmost humility. —A.K.

BOEOTIA (*Βοιωτία*), a region in central Greece; THEBES was still considered its metropolis in the 6th C. Prokopios (*Buildings* 4.2.24) stresses that the city walls of Boeotian towns were neglected before the reign of Justinian I, and ZOSIMOS (5.5.7, ed. Paschoud 3:11.25–30) describes how "all Boeotia" was destroyed by the invasion of Alaric in 395/6. On the other hand, an inscription shows that in 401/2 Boeotia was able to provide the state with a significant amount of grain (F. Cauer, *RE* 3 [1899] 663), and U. Kahrstedt (*Das wirtschaftliche Gesicht Griechenlands in der Kaiserzeit* [Bern 1954] 86f) suggested that substantial areas of the region were turned over to large estates. Archaeological investigation demonstrates that in the 4th–6th C. Boeotia retained, in general outline, the classical urban pattern, the territory of Thespiiai showing even a remarkable resettlement. From the 7th C. Boeotia was in decline, and O. Rackham (*BSA* 78 [1983] 346f) concludes that this period was bad for men and goats, but good for trees, so that the woodland expanded. Some revival can be observed in the 9th–11th C. when the massive stone church at Skripou near Orchomenos (dated 873/4) and Hosios LOUKAS were constructed. The

area seems to have been densely populated after 1204. Boeotia formed a part of the theme of HELLAS, although the ancient name of Boeotia appears frequently in various authors; for instance, Skylitzes (Skyl. 341.28–29) lists Thessaly, Boeotia, and Attica; Nikephoros Gregoras (Greg. 2:239.7 and 17–18) speaks of Boeotia and Thebes as an administrative unit.

LIT. J.L. Blintliff, A.M. Snodgrass, "The Cambridge/Bradford Boeotian Expedition: The First Four Years," *Journal of Field Archaeology* 12 (1985) 147–49. T.E. Gregory, "The Fortified Cities of Byzantine Greece," *Archaeology* 35 (1982) 14–21. A. Harvey, "Economic Expansion in Central Greece in the Eleventh Century," *BMGS* 8 (1982–83) 21–28. M. Chatzidakis, *Byzantine Monuments in Attica and Boeotia* (Athens 1956) 11–17. —A.K.

BOETHIUS, more fully Anicius Manlius Severinus Boethius, Latin philosopher and writer; born ca.480, died Ticinum ca.524. Of a rich and consular family, he was cared for by the family of Quintus Aurelius Memmius Symmachus upon his father's death. Boethius may have studied in Alexandria. Boethius served THEODORIC THE GREAT as consul (510) and *magister officiorum* (ca.522–23), until his intervention in a treason trial resulted in his own condemnation, imprisonment, and execution on the same charge.

While in prison he wrote *On the Consolation of Philosophy*, a five-book dialogue in prose and verse between himself and Philosophy, neoplatonically showing how the soul may achieve a vision of God. His authorship, now generally accepted, of five theological treatises, including one on the Trinity and anti-Nestorian polemic (J.R.S. Mair in *Maistor* 149–58), demonstrates that Boethius was indeed a Christian. An expert in Greek as well as Latin and a practitioner of many genres including poetry, his main interests were philosophy and translation. His scheme to latinize all of ARISTOTLE and PLATO was never completed, although he did manage to translate some of the former. The above works, along with writings on logic, mathematics, and music, helped to consolidate the medieval educational concept of the seven liberal arts (*quadrivium* and *trivium*). Some of his work was later translated into Greek by Maximos PLANOUDS and Manuel KALEKAS (A. Pertusi, *ALPHOS* 11 [1951] 301–22) as well as by Prochoros KYDONES (D.Z. Niketas, *Hellenika* 35 [1984] 275–315).

ED. PL 63–64. *Philosophiae consolatio*, ed. L. Bieler (Turnhout 1957). Gr. tr. by Planoudes—Boëce: *De la consolation*

de la philosophie, ed. E.-A. Bétant (Geneva 1871; rp. Amsterdam 1964). D.Z. Niketas, *Eine byzantinische Übersetzung von Boethius' "De hypotheticis syllogismis"* (Göttingen 1982). *The Theological Tractates*, ed. H.F. Stewart, E.K. Rand (Cambridge, Mass., 1973), with Eng. tr.

LIT. M. Gibson, ed., *Boethius: His Life, Thought, and Influence* (Oxford 1981). Boethius, ed. M. Fuhrmann, J. Gruber (Darmstadt 1984). H. Chadwick, *Boethius: The Consolations of Music, Logic, Theology and Philosophy* (Oxford 1981). D. Shanzer, "The Death of Boethius and the 'Consolation of Philosophy,'" *Hermes* 112 (1984) 352–66. S. Lerer, *Boethius and Dialogue* (Princeton 1985). —B.B.

BOGOMIL, POP, the presumed founder of the sect of the BOGOMILS; fl. 10th C. Our information about him comes mainly from KOSMAS THE PRIEST, who states that Bogomil was a priest (*pop*) and that he began to teach his heresy in Bulgaria in the reign of Tsar PETER OF BULGARIA (927–69). A Russian index of forbidden books, preserved in a 16th-C. MS, states that Bogomil wrote heretical books. His name is probably the Slavic equivalent of the Greek Theophilos. His dualist followers in 10th-C. Bulgaria, named after him, are described by Kosmas as "lamb-like, gentle, modest, and silent, and pale from hypocritical fasting. They do not talk idly, nor laugh loudly, nor give themselves airs. They keep away from the sight of men, and outwardly they do everything so as not to be distinguished from Orthodox Christians."

LIT. D. Obolensky, *The Bogomils* (Cambridge 1948) 117–20, 124–26, 271–74. D. Angelov, *Bogomilstvoto v Bŭlgarija*³ (Sofia 1980) 123–27. —D.O.

BOGOMILS, a dualist, neo-MANICHAEAN sect, founded in 10th-C. Bulgaria, presumably by Pop BOGOMIL. It subsequently spread over the entire Balkan peninsula and parts of Asia Minor, exerted a formative influence over the CATHAR movement in Italy and France, and proved for five centuries a determined enemy of the Byz. church. Holding the material world to be the creation and realm of the Devil, the Bogomils denied most of the basic doctrines of the Orthodox church, including the Incarnation. They imposed, at least on a minority of "elect" initiates, an ascetic life that required abstinence from sexual intercourse, meat, and wine, and—at least in 10th-C. Bulgaria—preached civil disobedience. Most evidence of their teaching and behavior is in the works of their enemies, esp. KOSMAS THE PRIEST, Anna KOMNENE, and Euthymios ZIGA-

BENOS, though some valuable information is also found in the *Interrogatio Johannis* (or *Liber Secretus*, i.e., "Secret Book"), the only undeniably authentic product of Bogomil APOCRYPHA.

Originally the Bogomil doctrines owed much to the teaching of the PAULICIANS, who lived alongside them in the Balkans, and, unlike the Bogomils, were warlike in spirit and frequently rose up in arms against their Byz. overlords. MESSALIANISM, with which Bogomilism was frequently identified in the later Middle Ages, was probably used by Orthodox writers of the time as little more than a label for suspect or heretical mystical currents.

In the 11th C. the sect gained ground in Constantinople where, under its leader BASIL THE BOGOMIL, it found converts in aristocratic circles. At the behest of Alexios I Komnenos, Euthymios Zigabenos described its doctrines, rules, and ceremonies at considerable length. In the 12th C. Bogomilism spread in the empire's Slavic provinces (notably in Macedonia), and also in Asia Minor, where in the 13th C. the Nicaean patriarch GERMANOS II wrote a treatise against them. Despite continued persecution, votaries of Bogomilism scored notable successes in Serbia, Dalmatia, and esp. Bosnia, where under the name of Patarenes they later became the dominant religious group. After the Turkish conquest they disappeared from the Balkans.

LIT. D. Obolensky, *The Bogomils* (Cambridge 1948). S. Runciman, *The Medieval Manichee* (Cambridge 1947; rp. 1982). M. Loos, *Dualist Heresy in the Middle Ages* (Prague 1974). D. Angelov, *Bogomilstvoto v Bŭlgarija*³ (Sofia 1980). —D.O.

BOHEMUND (*Βαϊμούνδος*), son of ROBERT GUICARD; born between ca.1050 and 1058, died Bari? 5 or 7 Mar. 1109 (A. Gadolin, *Byzantion* 52 [1982] 125–31) or 1111. In 1081 he accompanied his father in attacking Alexios I, but was forced to withdraw in 1084. He joined the First Crusade in 1096 and reached Constantinople ca.9 Apr. 1097. There he swore fealty to Alexios, but Alexios put off his request to be named *domestikos* of the East. During the siege of Antioch, Bohemund helped induce TATIKIOS to depart, then obtained the city in violation of his oath to Alexios. Bohemund fought against the Byz. at Laodikeia until he was captured by Danişmend ca. July 1100. Following his ransom in 1103, he again fought the Byz. Late in 1104 he returned to Italy; with papal support,

he called for a new Crusade, then, in France (1106), proclaimed his intention of directing it against Alexios, whom he denounced for treachery to the Crusaders. His expedition to Dyrrachion (Oct. 1107) became trapped between the Byz. fleet and army. Bohemund was forced to accept a treaty at DEVOL (Sept. 1108) whereby he became an imperial vassal and received Antioch as a fief from Alexios (Ja.N. Ljubarskij, M.M. Frejdenberg, *VizVrem* 21 [1962] 260–74). Anna Komnene depicts him as valiant, clever, an outstanding and farsighted commander, but treacherous, deceitful, a natural liar, and chameleon. His goal, in her opinion, was to win for himself land and power, and ultimately to seize Byz.

LIT. R.B. Yewdale, *Bohemund I, Prince of Antioch* (Princeton 1924). J.G. Rowe, "Paschal II, Bohemund of Antioch and the Byzantine Empire," *Bull/RylandsLib* 49 (1966–67) 165–202. G. Röscher, "Der 'Kreuzzug' Bohemunds gegen Dyrrhachion 1107/1108 in der lateinischen Tradition des 12. Jahrhunderts," *RömHistMitt* 26 (1984) 181–90.

—C.M.B.

BOILAS (Βοίλας), name of Bulgarian origin; it designated a high Bulgarian title. The first known Boilas in Byz. was the *patrikios* Constantine, a contemporary of the 8th-C. empress Irene. St. IOANNIKIOS is said to have been related to the Boilas family. In the 10th C. members of the Boilas family were military commanders: Bardas Boilas, *strategos* of Chaldia, inspired a revolt in Armenia ca.922; Petronas Boilas served as *katepano* of Nikopolis (on the Pontos?) during the reign of Constantine VII. Judging from the names, one might infer that these two Boilades were Armenians. Some members of the family were courtiers: the chamberlain Constantine Boilas was involved in 925 in an unsuccessful plot against Romanos I and was compelled to take the monastic habit. The status of the family declined by the 11th C.: historians of this period call Romanos Boilas, the favorite of Constantine IX, a man of humble origin (Psellos, *Chron.* 2:38, par.140.10); he was in charge of the imperial guard. Convicted of plotting against the emperor ca.1051, he was exiled but soon returned to the court. The traditional image of Romanos Boilas as a buffoon accounts for the biased judgment of him in Psellos and other sources. His contemporary, Eustathios Boilas, is known from his will of 1059 (see BOILAS, WILL OF EUSTATHIOS). Even though the name of

Boilas was common in the later period (*PLP*, nos. 2933–41), the Boilades did not occupy significant posts at that time. George Boilas (ca.1400) wrote a now-lost treatise *Against the Latins* to refute the teaching of Thomas AQUINAS (Beck, *Kirche* 745).

LIT. Winkelmann, *Quellenstudien* 150f, 181f. —A.K.

BOILAS, WILL OF EUSTATHIOS. In Apr. 1059, Eustathios Boilas, *protospatharios*, *epi tou chrysotriklinou*, and *hypatos*, wrote his will; it was then copied on the last blank folios of a MS of St. John Klimax (Paris, B.N. Coisl. 263). Boilas was writing in an unknown place (probably near Edessa in Syria) where he had taken refuge after leaving his native Cappadocia. He had previously served for 15 years under the late *doux* Michael Apokapes and was still attached to members of his family. Reasonably wealthy in 1059, he had many slaves and real estate that he distributed among his two married daughters and Theotokos tou Salem, his pious foundation, which was scheduled to remain their property. This testament is important because of its early date and because it provides an insight into a poorly known region and society.

ED. and LIT. Lemerle, *Cinq études* 13–63. Eng. tr. S. Vryonis, "The Will of a Provincial Magnate, Eustathios Boilas (1059)," *DOP* 11 (1957) 263–77. —N.O.

BOIOANNES (Βοιωάννης), a family name, probably of Slavic origin. According to M. Mathieu (*Nouvelle Clio* 4 [1952] 299–301), the name was connected with the Slavic name *Boian*; it is also recorded in the form of Boinos, Baianos (Dujčev, *Proučvanija* 11, n.1; V. Beševliev, *Byzantion* 35 [1965] 3); one of Leo VI's wives was Eudokia Baiana. The first known Boioannes was Basil, *katepano* of Italy in 1017–28 (see BOIOANNES, BASIL). It is questionable whether a rebellious magnate called Baianos (Skyl. 396.26), whose fortune was confiscated in 1034, belonged to the same family. Another Boioannes, *exaugustus* of Italian sources, was *katepano* of Italy in 1041; the Normans captured him. Skylitzes (Skyl. 426.38–41) considered him a descendant of Basil Boioannes. Constantine Boioannes, a member of the local nobility in Dyrrachion, is mentioned in a synodal decision of 1199 (*RegPatr*, fasc. 3, no.1193): a certain Alexios Kapandrites, backed by an armed band, forced Constantine's sister, Eudokia, to marry him; in

retaliation Constantine seized his undesirable brother-in-law, fettered him, and gave Eudokia in marriage to another man.

LIT. W. Holtzmann, "Der Katepan Boioannes und die kirchliche Organisation der Capitanata," *NachGött*, no.2 (1960) 19–39. Falkenhausen, *Dominazione* 90f, 93f.

—A.K.

BOIOANNES, BASIL, *protospatharios* and *KATEPANO* of Italy (1017–summer 1028); whether the name derives from Slavic or Greek is uncertain (M. Mathieu, *Nouvelle Clio* 4 [1952] 299–301). The career of Boioannes before his appointment as *katepano* by BASIL II and after his recall by CONSTANTINE VIII is unknown. In Oct. 1018, at Caninae, Boioannes defeated the rebel Melo of Bari. He refortified northern Apulia, where he founded Troia (1019). Cooperating with Pandolf IV of Capua, Boioannes's army campaigned successfully on the Garigliano (1021). In response, Pope Benedict VIII summoned Henry II of Germany, who in 1022 captured Pandolf and vainly besieged Troia. After Henry's death (1024), Boioannes helped restore Pandolf (1026); Salerno, Capua, and Naples acknowledged Byz. overlordship. Boioannes secured papal recognition of Bari as a metropolis and of Troia and other places in the capitanate as bishoprics (W. Holtzmann, *NachGött* [1960] no.2:19–39). In 1024 Boioannes raided CROATIA and in 1025 joined in an unsuccessful expedition sent by Basil II against Sicily. In May–Sept. 1041, another Boioannes, a son or relative, was *katepano*, but was captured by Lombards and Normans.

LIT. Falkenhausen, *Dominazione* 57f, 90f. W. Felix, *Byzanz und die islamische Welt im früheren 11. Jahrhundert* (Vienna 1981) 199f.

—C.M.B.

BOJANA, a settlement in Bulgaria, southwest of Sofia, the site of a double church dedicated to Sts. Nicholas and Panteleemon. The smaller, east church has been dated on the basis of style to the 12th C. It has a square exterior enlivened by blind arches and a cruciform interior. The later church is a two-story funerary structure adjoining the older church at the west and serving as its narthex. The lower story is a barrel-vaulted hall with *arcosolia*; the chapel above it is cruciform, with shortened cross arms and a central dome. Frescoes

dated by inscription to 1259 cover the entire interior of both churches. The scenes follow the usual Byz. arrangement, and certain iconographic details (the fresco icons of Christ Euergetes and Christ Chalkites, the cityscapes) link the paintings to Constantinople. Despite the presence of some up-to-date details (such as the intricate armor), the tall, slim proportions of the figures and landscape in the compositions reflect Byz. models of the 11th and 12th C., and give the ensemble an archaic look. The lower church contains a cycle of scenes from the life of St. NICHOLAS OF MYRA; though Byz. in origin, the cycle is unusually long and displays many Western features. The captions to all the frescoes are in Slavonic; the artists may have come from TŪRNOVO. The donor portraits of the *sebastokrator* Kalojan (otherwise unknown) and his wife in the lower church are surprisingly individualized.

LIT. A. Grabar, *L'église de Boiana* (Sofia 1924). K. Mijatev, *The Boyana Murals* (Dresden 1961). Sv. Bosilkov, "Za tradiciite i novatorstvoto v Bojanskata živopis," *Tŭrnovska knižavna škola 1371–1971* (Sofia 1974) 355–71.

—E.C.S.

BOLDENSELE, WILHELM VON (originally named Otto of Nygenhusen), German traveler to Mt. Sinai; born in Westphalia-Saxony, died in Cologne? after 1337. A Dominican friar, Otto left his priory, changed his name to Wilhelm, and, in 1332–36, on assignment from the papal curia, traveled to the Levant. His purpose was probably not just a simple pilgrimage but also a reconnaissance with an eye to planning a new Crusade. At any rate, he paid serious attention to strategic points in Palestine and to the places where the Mamlūk sultan allegedly kept his treasures. On his way to Sinai Wilhelm stopped at Constantinople, Chios, Rhodes, and Cyprus; whether he visited Athens is unclear. In Constantinople he was received by Andronikos III, who gave him a letter to deliver to the sultan of Egypt. In his *Itinerary*, Wilhelm describes the marvelous churches and palaces of Constantinople and says that Hagia Sophia surpassed any other building in the world. He dwells particularly on the equestrian statue of Justinian I, which, to Wilhelm, seemed to threaten potential rebels and enemies of the empire. The *Itinerary* of Wilhelm was used by his contemporary Ludolf of Sudheim, who traveled to the East in 1336–41; in some cases Ludolf corrected and added to the work of his predecessor.

ED. C.L. Grotefend, "Des Edelherrn Wilhelm von Bol-densele Reise nach dem Gelobten Lande," *Zeitschrift des historischen Vereins Niedersachsen* (1852) 226-86.

LIT. Van der Vin, *Travellers* 1:25-37. G. Schnath, "Drei Niedersächsische Sinaipilger um 1330," in *Festschrift P.E. Schramm*, ed. P. Classen, P. Schiebert, vol. 1 (Wiesbaden 1964) 464-78. —A.K.

BOLERON (Βολερόν), region in Thrace between the Rhodope mountains and the sea, bounded by the Nestos River on the west and the defile of Korpiles on the east. First mentioned in the vita of GREGORY OF DEKAPOLIS (as a geographical location), it became an administrative unit in the first half of the 11th C.: an act of 1047 refers to a "new *dioikesis*" of Boleron (*Ivir.*, no.29.77). By 1083 Boleron was considered a separate theme, containing at least two *banda*, MOSYNOPOLIS and PERITHEORION (*Typikon of Gregory Pakourianos*, ed. P. Gautier, *REB* 42 [1984] 37.288). Most commonly it appears as part of the joint theme of Boleron, Strymon, and Thessalonike—the first known reference is the *hypomnema* of its judge Constantine Kamateros of 1037 (*Docheiar.*, no.1.35). After 1204 the region was part of the Latin Kingdom of Thessalonike. It was probably reconstituted ca.1246 by John III Vatatzes and called the theme of Boleron-Mosynopolis. In the early 14th C. it was united with Mosynopolis, Serres, and Strymon under a *kephale* (Guillou, *Ménéce*, nos. 7.25-26, 11.1-2). A document of 1344 (*Docheiar.*, no.22.1-3), however, considers Boleron, Popolia, Serres, Strymon, and MELNIK as *kastra*, in contrast to the themes of Thessalonike and BERROIA.

LIT. Lemerle, *Philippe* 129f, 160-63. S. Kyriakides, *Byzantinai Meletai* 2-5 (Thessalonike 1937) 291-362. Th. Papazotas, "Semeioseis sto 'Boleron' tou St. Kyriakide," *Thra-hike epeterida* 2 (1981) 233-43. —T.E.G., A.K.

BONE CARVING, a perennial industry, based on the slaughter of cattle and pack animals. Bone was used for buttons, knobs, and struts as well as for tools, esp. in the weaving trade. Bone gaming-pieces, containers, and bird-rings as well as ornamental handles for fans or fly-switches from many different periods have been found in Constantinople (M.V. Gill in R.M. Harrison, *Excavations at Sarayane in Istanbul*, vol. 1 [Princeton 1986] 226-33, 251-53, 258-63); bone's range of application thus exceeded that of IVORY, although it was probably worked by the same craftsmen.

Numerous plaques attached to CASKETS AND BOXES, often said to be of ivory, are in fact of bone.

LIT. Ai. Loverdou-Tsigarda, *Osteina plakidia* (Thessalonike 1986). A. Bank, *Prikladnoe iskusstvo Vizantii IX-XII vv.* (Moscow 1978) 86-89. —A.C.

BONIFACE OF MONTFERRAT (Βονιφάτιος ὁ Μόντης Φεράντης), marquis of Thessalonike (1204-07); born early 1150s, died near Mosynopolis 4 Sept. 1207. In 1179-80 Boniface served as guardian of the captive Christian of Mainz while his brother CONRAD OF MONTFERRAT traveled to Constantinople (D. Brader, *Historische Studien: Bonifaz von Montferrat bis zum Antritt der Kreuzfahrt (1202)* [Berlin 1907; rp. Vaduz 1965] 23-25). In June 1201, possibly influenced by his cousin King Philip II of France, Boniface accepted the leadership of the Fourth Crusade (E. Kittell, *Byzantion* 51 [1981] 562-65). At Christmas 1201, at Hagenau, he met another cousin, PHILIP OF SWABIA, and the future Alexios IV; they probably discussed the use of the Crusade to enthrone Alexios. Boniface avoided participating in the capture of Zara, but early in 1203 enthusiastically supported the proposal of Alexios and Philip of Swabia to turn the Crusade against Constantinople. After Alexios III fled, Boniface joined Alexios IV in an expedition through Thrace. In late 1203, he took a leading role in the discussions with Alexios IV.

During the sack of Constantinople, Boniface occupied the Great Palace, where his captives included the widow of Isaac II, Margaret of Hungary, whom he subsequently married. Because he had commanded the Crusaders, the populace of Constantinople anticipated his choice as emperor and hailed him as *Ayos vasileas marchio* ("the holy emperor, the marquess"), but BALDWIN OF FLANDERS was elected. Boniface received Thessalonike as a kingdom, but a quarrel over it with Baldwin (mid-1204) was resolved with difficulty. Initially the populace of Thessalonike welcomed him warmly; later he appropriated the dwellings of the wealthiest inhabitants for his knights. In late 1204, using Margaret and Isaac's son Manuel (clad in imperial robes) to smooth his advance, Boniface drove Leo SGOUROS from Thessaly and occupied central Greece, where he captured Alexios III. The inhabitants of Thebes received Boniface enthusiastically, but he rejected the support of the Byz. aristocracy who then turned to Kalojan. In

1205-07 he fought Kalojan and allied himself with HENRY OF HAINAULT, then perished in a Bulgarian ambush.

LIT. M.A. Zaborov, "K voprosu o predistorii četvertogo krestovogo pochoda," *VizVrem* 6 (1953) 223-35. J. Dufournet, *Les écrivains de la IV^e croisade: Villehardouin et Clari*, vol. 1 (Paris 1973) 208-44. Longnon, *Compagnons* 227-34. —C.M.B.

BOOK (βιβλίον, βιβλος, δέλτος). The written word was of great importance in Byz., for the transmission of the Bible (the *biblos* par excellence) and patristic literature, and for the preservation of the heritage of classical antiquity. The number of preserved Greek MSS is about 55,000 (A. Dain, *Les manuscrits*² [Paris 1964] 77), of which perhaps 40,000 are Byz. They are mainly in the form of a CODEX, but the ROLL survived in the transmission of liturgical texts and in the imperial chancery. Few pre-10th-C. MSS survive; the numbers of MSS produced increased dramatically with the introduction of MINUSCULE script. Most MSS were liturgical or theological; these books predominate both in modern collections and in medieval inventories of monastic libraries. Literary, scientific, and historical books were generally found in the private collections of literati. Books were a rare and expensive commodity in Byz., because of the shortage of writing materials (PARCHMENT and PAPER) and the length of time it took a SCRIBE to copy a MS (see BOOK TRADE). N. Wilson has shown that in the 9th C. a MS of about 400 folios cost 15-20 nomismata, a sum reckoned by C. Mango as equivalent to half the annual salary of a civil servant (*Books & Bookmen*, 3f, 38f).

Private libraries rarely exceeded 25 volumes. Booksellers are scarcely ever mentioned; books were obtained by borrowing from friends, commissioning the copying of a MS at a SCRIPTORIUM, or using a LIBRARY. Hence books were highly valued by clergy and intellectuals; MSS from libraries frequently contain an imprecation against anyone who would dare steal the book. The designation of a book for a certain use might change in the course of the centuries; thus the Vienna DIOSKORIDES (Vienna, ÖNB med.gr.1) was originally dedicated to the princess Anicia Juliana in the 6th C. but served as a herbal for a hospital in Constantinople in the 14th and 15th C. Many monasteries such as STODIOS, HODEGON, and GALESIOS housed important scriptoria; at others,

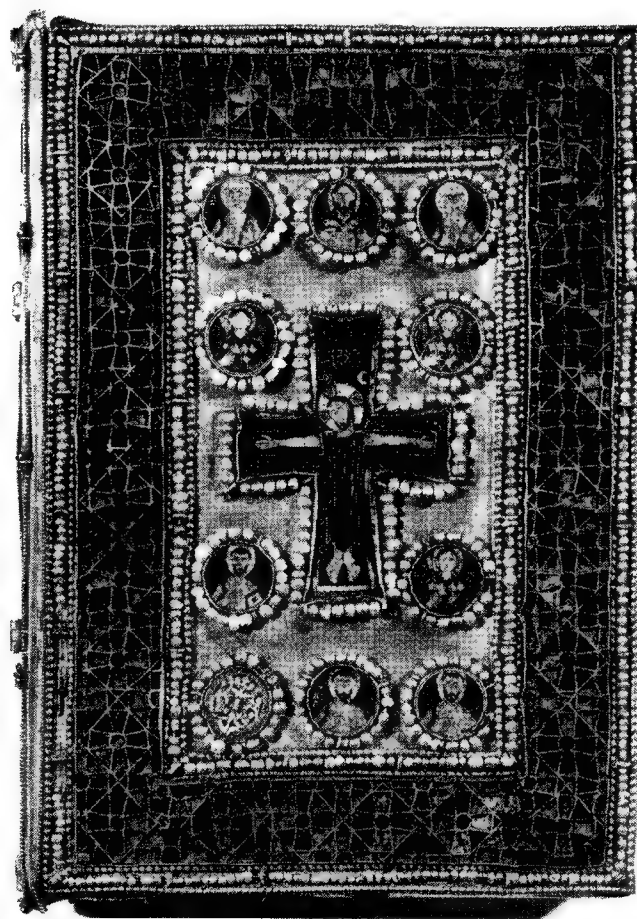
however, esp. in the early Christian centuries, books were scorned. ANTONY THE GREAT reportedly memorized the Scriptures so that he had no need for books (PG 26:845A, 945A); an abbot criticized a monk for spending money on codices instead of the poor (PG 65:416C).

LIT. *Byzantine Books and Bookmen* (Washington, D.C., 1975). G. Cavallo, "Il libro come oggetto d'uso nel mondo bizantino," *JÖB* 31 (1981) 395-423. C. Wendel, *Kleine Schriften zum antiken Buch- und Bibliothekswesen* (Cologne 1974). Av-erincev, *Poetika* 183-209. —A.M.T., E.G.

BOOKBINDING (στάχωμα, ἀμφίασμα). The CODEX was protected by a binding, usually of leather or parchment, more rarely of silk or precious metals. Normally two leather-covered wooden boards held together and protected the QUIRES, which the bookbinder stitched together. The dimensions of the quires and of the boards that form the binding are identical. In contrast to Western bookbinding, Byz. bindings did not have raised bands but were distinguished by a smooth spine. Sumptuous bindings sometimes took the form of metal BOOK COVERS, occasionally adorned with precious stones or ENAMELS. Technical names for elements of the decoration are known from the description of books in the inventories of monastic LIBRARIES (such as Patmos). Owing to the custom of storing MSS horizontally, the leather of the binding was protected by bosses (*amygdalia*, lit. "almonds"). Preserved examples of Byz. bookbinding permit the analysis of the stamps used for decoration; further research of this sort could enable us to investigate centers for bookbinding. Among the motifs used for blind-tooling on bindings from the late Byz. period are the monogram of the Palaiologos family (P. Hoffmann, *Scriptorium* 39 [1985] 274-81) and metal representations of patron saints.

LIT. E. Baras et al., *La reliure médiévale* (Paris 1978) 23-35. C. Federici, K. Houlis, *Le legature bizantine vaticane* (Rome 1988). B. Atsalos, "Sur quelques termes relatifs à la reliure des manuscrits grecs," in *Studia Codicologica* [= TU 124], ed. K. Treu (Berlin 1977) 15-42. —E.G.

BOOK COVER. Some ancient codices still have their original BOOKBINDING of wooden boards, sometimes covered in leather; metal and silk and other textiles were also used for covers. A number of preserved metal and ivory plaques, which cor-



BOOK COVER. Metal book cover (Venice, Marciana lat. Cl. 1, 101; front cover); 9th to early 10th C. The figures of Christ on the Cross and the busts of saints and angels around him are made of cloisonné enamel outlined in pearls.

respond to the general sizes of Byz. books, are thought to have served originally as covers; examples are the 6th-C. sets of silver plaques in the KAPER KORAON TREASURE and the SION TREASURE, decorated with standing figures or a cross under an arch. The colophon of a Syriac MS of 633/4 written near Damascus refers to its cover composed of metal plates and gems (J. Leroy, *Les manuscrits syriaques à peintures* [Paris 1964] 118). Elaborate fittings for book covers are described in church inventories in and after the 11th C.: cross-shaped panels (*stauroi*) at the center and L-shaped corners (*gammata*); hinged straps (*kompotherlika*); roundels (*boulai*); nailheads (*karpbia*); and almond-shaped bosses (*amygdalia*) (Pantel., no. 7.6–8; C. Astruc, *TM* 8 [1981] 22f).

The most elaborate covers were reserved for

Gospel lectionaries, intended mainly for display, either on the altar or during the Little Entrance. The Crucifixion is the dominant subject of medieval Gospel covers, though DEESIS compositions and Nativity scenes are also recorded. By the 14th C., Crucifixion scenes on the front cover are accompanied by ANASTASIS scenes on the back. Both images are surrounded by busts of angels, prophets, bishops, or saints and Christological scenes closely resembling contemporary ICON FRAMES (Treasury S. Marco 176–78).

LIT. B. van Regemorter, *La reliure byzantine* (Brussels 1969). H. Hunger, *RBK* 1:752–57. T. Velmans, “La couverture de l’Évangile dit de Morozov et l’évolution de la reliure byzantine,” *CahArch* 28 (1979) 115–36. V.H. Elbern, “Neue Funde goldener Geräte des christlichen Kultes in der frühchristlich-byzantinischen Sammlung Berlin,” *IntCongChrArch* 7 (1965 [publ. 1969]) 493–95.

—M.M.M., L.Ph.B.

BOOK ILLUSTRATION AND ILLUMINATION. Conventionally the terms are used synonymously, or the former may refer to figural and the latter to ornamental decoration. MS illumination—a topic of study inaugurated by N.P. Kondakov in 1876—provides the most comprehensive evidence for the history of Byz. painting and is the oldest and best-studied area of Byz. art history. MSS were decorated by SCRIBES and/or ILLUMINATORS. Some were painted at the same time as they were written, but generally the text of the entire book was first copied and then it was illustrated; miniatures were either added in spaces left by the scribe or painted on separate leaves. A rare example of the illustration preceding the writing is the *MENOLOGION OF BASIL II*. In the latter the unit of work was the single folio, but more commonly an illuminator, working sometimes in a *SCRIPTORIUM*, executed the entire *QUIRE*. A scribe might illuminate his own work or collaborate with someone else. The basic composition of a miniature was first established by a preliminary sketch, which then was typically covered with opaque pigments. Colored washes sufficed for simpler ornament and became popular for figural illustration in the Palaiologan period. Miniatures, esp. those of the *DECORATIVE STYLE*, often cracked and flaked and were repainted during and after the Middle Ages.

The overwhelming number of decorated MSS are religious, with the *PSALTER* and *GOSPEL BOOK* predominating. Certain liturgical texts were dec-

orated, esp. *LECTIONARIES* and liturgical rolls (see *ROLLS, LITURGICAL*), but illustrated versions of the *OKTOECHOS* and the *STICHARION* are rare. A special edition of the homilies of GREGORY OF NAZIANZOS was created for liturgical use. Many MSS of the *MENOLOGION* are illustrated with images of saints and their martyrdom. Accounts of church councils, theological treatises, and monastic texts, such as the *TYPIKON*, the *Heavenly Ladder* of JOHN KLIMAX, or the romance of BARLAAM AND IOASAPH, were illustrated with varying frequencies.

Secular texts were decorated less often. A few imperial *ROLLS* open with imperial portraits or frame the text with decorated borders. The only Greek historical text with narrative illustration, the MS of John SKYLITZES in Madrid, was produced in Norman Sicily. Various *SCIENTIFIC MANUSCRIPTS* are accompanied by essential pictures and diagrams (DIOSKORIDES, NIKANDER). Decorated literary texts are very rare, but fragments of a 5th-C. *Iliad* with later Byz. marginalia are preserved in Milan. Other decorated texts range from an *ALEXANDER ROMANCE* in Venice to an *Epithalamion* in the Vatican.

Illuminated MSS are more common in some periods than others. The rare and well-studied books from the pre-Iconoclastic period (*ROSSANO GOSPELS*, *RABBULA GOSPELS*, *GENESIS MSS* in Vienna and London) are painted in a soft painterly manner of ancient origin. Little survives from the period of Iconoclasm, except a *PTOLEMY MS* in the Vatican. From the latter half of the 9th C., the most important MSS are the *Khludov Psalter*, the *PARIS GREGORY*, and the *SACRA PARALLELA*. The 10th C.—the height of Byz. illumination according to some—includes the classicizing *PARIS PSALTER*, *Bible of LEO SAKELLARIOS*, *JOSHUA ROLL*, and *Stavronikita Gospels*. The style and iconography of 11th- and 12th-C. MSS (*Menologion of Basil II*, the *THEODORE PSALTER*, and the *CODEx EBNERIANUS*) are more innovative, however, and in this period, the ornament of *HEADPIECES*, *INITIALS*, and *CANON TABLES* reaches its apogee. The many MSS of the *Decorative Style* testify to major provincial production during the late 12th and early 13th C. Palaiologan MSS feature pear-shaped figures, painted in pastel colors, and intricate ornament imitative of the Islamic arabesque. While some Palaiologan MSS were made for the emperor and his family, ecclesiastical patronage was more important. During the later 14th C., the

production of deluxe Greek MSS declined; it all but ceased in the 15th C. but resumed in Renaissance Italy.

The reasons why decorated MSS were created are probably as numerous as the MSS themselves. For the many illustrated MSS that were donations to religious institutions, the principal motivation expressed in dedication notes is the hope of eternal salvation. Miniatures of the patron, offering the book to an intercessory saint, document the gift and proclaim the donor's piety and association with saintly patrons. Images of contemporary persons affirm or legitimize political and social status, for example, Christ blessing the emperor or investing the *hegoumenos* of a monastery. Illustrations establish the context in which the text was used, as when the liturgical roll opens with a scene at the altar, an herbal adds to a plant picture an illustration of its medicinal use, or a lectionary depicts not the text's content, but the religious occasion on which it was read. Even the most literal illustration calls attention to certain passages and not others. Some miniatures provide sophisticated commentary, while others serve as devotional images no different from other icons.

The contemporary significance of the illuminated MS in Byz. is attested by the language of inventories, wills, and notices of later owners and by the considerable impact that Byz. MS illustration had on Armenian, Syriac, and Coptic illumination. Byz. illuminators painted Gospel books in Georgian and Arabic, and Slavic artists adapted Byz. illustration and ornament for local contexts. Even Muslim artists copied illustrated scientific MSS. Few illuminated Byz. MSS are documented in western Europe before 1204, but many were imported afterwards. In the 15th C., humanists collected secular texts, which were seldom decorated, but their secondary interest in theological literature brought many illuminated MSS to European libraries. The appreciation of Byz. MSS as art objects is a product of the later 19th and 20th C. and had varied consequences. Miniatures were excised from MSS, forged by modern painters, and divorced from textual and cultural contexts in art historical studies. Yet the high artistic value accorded them gained a wider modern audience for Byz. culture in general.

LIT. N.P. Kondakov, *Istorija vizantijskogo iskusstva* (Odessa 1876), tr. as *Histoire de l'art byzantin considéré principalement dans les miniatures* (Paris 1886–91). V.N. Lazarev, *Storia*

della pittura bizantina (Turin 1967). H. Belting, *Das illuminierte Buch in der spätbyzantinischen Gesellschaft* (Heidelberg 1970). K. Weitzmann, *Studies in Classical and Byzantine Manuscript Illumination*, ed. H.L. Kessler (Chicago-London 1971). I. Hutter, *Corpus der byzantinischen Miniaturenhandschriften* (Stuttgart 1977). —R.S.N.

BOOK OF THE EPARCH (Ἐπαρχικὸν Βιβλίον), a collection of regulations of the activity of the Constantinopolitan GUILDS, which came under the supervision of the EPARCH OF THE CITY. The complete text survives in a 14th-C. MS (Geneva, Bibliothèque de Genève, no.23); the title and preamble are also preserved in an Istanbul MS (Metochion Taphou, no.25). In several MSS can be found the first three paragraphs of chapter 1 of the *Book of the Eparch* excerpted, as it is said, from "the decrees on city guilds (*somateia*)" (P. Noailles, A. Dain, *Les nouvelles de Léon VI le Sage* [Paris 1944] 376f). The MS of Metochion Taphou gives the name of the legislator—Leo VI (as do the fragments from ch.1)—and the date, 911/12 (D. Gkines, *EEBS* 13 [1937] 186). However, the mention in four paragraphs of TETARTERA (coins that were not introduced until the mid-10th C.) permits the hypothesis that the treatise was compiled (or interpolated) under Nikephoros II Phokas. This opinion is rejected by A. Schminck (*Rechtsbücher* 27, n.26) who identifies the *tetarteron* cited in the *Book of the Eparch* as the TREMISSIS or SEMISSIS known through the reign of Basil I.

The *Book of the Eparch* is a collection in 22 chapters of rules devoted to separate guilds—notaries; *argyropratai*; money changers; various dealers in clothing and perfume; candlemakers; soapmakers; purveyors of groceries, meat, bread, fish, and wine—as well as to some assistants of the eparch (*legatarii*) and the so-called BOTHROI and TECHNITAI. Some chapters repeat the same statements and probably were compiled separately. Certain important professions and trades (e.g., potters, ironmongers, tailors, dyers, shoemakers, barbers, physicians) are not included.

P. Pieler (in Hunger, *Lit.* 2:471) considers the *Book of the Eparch* a document that "belongs completely to the sphere of the late antique system of guilds." P. Schreiner (in *LMA* 3:2043), on the other hand, emphasizes the differences between the commercial organization described in the *Book of the Eparch* and that of late antiquity, since the 10th-C. treatise reflects neither coercive nor he-

reditary membership in guilds. Sjuzjumov views the regulations as representing the economic ideas of Leo VI.

ED. *Vizantijskaja kniga eparcha*, ed. M.Ja. Sjuzjumov (Moscow 1962). Eng. tr. E.H. Freshfield in *Roman Law in the Later Roman Empire* (Cambridge 1938); rp. in *To Eparchikon Biblion*, ed. I. Dujčev (London 1970) 205–81.

LIT. S. Troianos, *Hoi peges tou byzantinou dikaiou* (Athens 1986) 135–37. —A.K.

BOOK OF THE HIMYARITES, a Syriac text preserved (in fragments) in a MS of the 15th C. with some remnants in another, 10th-C. codex. The *Book* describes the persecutions by Masruq (DHŪ-NUWĀS) in NAJRĀN and the invasion of Kaleb (ELESBOAM), the king of Axum, in 525. The *Book* was written by a Monophysite author immediately after the events described, probably on the basis of oral information from eyewitnesses. Moberg (*infra*) tentatively identified the author as a certain Sergios (or George) of Ruṣāfah, of whom nothing is known save his participation in an embassy sent by Justin I to the Lakhmid ALAMUNDARUS of Ḥīra. Shahid (*infra*), however, identified him with Symeon, bishop of Bēth-Arshām, the author of a letter detailing the same events.

ED. and TR. A. Moberg, *The Book of the Himyarites* (Lund 1924).

LIT. I. Shahid, "The Book of the Himyarites," *Muséon* 76 (1963) 349–62. —A.K.

BOOK TRADE in the strict sense hardly ever existed in Byz., in contrast to the flourishing book production and distribution of late antiquity. There was a certain market for old and rare books, while new books were always produced on commission for the private LIBRARY of the commissioner or for the library of a public or ecclesiastical institution. Some MSS contain indications about the price, the charges for the copying and those for the material (i.e., the PARCHMENT) being calculated separately. ARETHAS OF CAESAREA paid around 15–20 nomismata on the average for a MS, about a third of this amount being for the parchment. In other cases the data concerning book prices are much less clear. Because the size and format of the books in question are often unknown, the average price of a Byz. book cannot be determined, much less related to the purchasing power of the currency during the period in question. Writing material remained expensive even after

the introduction of oriental PAPER, and only in the last centuries of the empire were costs reduced by the importation of western paper. Under these circumstances acquiring and collecting books was a privilege of institutions and of a very few wealthy individuals. Owing to the high prices, intellectuals rarely could satisfy their need for books through purchase; as a result, scholars often borrowed books from one another and copied them personally.

LIT. N. Wilson, "Books and Readers in Byzantium" and C. Mango, "The Availability of Books in the Byzantine Empire, A.D. 750–850," in *Books & Bookmen* 1–15, 29–45. G. Cavallo, "La circolazione libraria nell'età di Giustiniano," in *L'imperatore Giustiniano—storia e mito* (Milan 1978) 201–36. Hutter, *CBM* 3.1:386. Ph. Euangelatou-Notara, "Semeiomata" *Hellenikon kodikon* (Athens 1978). Eadem, *Sylloge chronologemenon "semeiomaion" Hellenikon kodikon 1300 ai.* (Athens 1984). —W.H.

BOOTY (σκόλα). The spoils of war included the enemy's baggage, equipment, animals, money, and even their persons, which could be sold into SLAVERY or held for ransom (see PRISONERS OF WAR). The military treatises laid down strict regulations against soldiers' plundering during battle (for which the penalty was death) and assigned second-rank men or soldiers' attendants to follow the combatants and collect booty or prisoners for distribution afterwards (*Strat. Maurik.* 2.9, pp. 126–28; *Praecepta Milit.* 7.14–21, 16.32–35). According to the rules on division of spoils set out in the ECLOGA (18.1) and the 10th-C. SYLLOGE TACTICORUM, ch.50 (ed. A. Dain [Paris 1938] 98f), one-sixth of the collected booty was reserved for the imperial treasury and the remainder given out to the soldiery. Interestingly, officers did not receive booty in addition to their wages unless they had distinguished themselves in battle; their reward came out of the imperial share. The *Ecloga* 16.1–2 states that booty and gratuities granted to soldiers counted among PECULIUM CASTRENSE.

Details from historical sources show practice at variance with theory in the distribution of booty and revenues derived therefrom. IBN ḤAWQAL describes the efforts of Nikephoros II Phokas to tax or appropriate revenues generated from the sale of prisoners or booty to finance his military expeditions (*Configuration de la terre*, tr. J.H. Kramers, G. Wiet, vol. 1 [Paris 1964] 192–94). Basil II divided prisoners taken at Longas (1016) three ways between himself, his allies from Rus', and

his own troops (Skyl. 355.22–24), and in 1018 simply paid his army's wages out of money seized at Ohrid (Skyl. 358.14–359.18).

LIT. A. Dain, "Le partage du butin de guerre d'après les traités juridiques et militaires," 6 *CEB*, vol. 1 (Paris 1950) 347–52. Dagron-Mihăescu, *Guérilla* 231–34. —E.M.

BORIL (Βορίλας), Bulgarian tsar (1207–18); died after 1218. Boril seized the Bulgarian throne after the murder of his uncle KALOJAN; to strengthen his position he married his uncle's Cuman widow. He invaded the Latin Empire, but was completely defeated on 31 July 1208 outside Philippopolis, and was defeated again by the Latins in 1211, this time near Thessalonike. His hold over Bulgaria was always tenuous, with members of his family establishing themselves as semi-independent rulers. His brother Strez controlled Prosek with the support of the Serbian ruler STEFAN I THE FIRST-CROWNED. Using the good offices of the papacy, Boril turned to HENRY OF HAINAULT for help against this pair. In 1213 they concluded an alliance, sealed by Henry's marriage to Maria (probably Boril's daughter). The next year they launched a joint expedition against Serbia, but were repulsed. In 1211 Boril convoked a synod of the Bulgarian church at Tŭrnovo, which condemned the BOGOMIL heresy. Though the synod conformed to the practices of the Orthodox church (J. Gouillard, *TM* 4 [1970] 361–74), Boril's dealings with the papacy suggest that he may have been prompted by papal concern about the Albigensian heresy, which was believed to originate in Bulgaria (I. Dujčev, *BBulg* 6 [1980] 115–24). In 1218 Boril was overthrown by John Asen II and blinded.

LIT. G. Prinzing, *Die Bedeutung Bulgariens und Serbiens in den Jahren 1204–1219* (Munich 1972) 100–38. A. Dančeva-Vasileva, *Bŭlgaria i Latinskata imperija (1204–1261)* (Sofia 1985) 80–115. Zlatarski, *Ist.* 3:270–323. —M.J.A.

BORIL, SYNODIKON OF, conventional name of a Bulgarian compilation of various ANATHEMAS of heretics. Its initial form was a translation from a Greek compilation of ecclesiastical bans similar to the SYNODIKON OF ORTHODOXY, including some anathemas of the 12th C. To this translated part an original section was added containing the decisions of the Bulgarian synod of 1211 convoked by Tsar BORIL. Later on, complementary entries

were introduced dealing with ecclesiastical discussions of the 14th C. The text has survived in two major Bulgarian redactions (those of Palauzov and of Drinov) as well as in Serbian and Russian versions. The Bulgarian redactions probably reveal traces of the editorial work of EVTIMIJ OF TŪRNOVO.

LIT. M.G. Popruženko, *Sinodik carja Borila* (Sofia 1928). I. Dujčev, "Une source byzantine du Synodikon bulgare du XIIIème siècle," *BS/EB* 8, 11-12 (1981, 1984-85) 85-93. —A.K.

BORIS I (Βόρις), Bulgarian khan (852-89); died 2 May 907; commemorated in Orthodox calendars on 2 May. Byz. sources commonly use his baptismal name Michael. Soon after his accession Boris contemplated attacking Byz. but reportedly was dissuaded by a personal threat from Empress THEODORA (Genes. 61.89-99); a treaty may have been concluded in 853 (G. Cankova-Petkova, *BBulg* 4 [1973] 25). During the early years of Boris's reign rivalry between Byz. and Western clergy over missionary activity in Bulgaria sharply increased in close connection with political maneuvering by Rome, Aachen, and Constantinople (J.-M. Sansterre, *Byzantion* 52 [1982] 375-88; H.-D. Döpmann, *Die slawischen Sprachen* 5 [1987] 21-40). Boris's treaty with Louis the German in 862 provoked a campaign by Caesar BARDAS in 863/4 that compelled the Bulgarian ruler to reject a Frankish alliance and be baptized in exchange for Byz. recognition of Bulgarian settlement in Zagorje south of the Balkans (P. Petrov, *BBulg* 2 [1966] 41-52). One legend says that Boris received religious instruction from his sister, who had converted to Christianity while a captive in Constantinople; another relates how a Greek monk painted an icon of the Last Judgment that terrified Boris into being baptized (*TheophCont* 162.13-165.10). Patr. PHOTIOS baptized him in 864 (A. Vaillant, M. Lascaris, *RES* 13 [1933] 5-15) or perhaps 865/6 (S. Mihajlov, *BHR* 5.3 [1977] 63-71).

The conversion of Boris provoked a revolt by conservative Bulgarian nobles, which he cruelly suppressed. A letter from Photios in 865 to "the God-sent archon" Boris described the duties of a Christian ruler (*Photii Epistulae et Amphilochia*, ed. B. Laourdas, L. Westerink, vol. 1 [Leipzig 1983] 2-39). Byz. intentions to subordinate the Bulgarian church to Constantinople prompted Boris to

seek local control over ecclesiastical jurisdiction in 866 from Pope NICHOLAS I; the pope answered Boris's questions about the consequences of conversion for Bulgarian customs (see *RESPONSA NICOLAI PAPAE*) and indicated that he would send a bishop (R. Sullivan in *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History* 3 [1966] 53-139). Yet Hadrian II delayed in appointing a bishop, and in 869 Boris sent ambassadors to Basil I; their meeting was recorded by ANASTASIOS BIBLIOTHECARIUS (*Lib.Pont.* 2:182-84). In March 870 a church council placed Bulgaria under the patriarchate of Constantinople. Boris expelled Western missionaries from Bulgaria, and Patr. IGNATIOS appointed clerics to staff the Bulgarian church (V. Swoboda, *BBulg* 2 [1966] 67-81).

Boris was not hostile to Byz. but realized the dangers of hellenization posed by Constantinople's religious dominance. In 885/6 he welcomed the disciples of CONSTANTINE THE PHILOSOPHER and METHODIOS, including KLIMENT OF OHRID, who laid the foundation of a Slavic Christian culture in Bulgaria. Boris actively patronized the church: a later tradition reports that he built seven cathedrals (ed. A. Milev, *Grŭckite žitija na Kliment Ochridski* [Sofia 1966] ch.67). He built at least one court chapel at PLISKA. In 889 he retired to his monastic foundation of St. Panteleemon at PRESлав, but emerged temporarily in 893 to depose his son Vladimir, who favored a pro-Frankish alliance and reportedly persecuted Byz. clerics. A local church council that summer approved the accession of Boris's son SYMEON and officially adopted Church Slavonic for Bulgarian liturgical use.

LIT. Vlasto, *Entry* 158-68. V. Gjuzelev, *Knjaz Boris Pŭrvii* (Sofia 1969). Dujčev, *Medioevo* 3:63-75. Zlatarski, *Ist.* 1.2:1-277. —P.A.H.

BORIS II, tsar of Bulgaria (969-71); son of PETER OF BULGARIA and Maria (Irene) Lekapena; born probably Preslav ca.930, died near Ikhtiman? between ca.976 and 985. At their mother's death (ca.963), Boris and his brother Romanos went as hostages to Constantinople. Returning to Bulgaria perhaps as early as 967, Boris was recognized as tsar at Peter's death. Bulgaria was already involved in the struggle between SVJATOSLAV of Kiev and the Byz. On his second invasion, Svjatoslav took Preslav (969), apparently peacefully; Boris continued to rule. JOHN I TZIMISKES

captured Boris in Preslav (971, before Apr.). Once eastern Bulgaria was subdued, Boris was stripped of his crown, taken to Constantinople, and given the title *magistros*; Romanos was castrated. After the outbreak of the rebellion of the KOMETOPOULOI, Boris and Romanos escaped, but on his entry into Bulgaria in disguise Boris was slain by a Bulgarian guard. Romanos reached Vidin and served SAMUEL OF BULGARIA. According to an 11th-C. historian (Skyl. 346.64-69), he surrendered Skopje to Basil II (between 1002 and 1004).

LIT. P.K. Petrov, "Vosstanie Petra i Bojana v 976 g. i bor'ba Komitopulov s Vizantiej," *BBulg* 1 (1962) 121-44. A. Leroy-Molinghen, "Les fils de Pierre de Bulgarie et les Cométopoules," *Byzantion* 42 (1972) 405-19. —C.M.B.

BORIS AND GLEB, saints; baptismal names Roman and David; Boris died 24 July 1015 at L'to River, Gleb died 5 Sept. 1015 near Smolensk; feastday 24 July. Sons of VLADIMIR I, Boris and Gleb were murdered by their elder half-brother (or cousin) Svjatopolk and later widely venerated as martyrs. Several Byz. metropolitans of Kiev participated in translating the saints' relics at their shrine in Vyšhorod (north of Kiev): John I (before 1039), George (May 1072), and NIKEPHOROS I (2 May 1115). A 12th-C. MS attributes the saints' first office to "metropolitan John of Rus'," that is, John I or possibly JOHN II, leading to conjecture that the extant Slavonic text was originally composed in Greek; portions apparently stem from Byz. offices for Sts. Prokopios and Kyros and John (F. Keller, *Slavica Helvetica* 7 [1973] 65-74). The cult's many hagiographic works, including a vita by NESTOR of Kiev and the 1015 entry in the *POVEST' VREMENNYKH LET*, also draw heavily on Byz. literary traditions (F. von Lilienfeld, *BBA* 5 [1957] 237-71; L. Müller, *ZSlavPhil* 25 [1956] 329-63, 27 [1959] 274-322, 30 [1962] 14-44). So too the saints' depiction on seals, icons, frescoes, enamel jewelry, and pectoral crosses and in MS illuminations reflects Byz. artistic models. Armenian *synaxaria* of the 13th C. contain a vita often thought (probably incorrectly) to be translated from a lost Greek Life (Ya. Dachkevitch, *REArm* n.s. 11 [1975-76] 323-75). In 1200 ANTONY of Novgorod reported a church of Boris and Gleb in Constantinople (Janin, *Églises CP* 65) and their icon in Hagia Sophia.

SOURCES. D.I. Abramovič, *Žitija svjatykh mučenikov Borisa i Gleba i služby im* (Petrograd 1916), rp. with introd. L.

Müller, *Die altrussischen hagiographischen Erzählungen und liturgische Dichtungen über die heiligen Boris und Gleb* (Munich 1967). S.A. Buhoslavs'kyj, *Ukrajino-rus'ki pam'jatky XI-XVIII vv pro knjaziv Borysa ta Hliba* (Kiev 1928).

LIT. Poppe, *Christian Russia*, pt. VI (1981), 29-53. Podskalsky, *Rus'* 106-16. N. Ingham, "The Martyred Prince and the Question of Slavic Cultural Continuity in the Early Middle Ages," in *Medieval Russian Culture*, eds. H. Birnbaum, M. Flier (Berkeley 1984) 31-53. —P.A.H., S.C.F.

BORIS KALAMANOVIČ, general; born Kiev ca.1113, died near the Danube River ca.1155/6. Son of Kálmán, king of Hungary (1095-1116), and Euphemia, daughter of VLADIMIR MONOMACH, he was born after her repudiation by Kálmán. Between 1128 and 1130 Boris came to Constantinople, where he possibly married Anna Botaneiatina Doukaina Komnene (as a nun, Arete), a descendant of Isaac KOMNENOS and thus a cousin of John II (Barzos, *Genealogia* 2:33-43). As a pretender to the Hungarian throne, Boris was supported by several neighboring states. Around 1151, encouraged by Manuel I, he invaded Hungary. He was killed fighting Cumans south of the Danube. In Sept. 1157 the "kralaina" (i.e., the wife of the *kralj*) Arete Doukaina donated fields and *paroikoi* to the monastery of Hiera-Xerochoraphion (V. Laurent, *BZ* 65 [1972] 35-39). (See also KALAMANOS.)

LIT. Vasil'evskij, *Trudy* 4:79-91. S.P. Rozanov, "Evfimija Vladimirovna i Boris Kolomanovič," *Izvestia AN SSSR, otdelenie gumanitarnykh nauk* (1930) 649-71. M. Gumpłowicz, "Borys Kolomanovic, królewicz węgierski," *Przegląd historyczny* 2 (1906) 5-19. —C.M.B.

BORROWING, LINGUISTIC. Greek, like other languages, frequently borrowed foreign words for new objects or concepts. Where there was widespread bilingualism, whether regional or typical of a professional or other group (e.g., lawyers or soldiers), foreign words or expressions might also be used for convenience or prestige, even when a Greek equivalent existed. Up to the end of the 6th C. the principal source of loanwords was LATIN, the official language of the Roman Empire, and the main semantic fields involved were military affairs and public administration. Among early Greek loan words from Latin were *hospitium*, *membrana* or *membranon*, *armarion*, *fabrika*, *offikialios*, *aplikeuo*, *rogeuo*. Literary Greek avoided these Latin loan words, replacing them by Greek synonyms or by circumlocutions. After the 12th C.

most loanwords were from the Romance languages. Commercial and maritime terms were largely borrowed from Italian, terms of feudal law and administration from French; examples are *phroutzato*, *ph(l)iskina*, *kouberta*, *skouderes*, *printzes*, *phlamoulon*, *lizios*, *exomplion*, *kaballikeuo*, *tenta*. Turkish loan words, numerous in Greek from the mid-15th C., are rare in the Byz. period. Middle Persian, Proto-Bulgarian, Old Slavonic, Arabic, Khazar, Spanish, Catalan, Provençal, and Albanian also contributed occasional loanwords. To survive, loanwords had to be adapted to Greek phonological and morphological patterns. The gender of a loanword is often uncertain, and masculine or feminine words in Latin or Romance are often represented by neuter diminutives in Greek. Nouns were more easily borrowed than verbs. The frequency of borrowing from Latin led to the adoption of certain Latin suffixes, for example, *-arios*, *-arion*, *-ianos*, which were used to form derivatives from Greek stems. Romance suffixes such as *-ella*, *-ello*, *-inos* on the other hand, were scarcely used except in Romance loanwords; the principal exception is the Italian verbal suffix *-aro* (aorist *-arisa*), which became extremely productive in late medieval Greek.

LIT. M. Triantaphyllides, *Die Lehnwörter der mittelgriechischen Vulgärliteratur* (Strassburg 1909), rp. in his *Hapanta*, vol. 1 (Thessalonike 1963) 299–494. A. Buturas, *Ein Kapitel der historischen Grammatik der griechischen Sprache* (Leipzig 1910). Ziliacius, *Wellsprach*. F. Viscidi, *I prestiti latini nel greco antico e bizantino* (Padua 1944). H. & R. Kahane, A. Tietze, *The Lingua Franca in the Levant* (Urbana, Ill., 1958). N.G. Contossopoulos, *L'influence du français sur le grec* (Athens 1978). Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*. S. Daris, *Il lessico latino nel greco d'Egitto* (Barcelona 1971). —R.B.

BOSNIA (Βόσ[θ]να), part of the Roman province of DALMATIA. Excavations in the territory of Bosnia (D. Basler, *Arhitektura kasnoantičkog doba u Bosni i Hercegovini* [Sarajevo 1972]) have shown that urban life and building activity survived there during late antiquity. The Slav invasion coincided with the ruralization of the area, even though the newcomers often settled in old church buildings or fortresses (N. Miletić, *Balkanoslavica* 1 [1972] 121–27). The name Bosnia (probably of Illyrian origin) first appears in the 10th C. in Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos (*De adm. imp.* 32.151) as “Bosona”; according to Constantine, Bosona was a territory (*chorion*) parallel to “baptized Serbia” and included two *kastra*—Katera and Desnik. Traditional interpretation of this passage (e.g., B.

Ferjančić in *VizIzvori* 2:59, n.202), that is, that Constantine envisaged Bosona as a part of Serbia, contradicts the Greek text. A 12th-C. Byz. historian (Kinn. 131.22–23) considered Bosnia part of Croatia and contrasted it (p.104.8–10) with the land of the *archizoupan* (prince) of the Serbs. Later tradition ascribed to Basil II the conquest of “all Bulgaria, Raška and Bosnia” (Ferluga, *Byzantium* 201).

In the 12th C. Byz. claimed that the Croatian and “Bosnaios” acknowledged their allegiance to the emperor (Browning, *Studies*, pt.IV [1961], 203.568–69), and Manuel I Komnenos accepted the epithet “ruler of Bosnia” in his titulature (*Reg* 2, no.1469). At the end of the 12th C. the king of Hungary became the lord of Bosnia, but Kulin, the *ban* (prince) of Bosnia, managed to find support from Pope INNOCENT III ca.1203. Bosnia reached its peak in the 14th C. under King Tvrtko (died 1391), who in 1377 assumed the title “King of Serbia” and in 1389 participated in the battle at Kosovo POLJE. The teaching of the BOGOMILS penetrated to Bosnia no later than the 12th C. and became the official creed of the land.

LIT. V. Ćorović, *Historija Bosne*, vol. 1 (Belgrade 1940). S. Ćirković, *Istorija srednjovekovne Bosanske države* (Belgrade 1964). J.V.A. Fine, *The Bosnian Church: A New Interpretation* (New York 1975). —A.K.

BOSPOROS (Βόσπορος, Turk. Boğaziçi), the strait linking the Black Sea with the Propontis, usually called Stenon by the Byz. It is 28.5 km long (in a straight line) and barely 660 m wide at its narrowest. Both shores were studded with small settlements; the more important are listed below.

The European Side (south to north). Argyropolis was the area to the east of GALATA.

St. Mamas (corresponding to Turk. Dolmabahçe rather than Beşiktaş) included a harbor, built in 469, and an imperial villa equipped with a hippodrome. Leo I, Constantine V and VI, and Empress Irene occasionally resided there. The villa was burnt by Krum in 813 and robbed of its ornaments, but was soon rebuilt. Michael III, who used to race chariots there with his courtiers, was murdered there (867). The harbor sheltered the ships of Anastasios II in 715 and the Kibyrrhaiot fleet of Constantine V in 742. By the terms of the treaties of 907 and 945, the St. Mamas quarter was assigned as the compulsory dwelling place of visiting merchants from Rus' (J. Pargoire, *EO* 11 [1908] 203–10).

St. Phokas (Ortaköy) was the site of a palace built by the patrician Arsaber, brother of Patr. JOHN VII GRAMMATIKOS; Basil I transformed it into a monastery.

Hestiai or Michaelion (Arnautköy) was the site of a famous shrine of St. Michael, attributed to Constantine I, in which cures were effected by incubation.

Phoneus was the site of the castle of Rumelihisari, built by Mehmed II in 1452.

Anaplous or Sosthenion (Istinye) is a small natural bay next to which was another Church of St. Michael, transformed into an important monastery by Basil II. One mile inland stood the pillar of DANIEL THE STYLITE. Nearby was the Georgian monastery *ta Rhomanou*, founded in the 9th C.

The Asiatic Side (north to south). Hieron was a fortress. Not far from Hieron stood the monastery of St. John Prodromos tou PHOBEROU, residence of the painter LAZAROS who was persecuted under Emp. Theophilos.

Eirenaion (Çubuklu) was the site of the monastery of the AKOIMETOI, established soon after 430.

Ta Anthemiou (near Anadoluhisari), was the site of a monastery founded by Alexios MOSELE, son-in-law of Theophilos.

Sophianai (usually placed at Çengelköy), a palace built by Justin II and named after his wife Sophia, was the birthplace of Herakleios Constantine (612).

Bithynian CHRYSOPOLIS was a village, not a town. Its most famous Byz. feature was a lavish monastery built in 594 by Philippikos, brother-in-law of Maurice. Maximos the Confessor is claimed to have been its *hegoumenos*; so was the future patriarch PYRRHOS. The body of the murdered emperor Michael III was temporarily buried here in 867. The point south of the harbor of Chrysopolis was called Damalis (lit. “heifer”) after an antique statue of a cow. Manuel I had a palace there.

LIT. E. Oberhummer, *RE* 3 (1899) 741–57. J. Pargoire, “Anaple et Sosthène,” *IRAIK* 3 (1898) 60–97. Idem, “Les Saint-Mamas de Constantinople,” *IRAIK* 9 (1904) 261–316. Janin, *CP byz.* 468–89. Janin, *Églises centres* 5–29 (for Asiatic shore). S. Eyice, *Bizans devrinde Boğaziçi* (Istanbul 1976).

—C.M.

BOSPOROS, CIMMERIAN (Crimean), ancient name of the Straits of Kerč, the passage leading from the Black Sea to the AZOV SEA, as well as the name of the ancient city of Pantikapaion at

the extreme eastern tip of CRIMEA; until the end of the 4th C. Pantikapaion was the capital of the kingdom of Cimmerian Bosporos, an ally of Rome. Excavations give evidence of a slow decline in the 4th C.; local coins ceased to be issued in 336/7. Nonetheless, the site has yielded important LARGITIO DISHES and other 4th- and 5th-C. Byz. silver (*Iskusstvo Vizantii* 1, nos. 34, 35, 44, 48). Occupation by the Goths ca.370 aggravated the economic situation of the people of Bosporos. According to Gajdukevič (*infra* 498), ca.400 Bosporos occupied barely one-tenth of its former territory, yet it remained an important commercial center connected with lands as distant as Egypt and Syria. Christianity penetrated Bosporos in the 3rd C., and its bishops attended the ecumenical councils of 325 and 431.

Under Hunnic rule in the 5th C., Bosporos offered allegiance to the Byz. Empire ca.530; Justinian I tried to make it a center of resistance to the Huns. As early as 576 the Old Turks occupied Bosporos. From the 7th C.—when the main city received the name “Kerč”—until the 10th C. Bosporos was a province of the Khazar realm. It was governed by a *tarchan*, but the population remained in part Christian: in the 8th C. a large Church of John the Baptist was built in Bosporos. In the 11th C. it was a part of the Rus' principedom of TMUTOROKAN and received the name of Korčev. Archaeological excavation has revealed Byz. ceramics of the 10th and 11th C. Bosporos was probably under the direct control of Byz. in the 12th C. and can tentatively be identified as the port of RHOSIA (Rusiya), named in some Greek and Arab sources. After 1223 and before 1240 the Mongols became its suzerains. With the Mongols' permission, the Genoese soon established there a colony called Vosporo that, in 1332, was granted the rank of metropolis. Vosporo was conquered by the Ottomans in 1475.

LIT. V. Gajdukevič, *Das bosporanische Reich* (Berlin-Amsterdam 1971) 497–519. I. Kruglikova, *Bospor v pozdneantičnogoe vremja* (Moscow 1966). T. Makarova, “Srednevekovyj Korčev,” *KrSoobInstArch* 104 (1965) 70–76. G. Litavrin, “Novye svedeniya o Severnom Pričernomor'e (XII v.),” in *Feodal'naja Rossiya vo vseмирno-istoričeskom processe* (Moscow 1972) 237–42. N. Brunov, “Pamjatnik rannevizantijskoj architektury v Kerči,” *VizVrem* 25 (1927) 87–105. —O.P., A.C.

BOSTRA (Βόστρα, now Buşra [Bosra] in Syria), capital city and metropolitan bishopric of province of ARABIA and seat of its *doux*. TITUS OF

Bostra was bishop of the city in the 4th C. Bostra was an important trading center (in wine and grain) on the Via Trajana, esp. for caravans coming via Aila from Mecca. Extensive remains (civic, religious, and private) of the 4th–7th C. include ten inscriptions of Justinian I dated 539/40 and referring to the restoration of an aqueduct, wall construction, a Church of St. Job, and some unidentified buildings. Unusually large in scope, the extent of the construction seems to conflict with Prokopios's account of Justinianic work at Bostra, which is limited to a poorhouse (*ptocheion*; *Buildings* 5.9.22). Although the aisled-tetraconch Church of Sts. Sergios, Bakchos, and Leontios (R. Farioli in *Studien Deichmann* 1:133–42), finished in 512/13, has been called the cathedral of Bostra, the latter should perhaps be identified with an even larger church discovered in 1985, of which the nave is on a scale with that of Hagia Sophia, Constantinople (Dentzer, *infra* 138, fig.5). Theodore, the “bishop of Bostra (?)”, a companion of JACOB BARADAEUS and leader of the Monophysites of Arabia from the 540s, was not, apparently, resident in the city, whose list of known Chalcedonian bishops is extensive. Under the Arabs, Bostra was a prosperous pilgrimage stop between Damascus and Mecca.

LIT. M. Sartre, *Bostra: Des origines à l'Islam* (Paris 1985) 41, 99–139. Idem, *IGLSyr* 13 (1982). J.-M. Dentzer, “Bosra,” in *Contribution française à l'archéologie syrienne* (Damascus 1989) 133–41. —M.M.M.

BOTA (Βότα, from Lat. *vota publica*), a festival celebrated on 3 Jan., dating from 44 B.C. The Bota was celebrated in the traditional manner with sacrifices and public prayers at banquets and in the Hippodrome until the end of the 4th C., when Emps. Arkadios and Honorius proscribed the sacrifices. The Council in TRULLO forbade Christians to celebrate the Bota, probably because the sacrifices were still being performed (Trombley, “Trullo” 5). A variant of the Bota called the Foot-race Boton (*boton pezodromion*) existed in Constantinople in the 9th and 10th C. The Bota remained on the official calendar of court ceremonial until the time of Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos, though by then the ritual was entirely christianized. Memory of the Bota had died out by the time of Balsamon (12th C.), who, using a false etymology for Bota (he confused it with the Greek word for “grazing beasts”), speaks of it as

a festival of “the falsely named god Pan, the overseer, as the pagans blather, of beasts, cattle, and other animals” (Rhalles-Potles, *Syntagma* 2:450.11–15).

LIT. Koukoules, *Bios* 2.1:24f. I. Rochow, “Zu ‘heidnischen’ Bräuchen bei der Bevölkerung des byzantinischen Reiches im 7. Jahrhundert,” *Klio* 60 (1978) 487. —F.R.T.

BOTANEIATES (Βοτανειάτης), a noble lineage first mentioned in an inscription of 571 from the Synada region (G. Buckler, *Byzantion* 6 [1931] 405–10); Artemon Botaneiates, surnamed Kroubeles, was however from a place called Botania or Botane rather than a member of the family. ATTALEIATES praised the family's nobility and established an evidently forged pedigree from the Roman Fabii; in contrast, Psellos (*Chron.* 2:183, par.18.21–25) asserted that Michael VII elevated the family from a modest status to high rank. Other than Andrew Botaneiates, *spatharios* (?) and *anthypatos*, whose seal is dated tentatively to the 9th C., the Botaneiatas became prominent only in the 10th C. According to Attaleiates, Nikephoros Botaneiates was Basil II's *archistrategos*. GREGORY ABU'L-FARAJ preserves the (legendary?) information that Nikephoros “Votanik” was a peasant who attained high positions in Cyprus and Antioch, fell into disgrace, and ended in penury. His son Michael was also Basil II's general who served in Thessalonike and against Abchasia. Theophylaktos was governor of Thessalonike in the early 11th C. His son Michael participated in the battle of 1014 against the Bulgarians. With no reason Zlatarski (*Ist.* 1.2:732 and n.3) identified him with the first Michael, whose father was not Theophylaktos, but Nikephoros; the son of the first Michael was the emperor NIKEPHROS III BOTANEIATES. An unnamed grandson of Nikephoros III (Michael, according to P. Gautier, *REB* 27 [1969] 342) was betrothed to the daughter of Manuel Komnenos, Alexios I's brother. The relationship of other Botaneiatas to Nikephoros cannot be established; until the first half of the 12th C. they were military commanders (e.g., Eustratios, *strategos* of Byblos) and landowners, related to both Komnenoi and Doukai; the death of George Botaneiates was lamented by Prodrornos. By the end of the 12th C. their role declined: John Botaneiates served ca.1197 as *taboularios* on Crete. The later Botaneiatas (*PLP*, nos. 3001–03) held insignificant positions.

LIT. K. Amantos, “Hoi Botaniatai,” *Hellenika* 8 (1935) 48. A. Kazhdan, “Some Notes on the Byzantine Prosopography of the Ninth through the Twelfth Centuries,” *ByzF* 12 (1987) 67f. *Byz. Aristocracy* 254–66. M. Bartusis, “A Seal of Nikephoros Votanaiates,” *MN* 29 (1984) 135–41.

—A.K.

BOTANY. In Byz., botany was a sum of dispersed observations, mostly derived from ancient texts, rather than a discipline in its own right. Byz. botany stood in the context of a rich lore, standardized in Greco-Roman times by the widely circulated handbooks of Theophrastos, Cato, Varro, Columella, and Pliny the Elder. The 10th-C. GEOPONIKA compacts much data from earlier farmers' manuals, popular knowledge, and botanical tracts drawn from both Greek and Latin sources. Some botanical MSS seem to be dry lists of names and synonyms, but other texts indicate how Byz. botanists and herbalists improved on their predecessors' work. Study of Byz. scholia to DIOSKORIDES reveals observations taken directly from nature, and vivid proof of Byz. botanical art is in the illuminated SCIENTIFIC MANUSCRIPTS, particularly the Vienna Dioskorides. Later MSS also show detailed care, and Byz. texts of Dioskorides, NIKANDER, and similar authors suggest botanical skills throughout the Byz. millennium. The polymathic curiosity of PSELLOS encompassed botanical lore deemed extraordinary or marvelous, and Manuel PHILES displayed expert knowledge of gardening in several of his poems on domesticated plants. Botany explicated plants in AGRICULTURE, dietetics, the compounding of drugs for PHARMACOLOGY (J. Scarborough, *DOP* 38 [1984] 229–32), and occasionally in magical texts specifying herbs—for instance, the *Geoponika* and its sources, the *Properties of Foods* by Symeon SETH, and the scholia to Dioskorides.

SOURCES. Delatte, *AnecdAth* 2:273–454. *Textes grecs inédits relatifs aux plantes*, ed. M.H. Thomson (Paris 1955) 125–75. Idem, *Le jardin symbolique* (Paris 1960).

LIT. E.L. Greene, *Landmarks of Botanical History*, vol. 1 (Stanford, Calif., 1983) 426–33. J. Stannard, “Byzantine Botanical Lexicography,” *Episteme* 5 (1971) 168–87. Hunger, *Lit.* 2:271–76. —J.S.

BOTHROS (βόθρος, lit. “pit” or “ditch”), assessor or inspector for the sale of animals in Constantinople. They are mentioned only in the *Book of the Eparch* (ch.21) and in the *Tipoukeitos* referring to the *Book of the Eparch*. On the basis of the state-

ment in the *Tipoukeitos*, Sjuzumov (*Bk. of Eparch* 251) assumed that there had been a special decree of Leo VI on the *bothroi* that was included in the *Book of the Eparch* but in an incomplete form.

The *bothroi* operated in the Forum Amastrianum, where the horse market and evidently the market for other animals was held. These officials had to be registered with the office of the eparch and wear a badge with their individual number. Their main function was to examine the animals that were for sale and to declare their patent or latent defects; for this service they were paid one keration per animal. After the close of the market they bought the unsold animals. Their name originates from that activity, since they disposed of the leftover animals (i.e., removed them from the marketplace). The elder (*prosteteuon*) of the *bothroi* received from each member of the guild 12 folleis a year, either for the sponsorship of a liturgical procession (according to Sjuzumov) or for maintenance of the sewer (according to E.H. Freshfield, *Roman Law in the Later Roman Empire* [Cambridge 1938] 47). Among his other duties were the recovery of stolen animals and service as a judge or arbiter.

LIT. Stöckle, *Zünfte* 51–54.

—A.K.

BOUCICAUT (Jean II Le Meingre), French marshal; born Tours 1366, died England 1421. Boucicaut was a French soldier who participated in the Crusade of NIKOPOLIS (1396), was captured by the Turks, and subsequently ransomed. In 1399 Charles VI of France appointed him commander of a small expeditionary force of 1,200 men dispatched to relieve Constantinople, which was under Ottoman siege. He fought his way through the blockade of the Hellespont and joined MANUEL II in minor raids in the vicinity of the capital. Boucicaut soon realized that larger armies were needed and suggested that Manuel visit western Europe to seek military assistance. Boucicaut also negotiated a reconciliation between Manuel and his nephew JOHN VII, who served as regent during the emperor's absence. Departing from Constantinople in Dec. 1399, Boucicaut escorted Manuel as far as Venice and then preceded him to Paris. At first Charles VI promised to extend for one year the services of Boucicaut and his men to the Byz., but plans for a relief expedition fell through in 1401 when Boucicaut was

appointed governor of Genoa, a new French dependency. Manuel and Boucicaud met again near Modon (Methone) in 1403, and Boucicaud provided four Genoese galleys to transport Manuel on the final leg of his return to Constantinople.

LIT. Barker, *Manuel II* 162–71, 174, 189, 235–37. J. Delaville Le Roulx, *La France en Orient au XIV^e siècle: expéditions du Maréchal Boucicaud* (Paris 1886). —A.M.T.

BOUDONITZA (Βουδονίτζα, also Mountinitza, Lat. Bodoniza, and other forms), Latin marquisate in the area of Thermopylai; its name is of Slavic origin (Vasmer, *Slaven* 106, no.36). The pass of Thermopylai was fortified by Justinian I and then by Basil II, but there was no population center until the 13th C., when BONIFACE OF MONTFERRAT entrusted the region to an Italian adventurer Guido (Guy) Pallavicini, the first marquis (1204 to sometime after 1237). The castle on a hill was constructed on ancient foundations and controlled the pass of Thermopylai. Nearby was a monastery where Michael CHONIATES sought refuge after 1204. Originally under the authority of the prince of ACHAIA, the marquisate extended its territory as far north as Lamia and emerged as a major rival to Theodore Komnenos Doukas of Epiros. Later it fell under the control of the duke of Athens. It survived a Catalan attack in 1311 but in 1332 the region was plundered by the Turks. In the second half of the 14th C. Boudonitza prospered under the rule of Marquis Francesco, who was supported by the Venetians, but the Ottomans continued their attacks: in 1408 some of its inhabitants moved, with their livestock, to southern Euboea; the castle fell to the Turks on 20 June 1414.

Women ruled the marquisate on several occasions: Marchioness Isabella, Maria della Carceri, Guglielma Pallavicini. The Latin bishopric was a suffragan of Athens; a Greek notitia (*Notitiae CP* 13.458) also mentions a bishop of Mountinitza, who is probably distinct from the bishop of Bouditza known from the 10th C. onward (*Notitiae CP* 7.576).

Although the walls of the lower town are not well preserved, the 13th-C. fortress survives largely intact: an outer wall and an interior keep with a central tower. Within the walls are the remains of buildings and cisterns.

LIT. *TIB* 1:221f, 273–75. W. Miller, "The Marquisate of Boudonitza (1204–1414)," *JHS* 28 (1908) 234–49. A. Bon, "Forteresses médiévales de la Grèce centrale," *BCH* 61 (1937) 148–63. P.A. MacKay, "Procopius' *De Aedificiis* and the Topography of Thermopylae," *AJA* 67 (1963) 241–55. —T.E.G.

BOUKELLARIOI (βουκελλάριοι) were soldiers in the personal service of military and, occasionally, civil authorities from the beginning of the 5th C. onward (H.-J. Diesner, *Klio* 54 [1972] 321–24); the term *boukellarios* allegedly derives from the higher quality bread (Lat. *bucellatum*) they received. Drawn from all classes and many nationalities, these private retainers were chiefly concerned with their employer's security and the coercion (or elimination) of his rivals. They formed their commander's BODYGUARD while on campaign and were often assigned important tasks because of their superior equipment and fighting abilities. Many rose to prominence, including BELISARIOS, who later, as supreme commander, raised a force of 7,000 *boukellarioi* on which he relied heavily during his campaigns (Prokopios, *Wars* 7.1.18–20).

During the 6th C. the state recruited *boukellarioi* (usually through private citizens) as police and tax-collectors and for local defense; the case of Egypt is particularly well documented (J. Gasco, *BIFAO* 76 [1976] 143–56). Other terms denoting privately hired soldiers (*hypaspistai*, *spatharioi*) gradually replaced *boukellarioi*, which by the 7th C. had come to designate one of the élite units comprised in the OPSIKION field force.

LIT. Jones, *LRE* 666f. Haldon, *Praetorians* 101f, 210–27. —E.M.

BOUKELLARION (Βουκελλάριον), a THEME of central Asia Minor, detached from the OPSIKION in the 8th C. and named for the privately hired soldiers, BOUKELLARIOI. Its *strategos* is first attested in 767. Boukellarion comprised Galatia, Honorias, Paphlagonia, and parts of Phrygia and was commanded by a *strategos* with 8,000 troops and headquarters at ANKYRA; he was paid 30 pounds of gold. In the 9th C. Boukellarion included two towns and 13 fortresses. Circa 842 PAPHLAGONIA was detached; under Leo VI Boukellarion lost the region east of the Halys to CHARSIANON and its southern districts around the Salt Lake to CAP-

PADOCIA. The reduced theme subsisted into the 11th C.; the region was lost to the Turks after the battle of Mantzikert in 1071.

LIT. *TIB* 4:62–67.

—C.F.

BOUKOLEON (Βουκολέων, lit. "bull lion"), a quarter of Constantinople on the shore of the Sea of Marmara, south of the GREAT PALACE. It took its name from an ancient statue depicting colossal figures of a lion and a bull. It is not known when the statue was brought to the site; it survived the fall of Constantinople in 1453 and was described by western visitors in the 16th C. On the shore was a palace, or probably two palaces, one called the "palation of Leo Makellos," another the "house of Justinian." Their precise location has not yet been determined; the buildings probably adjoined the sea walls. The palace harbor, located in the same area, was called the *limen* of Boukoleon.

LIT. Guiland, *Topographie* 1:249–93. Janin, *CP byz.* 101, 120f, 234, 297f. —A.K.

BOULGAROPHYGON (Βουλγαρόφυγον), now Baba Eski, near Adrianople, a battlefield where SYMEON OF BULGARIA routed the Byz. army in 896. The war against Bulgaria had been stabilized after Symeon's first successes, thanks to the activity of Nikephoros PHOKAS and the employment of Hungarian contingents. Then, however, Stylianos ZAOUTZES, fearful of Nikephoros's influence, managed to replace him with Leo Katakalon, who allowed Symeon to defeat the Hungarians with the help of the PECHENEGS; thus when Katakalon met Symeon at Boulgarophygon, the rear of the Bulgarian army was no longer threatened. Symeon won the battle, Katakalon barely escaped, and his lieutenant, the *protovestiaros* Theodosios, was killed. AL-TABARI preserves the story that LEO VI, in despair, ordered the arming of Arab captives to be sent against Symeon, but the Bulgarian prince did not wait for a new confrontation and signed a treaty: he returned to Byz. 30 strongholds seized in the theme of Dyrrachion, whereas Byz. was obliged to pay an annual tribute. R. Nasledova suggests that the peace treaty was signed only in 904, after LEO OF TRIPOLI attacked Thessalonike (*Dve vizantijskie chroniki X veka* [Moscow 1959] 221f). Whether Symeon marched against

Constantinople before or immediately after the battle at Boulgarophygon remains unclear.

LIT. R. Abicht, "Der Angriff der Bulgaren auf Constantinopel im Jahre 896 n. Chr.," *Archiv für slavische Philologie* 17 (1895) 477–82. G.T. Kolias, "He para to Boulgarophygon mache kai he dethen poliorkia tes Konstantinoupoleos (896)," *Archeion tou Thrakikou Laographikou kai Glossikou Thesaurou* 7 (1940–41) 341–62. —A.K.

BOULLOTERION. See SEALING IMPLEMENTS.

BOULLOTES (βουλλωτής), an assistant of the EPARCH mentioned in the *Kletorologion* of Philotheos. The *Book of the Eparch* imposed corporal punishment on a silk weaver who prevented a *boullotes* or *mitotes* from entering his workshop. Both officials evidently performed the function of inspector, controlling the quality of products and certifying quality by affixing a seal (*boulla*).

LIT. Stöckle, *Zünfte* 93. G. Spyridakes, "To ergon tou mitotou kata to Eparchikon Biblion Leontos tou Sophou," in *Mélanges O. et M. Merlier*, vol. 2 (Athens 1956) 417–23. —A.K.

BOURTZES (Βούρτζης, fem. Βούρτζαινα), a lineage of military aristocracy probably originating from the Euphrates region. The name could derive either from Arabic *burj*, "tower," or from the toponym Bourtzo-Soterioupolis (near Trebizond). They were considered Armenians by P. Charanis, Arabs by V. Laurent (see Kazhdan, *infra*). The family first appears in the second half of the 10th C. Michael BOURTZES was *doux* of Antioch under Nikephoros II Phokas; he supported the rebel Bardas SKLEROS but later went over to Basil II; he was again governor of Antioch ca.990–96. Three of Michael's descendants—the brothers Michael, Theognostos, and Samuel—were involved in a plot against Constantine VIII, who blinded Constantine Bourtzes, Michael's son, in 1025/6. To the same time should be dated a case of *Peira* (60.1): a certain Bourtzes bequeathed his land to his three sons, one of whom became rebellious and forfeited his estates. Nonetheless the family was among the noblest of the mid-11th C.: an 11th-C. historian (Skyl. 488.63–66) calls a Bourtzes (along with Skleros, Botaneiates, and Argyros) a most influential *archon* of the Anatolikon theme. Samuel Bourtzes commanded the

infantry in 1050; Michael Bourtzes was a military commander during the reign of Michael VI; and Theognostos was *strategos* of Devol in the 1070s. Under Alexios I a certain Bourtzes became *toparches* of Cappadocia and Choma. In the early 12th C. several members of the family possessed lands next to Mt. Athos; a forged chrysobull of Emp. John V (*Kastam.*, p.84.11) mentions the church of "our holy father Nicholas surnamed Bourtzes." The family was closely related to the MELISSENOI. From the 12th C. the family's position declined; they appear in the provinces: for example, Constantine, an official on Crete in 1117/18 (MM 6:96.29–30), and George, metropolitan of Athens (died 1160—J. Darrouzès, *REB* 20 [1962] 190). John TZETZES wrote to an unknown Bourtzes. The name is very infrequent in later texts (*PLP*, nos. 3110–11).

LIT. Cheynet-Vannier, *Études* 15–55. Kazhdan, *Arm.* 85–88. —A.K.

BOURTZES, MICHAEL, general (died after 996). In 968 NIKEPHOROS II PHOKAS bestowed upon him the title of *patrikios* and appointed him *strategos* of the Black Mountain, with the special task of watching ANTIOCH. Disobeying imperial orders, Bourtzes and the eunuch Peter (former slave of a Phokas) attacked Antioch and in late 969 took it from the Arabs. Bourtzes, however, was not rewarded for his success; this injustice incited his support of JOHN (I) TZIMISKES, whom Bourtzes helped to murder Nikephoros II. BASIL II appointed Bourtzes *doux* of Antioch, and, with Peter, Bourtzes participated in the battle of LAPARA in 976 against Bardas SKLEROS; Bourtzes was, however, the first to take flight. Soon after this defeat he deserted to Skleros and fought against the emperor, but was again defeated. Skylitzes (Skyl. 321.58–59) stresses that those who fell at this battle were primarily Armenians. Soon Bourtzes joined Basil II's army and together with Bardas PHOKAS fought against Skleros. In 990–96 he served again as governor of Antioch.

LIT. V. Laurent, "La chronologie des gouverneurs d'Antioche sous la seconde domination byzantine," *Mél-UnivJus* 38 (1962) 229–34. —A.K.

BOUTHROTON (*Βουθρωτόν*, mod. Butrinti in Albania), located on the mainland opposite KERKYRA, in late antiquity a city of Old Epiros (Hierokl.

652.4); it was a suffragan bishopric (attested from the mid-5th C.) of NIKOPOLIS, later of NAUPAKTOS. It was probably ruralized thereafter: ARSENIOS, metropolitan of Kerkyra, praised its richness in fish and oysters, as well as the fertility of its territory. In the 12th C. al-Iḍrīsī described Bouthroton as a small town with markets. In 1081 and 1084 Bouthroton was captured by the Normans. After 1204 it was first controlled by the despotate of Epiros, but from the mid-13th C. Bouthroton was contested between MANFRED OF SICILY, Michael VIII, and CHARLES I OF ANJOU, being temporarily returned to the Epirots. In 1386 it was ceded to Venice.

The surviving fortifications of Bouthroton are mainly post-Byz., but they contain masonry from as early as the 10th C. Remains of several Early Christian basilicas and a triconch building have been found; east of the ancient theater is an elaborate baptistery renovated in the 6th C., with mosaics probably of the 4th C. On the acropolis are ruins of a large three-aisled basilica with transept, probably constructed in the 5th–6th C., rebuilt in the 11th–12th C. In the northeast corner of the walls are remains of a small single-aisled church, probably of the 13th–14th C.

LIT. *TIB* 3:132–34. D. Pallas, *RBK* 2:232–35. L.M. Ugolini, *Albania Antica* 3 (Rome 1942). A. Ducellier, "Observations sur quelques monuments d'Albanie," *RA* (1965) 184–88. C. Asdracha, "Deux actes inédits concernant l'Épire," *REB* 35 (1977) 160–65. —T.E.G.

BOUTOUMITES (*Βουτουμίτης*), a family name of unclear origin: Ja. Ljubarskij (in *Anna Komnina, Aleksia* [Moscow 1965] 524, n.688) derives it from the toponym Boutoma-Budva in Serbia. A certain Boutoumites (died 1077), presumably a local landowner, was a donor to the pious institution of Michael ATTALEIATES (P. Gautier, *REB* 39 [1981] 127.171). In the 1070s Michael Boutoumites was in charge of the private militia of Michael MAUREX in Herakleia Pontike (Bryen. 199.8–10). His later contemporary, Manuel Boutoumites, was a "warlike and noble man," according to Anna Komnene (An.Komn. 2:160.25–26); he was *doux* of the fleet ca.1090, *doux* of Nicaea after its recapture in 1097, commander in Cilicia in 1105, and envoy to Jerusalem in 1111/12. He may have been governor of Cyprus, as Laurent suggested (*Coll. Orghidan*, p.215). The family eventually lost its status, but a certain Boutoumites

(*sic*) is known as a *kephale* in a Thessalian town in the early 14th C. (*PLP*, no.3128). —A.K.

BRABEION (*βραβεῖον*), properly "prize" or "reward," the term used in the *Kletorologion* of PHILOTHEOS to designate INSIGNIA by which a DIGNITY was conferred upon its holder. It might take the form of a crown without cross (given to the caesar), tunics, ivory tablets, gold chains, special diplomata, etc.

LIT. Bury, *Adm. System* 22.

—A.K.

BRACELET (*βραχιάλιον* or *βραχιόλιον*, lit. "armband," *κλάνιον*). Said in Justinian's *Digest* (34.2.25.10) to be worn by women, a bracelet is often shown in depictions of jewelry as part of a matching set, together with earrings, necklace, and belt. No such complete sets have survived, however. Bracelets preserved in collections are usually of gold and silver, although examples in ivory are also known. Specimens excavated usually from graves are more often bronze with traces of gilding, or simple GLASS bangles. These generally seem to be locally produced, although specimens found in Kiev were imported from Byz. (Ju. Ščapova, *Steklo Kievskoj Rusi* [Moscow 1972] 107–13). The Roman form of a plain ring made of twisted gold or silver wires continued until the 4th C. In the 4th–5th C., gemstones were added and OPUS INTERRASILE was used. In the 5th–6th C., tubular hoops had low relief decorative and figural elements. In the 6th–7th C. the form became more complex, with medallions or coins, modeled animal forms, and GEMS in decorative claw settings added. In the 7th–11th C. wide bands with relief figures and sometimes Christian iconography predominate. These bracelets are fairly heavy, with hinged fasteners, as opposed to the ring types that slip over the hand or incomplete rings that relied on the metal's flexibility. Examples of less elaborate bracelets from the 7th–11th C. tend to be narrower, not hinged, and with punched decoration.

LIT. C. Lepage, "Les bracelets de luxe romains et byzantins du IIe au VIe siècle," *CahArch* 21 (1971) 17–23.

—S.D.C., A.C.

BRACHAMIOS (*Βραχάμιος*, fem. *Βραχαμήνα*, *Βραχαμίνα*), noble family with a name of Armenian origin, meaning "descendant of Vahram."

The family flourished in the mid-10th C. when the Arab poet Abu Firās mentioned "the family of Bahrām" among Byz. fighting against the Arabs (N. Adontz, M. Canard, *Byzantion* 11 [1936] 454, v.11). Sachakios (Arm. Sahak, Ishāq ibn Bahrām of Arabic sources) was a general by 969 and later supported the revolt of Bardas SKLEROS. Eleventh-century seals attest several *strategoī* named Brachamios (George, Demetrios, Michael) as well as Kale Brachamina, wife of a *strategos*, and Elpidios, *doux* of Cyprus.

Philaretos Brachamios (Varazhnuni), Romanos IV's *strategos*, *doux* and, according to Anna Komnene (An.Komn. 2:64.5–8), *domestikos*, was—if we believe MICHAEL I THE SYRIAN (*Chronique*, tr. Chabot 3:173)—an Armenian robber from the village of Shurbaz; thus his identification as a Byz. general is questionable. After Romanos IV's blinding, Philaretos became independent ruler of Tarsos, Antioch, Edessa, Melitene, and some other eastern centers. Greek, Syriac, and Armenian traditions all charge Philaretos with cruelty and greed: he allegedly confiscated the riches of Antiochene magnates and distributed them among his supporters. After Nikephoros III's accession to the throne, Philaretos acknowledged his allegiance to the Byz. and was proclaimed *kouropalates* and *domestikos ton scholon* of the East; in 1084 he surrendered Antioch to the Turks. He disappeared thereafter from the scene, but an anonymous Syriac chronicle mentions the sons of Philaretos *domestikos*, "Christians" (i.e., Orthodox) who ruled over Maraş and Black Mountain (A.S. Tritton, H.A.R. Gibb, *JRAS* [Jan. 1933] 72f). The family is not known after the 11th C., except in 1171 when Brachamioi served as messengers in negotiations between Manuel I and the Armenians.

LIT. Cheynet-Vannier, *Études* 57–74. Adontz, *Études* 147–52. V.A. Arutjunova-Fidanjan, *Armjane-chalkidonity na vos-točnych granicah Vizantijskoj imperii* (Erevan 1980) 152–69. C.J. Yarnley, "Philaretos: Armenian Bandit or Byzantine General?" *REArm* n.s. 9 (1972) 331–53. —A.K.

BRAD. See KAPER BARADA.

BRANAS (*Βρανάς*, fem. *Βράνανα*), a noble lineage, its name apparently of Slavic origin (I. Dujčev, *IzvInstBŭlgIst* 6 [1956] 348, n.3), although S. Lampros considered it Albanian and Ph. Koukoules Latino-Greek. In Serbia the name of Branos (*Vran*,

lit. "raven") is known in the 10th C. (*De adm. imp.* 32.67). Members of the Branas family appear in Byz. sources from the 11th C., primarily as military commanders: in 1047 Marianos Branas was the closest supporter of Leo TORNIKIOS; Nicholas, Alexios I's general, fell in battle against the Pechenegs in 1086; George and his brother Demetrios were Manuel I's generals; Michael, governor of Niš in 1147, commanded an army on Cyprus in 1156, was *strategos* of Cilicia, and in 1166 unsuccessfully campaigned against the Hungarians. Alexios Branas revolted against Isaac II (see BRANAS, ALEXIOS); his contemporary John was governor of Dyrrachion in 1185. Alexios's son Theodore, commander of the Alans, supported Alexios III's rebellion in 1195; after 1204 Theodore, married to AGNES OF FRANCE, became a vassal of the Latin Empire, as the lord of Didymoteichon and Adrianople. The Branas family was related to both Komnenoi and Angeloi; the PARTITIO ROMANIAE mentions their large estates. In the 13th C. the Branas family possessed properties in the Smyrna region (Ahrweiler, "Smyrne" 168f). The family intermarried with other noble families such as Palaiologos and Petraliphas. In 1259 Irene Brannaina married the *sebastokrator* Constantine PALAIOLOGOS, and ca.1300 several members of the Branas family proudly called themselves the emperor's *douloi* and *oikeioi*: Theodore in 1281–85, Michael in 1281–1302 (?) (both also surnamed Komnenoi), another Theodore in 1329–30; no evidence of their holding any offices exists, however (*PLP*, nos. 3149–51, 3153–82). On the other hand, some family members in this period were clerics and intellectuals: a Theodore Branas, scribe ca.1303, and another Branas, astronomer ca.1307. John Branas, commandant of Beograd in 1440, was of Croatian origin and did not belong to the Byz. Branas family. —A.K.

BRANAS, ALEXIOS, *sebastos* ca.1166, general of Alexios II; partisan of Andronikos I; died Constantinople 1187. In a seal attributed to him (Laurent, *Méd. Vat.*, no.64), Branas is called *protosebastos* and his mother described as a Komnene; the continuator of William of Tyre named him "cosin de l'empereor Manuel" (*PL* 201:899C). In 1185 Branas routed the Normans, who had captured Thessalonike and were moving toward Constan-

tinople; soon after, perhaps in 1186 (Dujčev, *Medioevo* 1:346f), but more probably in 1187, Branas revolted against Isaac II but was defeated by CONRAD OF MONTFERRAT and killed in battle at the walls of Constantinople. M. Sjuzumov (*VizVrem* 12 [1957] 69–72), emphasizing that the inhabitants of suburban Constantinople, esp. fishermen, supported Branas's rebellion, suggests that his defeat was a factor in the ruin of Constantinople's trade and handicrafts.

LIT. Dieten, *Erläuterungen* 73–77. Brand, *Byzantium* 80–83, 273f. —A.K.

BRANIČEVO (Браничѐво), a fortress and bishopric on the river Pek, a right tributary of the Danube, not far from the site of Roman Viminacium, which was deserted soon after 600 (B. Saria, *RE* 2.R. 8 [1958] 2176f). Near Viminacium, remains of fortifications (probably of Justinian I's time) were discovered: walls, towers, and an underground passage, 21 m long and 1.6–1.8 m high, that led to the river (M. Pindić in *Limes u Jugoslaviji*, vol. 1 [Belgrade 1961] 127).

Basil II's list of sees in the Bulgarian archbishopric of OHRID (H. Gelzer, *BZ* 2 [1893] 43.17) places the bishopric of Branitza between Niš and Belgrade. Braničevo was a station on the strategic road from Belgrade to Niš, en route to Constantinople (G. Škrivanić, *Putevi u srednjovekovnoj Srbiji* [Belgrade 1974] 83f). In the 12th C. the city belonged to the *doukaton* of Braničevo and Belgrade and was a focal point in the Byz.-Hungarian conflict. During the war of 1127–29, the Hungarians razed Braničevo; the Byz. restored and colonized it in 1166. In 1182, while Constantinople was distracted by domestic strife, BÉLA III temporarily occupied Braničevo (Gy. Moravcsik, *Studia Byzantina* [Budapest 1967] 309) but returned it to Byz. as his daughter's dowry. The empire, however, was unable to retain the stronghold after about 1198; from the end of the 12th C., it was an object of contention between the Bulgarians, Serbs, and Hungarians. The Serbian prince Lazar took Braničevo in 1378/9, and the Turks conquered it in 1459.

LIT. M. Dinić, *Braničevo u srednjem veku* (Požarevac 1958). M. Popović, V. Ivanišević, "Grad Braničevo u srednjem veku," *Starinar* 39 (1988) 125–79. J. Kalić in *VizIzvori* 4:13, n.17. S. Novaković, "Ohridska arhiepiskopija u početku XI veka," *GlasSAN* 46 (1908) 36. —I.Dj., A.K.

BREAD (ἄρτος, also ψωμίον in papyri [Preisigke, *Wörterbuch* 2:774] and narrative texts [e.g., PG 65:196C]) was the basic food in the popular DIET. It was produced from WHEAT, BARLEY, and infrequently millet; rye and oats were deemed unsuitable for baking. Wheat loaves were considered the finest, barley bread of lower quality. A 13th-C. historian (Akrop. 1:123.7–9) writes of bread made from barley and bran (which a man of his status could barely swallow) as typical of peasant food. Bread was made either at home or by professional BAKERS. ATHANASIOS OF ATHOS reportedly invented a device powered by oxen to mix the dough. Bread was produced in the form of loaves, sometimes flat ones; soldiers on campaign ate *paximadion*, bread baked twice and dried in the sun (T. Kolias in *Byzantios* 197–99). Bread was baked in furnaces or special ovens; in peasant households loaves might be baked in ashes, as Gregoras (Greg. 1:379.6–8) complains.

The daily bread consumption in the late Roman Empire was 3 to 6 pounds, according to Patlagean (*Pauvreté* 46, 52); by the 11th–12th C. the average daily ration was reduced to 1.5 pounds, probably due to the loss of the grain-producing areas of Egypt and North Africa (A. Kazhdan, *ByzF* 8 [1982] 118). In the 10th–11th C. the price of bread was 1 nomisma for 8–18 *modioi*; according to G. Ostrogorsky (*BZ* 32 [1932] 320–22) the price remained at the 4th-C. level. Byz. had periodical shortages in bread supply, and the state tried several times to introduce a MONOPOLY on the GRAIN trade and to regulate bread prices.

Constantine I transferred to Constantinople the Roman custom of distributing bread among the citizens. The first distribution took place on 18 May 332. The custom was abolished in 618, when the grain delivery from Egypt stopped. Despite this, the *Basilika* retained some imperial regulations concerning the *panis civilis*. The *Codex Theodosianus* (*Cod.Theod.* XIV) preserves 15 imperial ordinances of 364–408 that determine the right of citizens (house owners) to get the "state bread." It was baked in imperial bakeries (*pistrina publica*) and distributed from special high counters (*gradus*). Each person entitled to *panis civilis* had to be entered on a list and assigned to a particular *gradus*; these people were given special TOKENS.

Gradually, the church took over the bread dole, transforming it from a citizen's right into an act

of charity for the poor. The church had fed the poor long before 618 and retained this function after the state divested itself from the burden; the distribution of bread during a famine is a *topos* of many saints' lives.

Leavened bread as PROSPHORA (in contrast to the AZYMES of the West) was one of the two elements of the EUCHARIST, and accordingly played an important part in ecclesiastical symbolism (Christ as bread) and iconography.

LIT. Ph. Koukoules, "Onomata kai eide arton kata tous Byzantinous chronous," *EEBS* 5 (1928) 36–52. J.L. Teall, "The Grain Supply of the Byzantine Empire, 330–1025," *DOP* 13 (1959) 87–139. Rudakov, *Kultura* 89–92. B. Kübler, *RE* 18 (1949) 606–11. —Ap.K., A.K.

BREBION (βρέβιον, from Lat. *brevis*), a term known from the 4th C. onward that designated an INVENTORY or list of persons, offices, crafts, taxes, confiscated lands, etc. (O. Seeck, *RE* 3 [1899] 832). In the 10th C. properties of imperial monasteries were registered in the *brebia* of the SAKELLION (*Ivir.*, no.9.30, *Lavra* 1, no.33.39). In later acts (e.g., *Docheiar.*, no.58.5–6, *Dionys.*, no.19.27) "the sacred *brebion* of a monastery" meant the list of persons to be commemorated: in an act of 1364 the word is employed synonymously with *psychochartion* (*Xénoph.*, nos. 30.8, 35). On the other hand, the authors of monastic ΤΥΠΙΚΑ employed the term *brebion* for a document listing precious objects that belonged to the monastery. Michael Attaleiates used *brebion* to designate the appendix to his *diataxis* that listed new acquisitions of movable and immovable properties (P. Gautier, *REB* 39 [1981] 83.1078–79). According to the *typikon* of the Euergetis monastery (P. Gautier, *REB* 40 [1982] 17.54–59), its *brebion* (now lost) included an inventory of cells, books, vessels, icons, liturgical garments and fabrics; the *typikon* of the Kecharitomene nunnery (P. Gautier, *REB* 43 [1985] 133.2007–23) states that *typika* and *brebia* should be placed in the *skeuophylakia* of both the Great Church and the Kecharitomene. In Slavic languages the word *brevno* acquired the meaning of an inventory of lands (D. Angelov, *Agrarnite ot-nošenija v Severna i Sredna Makedonija prez XIV vek* [Sofia 1958] 12, n.3).

LIT. Kalavrezou, *Steatite* 73–79.

—A.K.

BRESCIA CASKET. See LIPSANOTHEK; RELIQUARY.

BREVIARIUM. See FESTUS.

BREVIARIUS (Lat. "summary"), a "brief," simple Latin guidebook to the holy sites of JERUSALEM composed as "publicity material" for Western pilgrims. Likely of early 6th-C. date, it survives in two independent traditions derived from a single original. Additions probably reflect annotations of various users. Seemingly written to be carried around the city's LOCA SANCTA, it gives numerous topographical indications and provides important evidence not only for the standard "Jerusalem tour" of the time, but also for structural details of such buildings as the Holy Sepulchre and the Golgotha Shrine, and for the existence and veneration of specific relics.

ED. R. Weber, "Breviarius de Hierosolyma," in *Itineraria et alia geographica* [= CChr. ser. lat. 175] (Turnhout 1965) 105–12.

LIT. Wilkinson, *Pilgrims* 4f, 182f, with Eng. tr. 59–61. —G.V.

BRICKS (sing. πλίνθος). The production of brick was highly developed in the Roman Empire and continued in Byz., where both baked and sun-dried mud bricks as well as TILES were used. Houses "built of brick" (sing. *plinthoktistos*) and roofed with tiles (*enkeramos*) are attested in documents (e.g., *Lavra* 2, no.102.7). Workshops for brick production are also mentioned, such as an *ergasterion* to make *keramoi* (bricks and/or tiles) in an act of 952 (*Lavra* 1, no.4.4). It is more difficult to decide whether the term *keramarion* (*Ivir*. 1, nos. 4.68, 12.14; *Xerop.*, no.9A.26) meant a brick factory or a water pipe made of tiles. Workers in brick and tiles were called *ostrakarion* and *keramopoioi*, and Constantine V is said (*Theoph.* 440.21–22) to have brought hundreds of them to Constantinople from Hellas and Thrace.

Bricks and tiles were often stamped with signs or inscriptions bearing names of craftsmen or emperors. Most Byz. brick stamps come from Constantinople and its environs—probably supplied from the same kilns—and from Thessalonike. The provinces (even Nicaea) have yielded few stamps, and in Dalmatia, for instance, late Roman bricks and tiles were produced without



BRICKS. The production of brick. Miniature in an Ocateuch manuscript (Vat. gr. 747, fol. 78v); 11th C. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

stamps (J. Wilkes in *Roman Brick and Tile* [Oxford 1979] 69f). Stamps from Constantinople are numerous for the late Roman period, but it is difficult to tell exactly when the practice of stamping bricks disappeared in the capital: there are stamps of the 10th–11th C., but probably no Palaiologan examples. On the other hand, stamped bricks and tiles of around the 10th C. are known from Cherson, the lower Danube, and Bulgaria.

The biblical *plintheia* was a metaphor for bondage and the sinful state from which baptism liberates man.

LIT. C. Mango, "Byzantine Brick Stamps," *AJA* 50 (1950) 19–27. S. Angelova, "Za proizvodstvoto na stroitelna keramika v Severnoiztočna Bŭlgarija prez rannoto srednovekovie," *Arheologija* 13.3 (1971) 3–24. A.L. Jakobson, *Rannesrednovekovij Chersones* (Moscow-Leningrad 1959) 316–21. P. Diaconu, "În legătură cu datarea olanelor cu semne în relief descoperite în așezările feudale timpurii din Dobrogea," *SCIV* 10 (1959) 491–97. K. Theodoridou, "Sym-

bole ste melete tes paragones oikodomikon keramikon proionton sta byzantina kai metabyzantina chronia," *DChAE* 13 (1985–86) 97–111. —A.K.

BRICKWORK TECHNIQUES AND PATTERNS. From the 5th C. onward, Byz. architecture depended heavily on BRICK as a structural and decorative material. The most common building techniques involving this material were (1) alternating bands of several courses of brick and stone (related to the Roman *opus vittatum*), used from the 5th to 14th C. in Constantinople and its vicinity and less consistently elsewhere; (2) solid brick construction, used sporadically in the 5th to 12th C.; (3) the recessed-brick technique, an all-brick construction method in which every alternate course was set back from the wall plane with the recess filled in with MORTAR, producing seemingly thick mortar joints. This was commonly employed in Constantinople and vicinity from the 11th C. onward; from Constantinople the technique was exported to areas under Byz. influence (e.g., Kiev, central Balkans). A fourth method, the cloisonné technique, involved framing individual stone ASHLARS with brick on all four sides; it was widespread in Greece and the Balkans from the 10th C. onward. These basic building techniques were often combined with decorative pat-

BRICKWORK TECHNIQUES AND PATTERNS. Recessed brick masonry; 11th C. Detail of the city walls of Nicaea.



terns, executed in brick, that were used to highlight architectural features (e.g., apses, domes, tympanums, eaves) and to conceal structural timbers imbedded within walls. Some of these ORNAMENTS appear as early as the 10th C., but most became popular in the 13th–14th C. The most typical were reticulate REVETMENTS; diaper and checkerboard patterns; dogtooth friezes; and chevron, herringbone, and meander patterns as well as inscriptions executed in brick or specially cut tiles. Following the Roman practice, Byz. bricks were occasionally stamped in the course of production. The general significance of Byz. brick stamps has not yet been properly understood (C. Mango, *AJA* 54 [1950] 19–27).

LIT. J.B. Ward Perkins in *Great Palace*, 2nd Report 52–104. A.H.S. Megaw, "Byzantine Reticulate Revetments," *Charisterion eis Anastasion K. Orlandon*, vol. 3 (Athens 1966) 10–22. A. Pasadaios, *Ho keramoplastikos diakosmos ton byzantinon klerion tes Konstantinoupoleos* (Athens 1973). P.L. Votopoulos, "The Concealed Course Technique," *JÖB* 28 (1979) 247–60. G.M. Velenis, *Hermeneia tou exoterikou diakosmou ste byzantine architektonike* (Thessalonike 1984).

—S.C.

BRIDE SHOWS are reported to have been organized on several occasions at the initiative of the empress-mother to select suitable wives for imperial princes. Commissioners were sent throughout the empire to find candidates who resembled an imperial ideal, which was enshrined in a picture (*lavraton*), and met specific measurements. Usually three candidates became finalists in this Byz. "Judgment of Paris," held in the imperial palace, when the young emperor-elect presented a golden apple or ring to his chosen lady. In 788 Empress IRENE persuaded CONSTANTINE VI to select Maria of Amnia, the granddaughter of PHILARETOS THE MERCIFUL; in 807 Theophano, already married and hurriedly divorced, was chosen for STAURAKIOS; in 830 THEOPHILOS encountered KASSIA and chose THEODORA; in 855 the same Theodora, as empress, imposed Eudokia of Dekapolis on MICHAEL III; and in 881 BASIL I selected pious THEOPHANO for his son LEO VI. An otherwise unattested bride show is recorded in the vita of St. IRENE OF CHRYSOBALANTON. It has been argued that bride shows, in contrast with the foreign marriage alliances of the 8th C., helped to bind powerful regional families to Constantinople. Recently, however, scholars such as P. Speck (*Kaiser Konstantin VI*, 1 [Mun-

ich 1978] 203–08) and L. Rydén (*Eranos* 83 [1985] 175–91) have cast doubts on the historicity of the bride show; Rydén suggests that it is a literary *topos* of the 9th or 10th C., which reappears in the 14th-C. romance of BELTHANDROS AND CHRYSANTZA. The custom of the bride show is also found in the medieval West and in 17th-C. Russia.

LIT. W.T. Treadgold, "The Bride-shows of the Byzantine Emperors," *Byzantion* 49 (1979) 395–413. Hunger, *Grundlagenforschung*, pt.XVII (1965), 150–58. —J.H.

BRIDGES (sing. γέφυρα). Crossing RIVERS, esp. those that were wide or had rapid currents, created difficulties for travelers and military expeditions. In cases of urgent necessity pontoon bridges (of boats bound together) were constructed; long logs laid over the boats provided flooring for the roadway (An.Komn. 2:137.17–19). In 636 Herakleios built this sort of bridge over the Bosphoros (Stratos, *Byzantium*, 2:139).

The Byz. inherited the technique of bridge con-

struction from the Romans. They erected bridges of stone, brick, and/or timber set in concrete; the arches rested on piers (the same technique as used for AQUEDUCTS). The bridge near Limyra in Lycia, 360 m long, consists of 28 arches and seems to be lower than regular Roman bridges (W. Wurster, J. Ganzert, *AA* [1978] 288–304). The approach to bridges was sometimes fortified with towers. During the late Roman period several grandiose projects were executed: the bridge over the Danube constructed by Constantine I between Oescus and SUCIDAVA was 2,437 m long. Many bridges are named in the TABULA PEUTINGERIANA. Prokopios mentions some bridges built by Justinian I; that over the Sangarios is still standing. Later sources mention various bridges (Zompe over the river Sangarios, one near Kosmidion, a bridge in Adrianople passing over three streams, etc.) as well as smaller *gephyria* (*Lavra* 3, no.146.40); it is, however, not clear which of these bridges were actually of Roman construction. Bridgelike con-

traptions were used to assault the walls of besieged towns (e.g., An.Komn. 1:153.20–22; Nik.Chon. 623.61–62). A special tax called *gephyrosis* was imposed in the 11th C. (*Lavra* 1, nos. 38.38, 48.36) for the maintenance and repair of bridges. In the 12th C. the Kosmosoteira monastery (see BERA) was obliged to maintain two local stone bridges; in this connection the *typikon* of Kosmosoteira stresses that bridges are useful to many people.

In Christian metaphor *gephyra* served as an epithet for any person, action, or institution bridging this world and heaven: for example, the Mother of God (e.g., pseudo-Sophronios, PG 87.3:3968C), Christ's descent into Hell, John's baptism, and prayer.

LIT. H. Hellenkemper, *LMA* 2:730f. P. Gazzola, *Ponti romani*, vol. 2 (Florence 1963). D. Tudor, *Les ponts romains du Bas-Danube* (Bucharest 1974) 135–70. Kazhdan, "Iz ekonomičeskoj žizni," 178, n.48. T. Totev, "Novootkrit most na Tiča vŭv Vŭrbičkija prochod," *Arheologija* 11 (1969), no.4, 25–28. M. Whitby, "Justinian's Bridge over the Sangarios and the Date of Procopius' *De Aedificiis*," *JHS* 105 (1985) 129–48. —A.K.

BRIGANDAGE (ληστεία), ROBBERY carried out usually by members of lawless bands, often accompanied class struggle and military operations; Bartusis (*infra*) hypothesized that in the 14th C. brigands were primarily soldiers. Revolts of military contingents, such as the CATALAN GRAND COMPANY, often led to looting, arson, RAPE, and so forth, as did urban riots and political upheavals, as for instance Alexios I Komnenos's capture of Constantinople in 1081. Feuds of local lords (e.g., those described in the PEIRA) led to grave damage of peasants' property. In turn, brigandage could be used by peasants for self-defense in their struggle with the DYNASTOI for land; in some cases the peasants were supported by ethnic groups (the Vlachs, Cumans, etc.) settled in the area. Byz. historical tradition described other ethnic groups (e.g., the Isaurians) as particularly inclined toward brigandage, but such statements were often exaggerated. The poeticized image of the brigand (APELATES) penetrated into folklore and thence into the epic of DIGENES AKRITAS, who was described as victorious over the *apelatai*. Church fathers and hagiographers equated brigands with demons (G.J.M. Bartelink, *VigChr* 21 [1967] 12–24), but at the same time hagiography described some reformed robbers as living in extreme piety.

PIRACY, another form of brigandage, was a real scourge for maritime commerce and the inhabitants of coastal areas.

LIT. F.M. de Robertis, "Interdizione dell' 'usus equorum' e lotta al banditismo in alcune costituzioni dell' Basso impero," *Studia et documenta historiae et iuris* 40 (1974) 67–98. M. Bartusis, "Brigandage in the Late Byzantine Empire," *Byzantion* 51 (1981) 386–409. —A.K.

BRINDISI (Βρεντήσιον), city in southern APULIA with a splendid harbor; terminus of the ancient Via Appia, a primary point of departure for the East, and a center of trade with Dalmatia and the eastern Mediterranean. During the war against Totila in the mid-6th C., the Byz. general John (nephew of Vitalian) conquered Brindisi and used it as a center of operations in southern Italy. The Lombards took Brindisi in the second half of the 7th C.; it formed the southernmost point of the duchy of BENEVENTO. Brindisi suffered from Arab attacks and was destroyed in 838. At the end of the 10th C. Byz. reestablished its administration in Brindisi and ca.1000 the patriarch of Constantinople elevated it to an archbishopric.

The Norman Robert Guiscard occupied Brindisi in 1071, but the Byz. continued trying to recapture it until the 1150s. Brindisi was the port of departure for Norman expeditions against Byz. and for the Crusades. The church of Brindisi was under the patronage of the papacy—in 1089 Pope Urban II dedicated the city's cathedral—but the Greek rite and Orthodox communities remained in the city, as did the Jews. Brindisi was a primary center for the manufacture of PROTO-MAIOLICA pottery.

LIT. P. de Leo, *LMA* 2:693f. A. de Leo, *Dell' origine del rito greco nella chiesa di Brindisi* (Brindisi 1974). I. Dujčev, "Un brindisino ambasciatore in Bulgaria all' inizio del 1200," *Familiare* '82 (Brindisi 1982) 105–11. —A.K.

BRINGAS, JOSEPH, high official under CONSTANTINE VII and ROMANOS II; died 965 in monastery of the Asekretis, in Pythia (Bithynia). Eunuch, *patrikios*, and *praepositus*, Bringas (Βρίγγας) was promoted by Constantine to the posts of *sakellarios* and *droungarios* of the fleet (*TheophCont* 445.6–10); as *parakoimomenos* he administered the empire under Romanos. An adversary of the military aristocracy, he quashed the scheme of the nobles to give the throne to the *magistros* Basil

BRIDGES. Justinianic bridge. Built over the Sangarios River in Bithynia; 6th C.



Peteinos (Skyl. 25of) and zealously opposed Nikephoros (II) Phokas. Romanos left Bringas at the head of the state (15 Mar.–15 Aug. 963), but Theophano sided with Nikephoros Phokas, and Basil the Nothos supported their alliance. Nikephoros pretended to obey orders and left Constantinople to join his army, but his soldiers proclaimed him emperor (2 July 963) and he marched against the capital. An addition to *De cer.* (p.435–37) described in detail the battle for Constantinople. The population of the capital supported the military aristocracy and defended Bardas Phokas, who sought asylum in Hagia Sophia; at the same time Bringas gained the assistance of the influential guild of BAKERS who stopped selling bread in order to compel the poor to cease their resistance (9 Aug. 963). At this time Basil the Nothos armed 3,000 servants and sent them to pillage the houses of Bringas's partisans; he also ordered warships to sail to Abydos and join Nikephoros. Bringas had no choice but to surrender. Nikephoros entered the capital and banished Bringas to Paphlagonia and subsequently to the monastery of the Asekretis near Nikomedeia (Janin, *Églises centres* 86).

LIT. Guillard, *Institutions* 1:183f. Kazhdan, *Derevnja i gorod* 388–95. Schlumberger, *Phocas* 258–97. —A.K.

BRONTOLOGION (*βροντολόγιον*), a manual on DIVINATION by thunder. The Byz. attributed their *brontologia* to famous figures of the past, such as King David or HERMES TRISMEGISTOS, or to obscure Roman writers, such as Nigidius Figulus (W. and H.G. Gundel, *Astrologumena* [Wiesbaden 1966] 137–39). In his *On Portents*, JOHN LYDOS lists four *brontologia* that he allegedly used: three are concerned primarily with political predictions, the fourth (ascribed to Labeon) with agrarian events. The church condemned *brontologia* as based on ASTROLOGY, and the *Souda* stated that divination by thunder was “diabolical property.” Nonetheless, the custom was well entrenched; several *brontologia* are known both in Greek and in Old Slavonic translation (*Gromnik*), and a *brontologion* was among the books taken along on the imperial baggage train (*De cer.* 467.11). *Brontologia* were structured on the position of the sun (or the moon) in the zodiac and on the calendar. The strength and the direction of the thunder also had to be considered. A *brontologion* preserved in

a 16th-C. MS (Milan, Ambros. A 56 sup.) describes a series of political events, imagined or real: a revolt “in Egypt and among the Arabs,” the devastation of Cyprus, a barbarian expedition as far as Chalcedon (perhaps a reference to Igor's expedition of 941), the absence of any king in “Comania” and Alania, the Crusade of 1147. This *brontologion* is attributed to “Leo the Wise” (i.e., Emp. Leo VI) but should be dated to the 12th C. As late as the 15th C. Kritoboulos observed that many people believed that thunder, lightning, and the wandering orbits of stars revealed the future.

LIT. M.A. Andreeva, “Političeskij i obščestvennyj element vizantijsko-slavjanskich gadatel'nykh knig,” *BS* 2 (1930) 59–67. Eadem, “K istorii vizantijsko-slavjanskich gadatel'nykh knig,” *BS* 5 (1933/34) 126–29, 134–53. Koukoules, *Bios* 1.2:218f. —F.R.T., A.K.

BRONZE (*χαλκός*), the term used in Byz. as in classical Greece to designate both pure copper and its alloys with tin or with zinc (brass). The location and exploitation of copper MINES from the 4th to the 15th C. is somewhat a matter of speculation. Bronze could be considered a semi-precious metal: Eusebios of Caesarea (Eusebios, *VC* 3.50.2) praises a church ornamented with gold, bronze, and “other very expensive materials,” while Prokopios (*Buildings* 1.2.4) speaks of the best bronze as being softer in color than pure gold and in quality not much inferior to silver.

Colossal monuments of bronze included the ANEMODOULION at Constantinople (set up between 379 and 395) and the 6,000-pound cross erected by Eudocia at Jerusalem (*Jean Rufus, Plérophories*, PO 8 [1912], ch.11). Bronze statues of emperors, charioteers, etc. are recorded as late as the 7th C. (*AnthGr* 16.46–47), but only that of LEO I (?) (= Colossus of Barletta: U. Peschlow in *Studien Deichmann* 1:21–33) survives relatively intact. A medieval deployment of bronze on a large scale was the revetment of an obelisk in the HIPPODROME in Constantinople by Constantine VII. Among the few other monumental uses of bronze after the 9th C. were cast church DOORS, with incised decoration and silver inlay or chrysography, as well as doors of sheet metal with repoussé decoration. The doors of S. Paolo fuori le mura, Rome, bear the names of the founder (*chytes*) and the artist who manufactured and decorated them. The *sebastokrator* Isaac Komnenos transferred a bronze

grill (*kangellon*) from the Chora monastery to his Church of the Virgin Kosmosoteria at BERA to separate his tomb from the rest of the narthex. Rare decorative bronzes of the 10th and 11th C. include the water-spouting troughs of fountains (L. Bouras, *DChAE* 4 8 [1975–76] 88f).

In addition to their use on monuments and for decoration, copper and bronze were employed for functional purposes, for example, for coins, surgical instruments, LITURGICAL VESSELS, roof tiles, armor, and esp. for LAMPS. Numerous bronze objects were used in the household (see TOOLS AND HOUSEHOLD FITTINGS). An inventory of 1142 lists (in addition to iron tools) bronze BELLS, vessels, caldrons, etc. (*Pantel.*, no.7.28–29). Domestic bronzes (*chalkomata*), some of them tinned, include ewers, basins, pans, and various COOKING WARES (Koukoules, *Bios* 2.2:99–101, 105). Byz. inventories from the 11th C. often refer to various LIGHTING devices of cast bronze, such as candelabra (*manoualia*), candlesticks, *polykandela*, lamps, lanterns, *lamnai* (bronze beams with candleholders), and *choroi* (polygonal frames for the suspension of lights) as well as CENSERS; some such devices of the 4th to 14th C. survive to this day. Bronze was also employed for ICONS, cast or in sheet metal, votive CROWNS, pectoral crosses, AMULETS, BELT FITTINGS, CONE SEALS, and stamps as well as for ordinary JEWELRY. KEYS, LOCKS, and fittings for CASKETS were often cast in bronze as were STEELYARDS, various weights and measures, and astrological instruments such as the ASTROLABE.

Large numbers of cast bronze household objects (ewers, caldrons, etc.) made in Byz., and mistakenly called “Coptic,” have been found outside the empire, in 6th- and 7th-C. burials throughout western Europe.

The scientific work that has been carried out on Byz. bronze (that is, copper alloy) objects has been largely restricted to those made between the 4th and 7th C. The results reveal a varying of alloys to suit manufacturing techniques. Some cast items from this period excavated at Sardis (e.g., censers, crosses, buckles, chains, etc.), which have been analyzed for their metallic composition, were found to be of a four-part (quaternary) alloy of copper, tin, zinc, and lead; other objects, such as cooking vessels made of sheet metal, were of nearly pure copper (J.C. Waldbaum, *Metalwork from Sardis* [Cambridge, Mass., 1983] 175–77). Other

hammered objects, such as a group of 6th-C. ornamented *strulas* found elsewhere, are made of brass, that is, copper and zinc (M.M. Mango et al., *Antiquity* 63 [1989] 308). The shift from the manufacture of bronze (copper and tin) to that of brass, which started in the Roman period and increased by the 7th C., has been explained in terms of the loss of the Spanish and British tin mines by the 5th C. (R. Bruce-Mitford, *The Sutton Hoo Ship Burial*, vol. 3 [London 1983] 945–61). But tin may still have been available in the Taurus Mountain mines, and 10th- and 11th-C. tinned copper *polykandela*, lamps, patens, chalices, and other objects, made apparently in imitation of silver, have been found in Asia Minor and the vicinity of Antioch.

LIT. V.H. Elbern, “Alltägliches aus Byzanz,” *Alte und moderne Kunst* 26 (1981) 13–15. *DOCat* 1:30–68. —M.M.M., L.Ph.B.

BRUMALIA (*Βρουμάλια*), the festival of DIONYSOS, which was celebrated from 24 Nov. to the winter solstice. The Brumalia marked the end of the wine cycle, when the liquid from the grapes crushed during the September harvest had fermented and was ready to be poured into jars for consumption. Carousing and merriment accompanied the rituals, which included the invocation of Dionysos. In his treatise *On the Months* (ed. Wuensch, 174.11–31), JOHN LYDOS notes the survival of the cult in the 6th C.: the viticulturalists would sacrifice a goat to Dionysos because the animal ate and destroyed vines. Canon 62 of the Council in TRULLO imposed a six-year excommunication on Christians who celebrated the Brumalia. The canon also condemned mumming and the donning of comic, satyric, and tragic masks, another Brumalian feature (Trombley, “Trullo” 5). Nevertheless, the imperial court celebrated the Brumalia. Stephen, the author of the vita of Stephen the Younger, condemns Constantine V as a “friend of demons” for his participation in the festival. In the time of Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos the Brumalia consisted of acclamations for the emperor and a ceremony wishing him a long reign; on these occasions the emperor handed out APOKOMBIA, bags of gold, to various officials (*De cer.* 601.6–20, 606.4–607.14). The popular celebration of the Brumalia persisted until at least the 12th C. (I. Rochow, *Klio* 60 [1978]



BRYAS. Ruins at Küçükaly. These ruins are thought to be those of the 9th-C. palace at Bryas.

487f). Christopher of Mytilene notes the sending of small cakes (*pemmata*) as gifts at the Brumalia, and Theodore Prodromos mentions festivities on the day of cosmic joy of the Brumalia, but the religious character of these acts is unknown.

LIT. J.R. Crawford, "De Bruma et brumalibus festis," *BZ* 23 (1920) 365–96. Koukoules, *Bios* 2.1:25–29. Lawson, *Folklore* 221–32. M. Nilsson, "Studien zur Vorgeschichte des Weihnachtsfestes," *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* 19 (1916–19) 62–64, 80–94. —F.R.T.

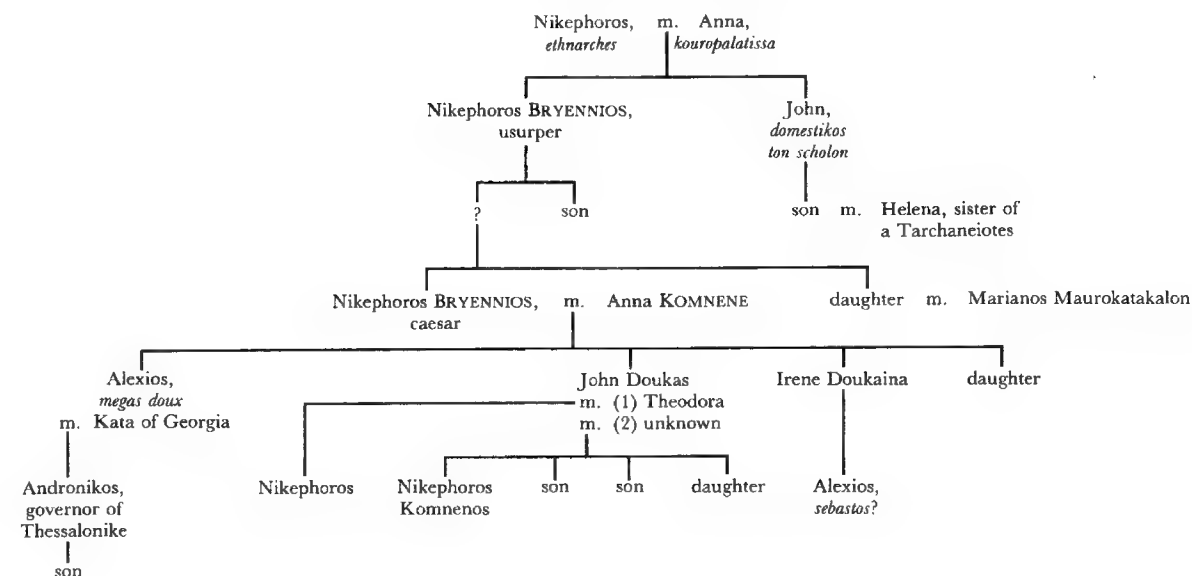
BRYAS (*Brύas*, mod. Maltepe), Asiatic suburb of Constantinople, opposite the PRINCES' ISLANDS. It was the site of a palace built by Emp. Theophilos ca.837 in imitation of Arab palaces described to him by JOHN VII GRAMMATIKOS on the latter's return from his embassy to Baghdad. The only modification of the Arab model consisted in the addition of two chapels, one next to the emperor's bedchamber, the other, of triconch form, in the forecourt. The palace has been plausibly identified with a standing ruin at Küçükaly, between

Bostancı and Maltepe, that recalls the layout of princely Arab residences.

LIT. K. Lehmann-Hartleben, "Archaeologisch-epigraphisches aus Konstantinopel und Umgebung," *BNJbb* 3 (1922) 103–06. R. Janin, "La banlieue asiatique de Constantinople," *EO* 22 (1923) 193–95. S. Eyice, "Bryas sarayı," *Belleten* 23 (1959) 79–111. Idem, "Quatre édifices inédits ou mal connus," *CahArch* 10 (1959) 245–50. —C.M.

BRYENNIOS (*Brύέννιος*, fem. *Brύέννισσα*), a noble Byz. lineage. Etymology of the name remains unclear; according to E. Trapp, it derived from *bryo*, "to abound" (*JÖB* 19 [1970] 293). Bryennioi are known from the 9th C. onward: Theoktistos was sent by Michael III as *strategos* of Peloponnesos (*De adm. imp.* 50.9–12); another Bryennios, *strategos* of Dalmatia, is attested from a 9th-C. seal (Schlumberger, *Sig.* 205f). Throughout the 10th C. they are not known. When the Bryennioi reappear in the mid-11th C., their relation to the 9th-C. Bryennioi is unclear: Attaleiates considered them a family of lower origin than the BOTANEIATAI. Like their predecessors,

GENEALOGY OF THE BRYENNIOS FAMILY IN THE ELEVENTH AND TWELFTH CENTURIES



the 11th-C. Bryennioi were military commanders: Nikephoros, from Adrianople, served as ethnarch, commander of foreign mercenaries; he participated in a rebellion against Empress THEODORA and was exiled; in 1057 he joined another aristocratic revolt and was captured and blinded. His son (also Nikephoros) Bryennios unsuccessfully tried to usurp the throne in 1077 (see BRYENNIOS, NIKEPHOROS); another son, John, supported his brother's revolt and was appointed *domestikos ton scholon*; after the revolt, however, the Varangians arrested and murdered him. Nikephoros's son (according to Zonaras) or grandson (according to Anna Komnene), the caesar Nikephoros Bryennios, was a general and historian (see BRYENNIOS, NIKEPHOROS). Another Bryennios served ca.1100 as *doux* of Thebes.

Caesar Nikephoros married ANNA KOMNENE; some of their descendants bore the patronyms Komnenos and Doukas. They were primarily military commanders: John Doukas commanded both in Italy and against the Seljuks; his brother Alexios Bryennios, *megas doux* in 1156, was called the *anthypatos* of Hellas by Michael Choniates and praised as protector of the poor (Mich.Akom. 1:337.8–9). He is probably distinct from another

Alexios Bryennios, *doux* of Dyrrachion and Ohrid, an addressee of George TORNIKIOS in the 1150s (Darrouzès, *Tornikès* 162–66). Andronikos, son of the *megas doux* Alexios, served as governor of Thessalonike; involved in a plot against Isaac I, he was arrested and blinded; his son attempted a revolt but was also blinded. Joseph Bryennios, *sebastos* and the emperor's *gambros*, was a general in the 1160s. Only Nikephoros Komnenos, John Doukas's son, held a civil position: he was temporarily the functionary in charge of petitions (*epi ton deeseon*).

Several Bryennioi occupied important posts in the later period: George was *megas droungarios* in 1328, and Michael was commandant of Pamphilon in Thrace (1342). At this time the Bryennioi were also active in the church, diplomatic service, and intellectual life: besides the philosopher Joseph Bryennios and writer Manuel Bryennios, a scribe Gregory Bryennios from Thessalonike copied translations of THOMAS AQUINAS in 1432 (*PLP*, nos. 3241–62). (See BRYENNIOS, JOSEPH, and BRYENNIOS, MANUEL; see also genealogical table.)

LIT. Winkelmann, *Quellenstudien* 165f.

—A.K.

BRYENNIOS, JOSEPH, monk, writer, and teacher; born ca. 1350, died before 1438, probably 1430/1. A fervent supporter of Orthodoxy, Bryennios lived for 20 years (ca. 1382–1402) in Venetian-occupied Crete as preacher and missionary. He spent most of his remaining years in Constantinople at the monasteries of Stoudios (ca. 1402–06) and Charsianeites (1416–27). In 1406 Patr. MATTHEW I sent him to Cyprus as *topoteretes* to try to negotiate the administrative union of the Cypriot church with that of Constantinople, but his mission proved fruitless. In his later years he served as court preacher and official spokesman against UNION OF THE CHURCHES with Rome, playing an important role in 1422 in discussions with a Latin delegation to Constantinople (G. Patacsi, *Kleronomia* 5 [1973] 73–96).

Bryennios composed a considerable number of theological treatises defending Orthodox doctrine on the Holy Trinity and Procession of the Holy Spirit. He supported the Palamite argument that the light of TABOR was uncreated. Other works include a dialogue with a Muslim (A. Argyriou, *EEBS* 35 [1966/7] 141–95), in which Bryennios praised the tolerance of Islam and the virtue of some Muslims; he argued that the decline of Byz. was divine punishment for the sins of the Byz. He corresponded with John CHORTASMENOS, Nicholas KABASILAS, Demetrios KYDONES, and Emp. Manuel II, among others. Mark EUGENIKOS wrote his epitaph.

ED. *Ioseph monachou tou Bryenniou ta heurethenta*, ed. E. Boulgares, T. Mandakases, 3 vols. (Leipzig 1768–84).

LIT. N.B. Tomadakes, *Syllabos byzantinon meleton kai keimenon* (Athens 1961) 491–611. Loenertz, *Calecas* 95–105. PLP, no. 3257. —A.M.T.

BRYENNIOS, MANUEL, Byz. scholar and possibly a music theorist; fl. Constantinople ca. 1300. Although academically eccentric, he instructed the statesman Theodore METOCHITES in mathematics, astronomy, and probably music (a didactic poem by Theodore reflects Bryennios's teaching). His doctrines on mathematics and astronomy are to be found in a letter to Maximos PLANODES and in scholia to MSS of Ptolemy's *Almagest*.

The only surviving work attributed to Bryennios is the three-volume *Harmonika*, based on ancient Greek tradition. The author treats his material more independently and carries his

conclusions further than his sources, however. The neo-Pythagorean numerological theory of music is Bryennios's most important source (more for facts than for metaphysical speculation). Other sources are Nicomachus of Gerasa, Aristides Quintilianus, Theon of Smyrna, and, above all, Claudius Ptolemy for his theory of the eight *tonoi*, the "shadings" of the tetrachords, and the monochord and its division.

Bryennios also drew extensively on the empiricist school of Aristoxenos (4th C. B.C.). The first section of the treatise is based largely on this school; the second, however, is founded on neo-Pythagorean tradition and concludes with a comparison of the divisions of the tetrachords. The third section unites the Pythagorean and Aristoxenian traditions and culminates in a theory for constructing melodies. One section deals with the Byz. ecclesiastical MODES and associates them with the ancient systems of transposition (*tonoi*, *tropoi*); this section is illustrated by the musical practice of Bryennios's own time.

Bryennios's treatise is the most comprehensive surviving codification of Byz. musical scholarship. Associated with the growing interest in mathematics in the early Palaiologan period, it contributed to the rediscovery of ancient music theory. The late Byz. Empire and the Italian Renaissance valued it highly: 46 MSS from before 1600 and two early Latin translations (1497 and 1555) survive.

ED. *Opera mathematica*, ed. J. Wallis, vol. 3 (Oxford 1699) 357–508.

LIT. H. Reimann, "Zur Geschichte und Theorie der byzantinischen Musik, 4: Die Theorie des Manuel Bryennios," *Vierteljahrsschrift für Musikwissenschaft* 5 (1889) 335–44, 373–95. G.H. Jonker, *The Harmonies of Manuel Bryennios* (Groningen 1970). PLP, no. 3260. —D.E.C.

BRYENNIOS, NIKEPHOROS, 11th-C. usurper. Bryennios was a general and *magistros* who fought at the battle of Mantzikert (1071), served as a *doux* of Bulgaria in 1072–73, and was later governor of Dyrrachion. In 1077 he headed a revolt against Michael VII, the center of which was located in Adrianople, but lost to NIKEPHOROS III BOTANEIATES in the competition for the throne. Bryennios refused to accept the title of caesar and continued his rebellion, but he was then defeated by Alexios Komnenos (the future ALEXIOS I) and

blinded. Zonaras accused Alexios of this deed, but other historians do not support his version. Nikephoros III returned to Bryennios all his properties and granted him new honors and lands (Bryen. 285.1–3). Despite his blindness, in 1094/5 Bryennios was in charge of defending Adrianople against the Cumans and a rebel who claimed to be a member of the DIOGENES family (Leo or Constantine?) and a son of Romanos IV; even though Bryennios belonged to an aristocratic family inclined to rebellion, he declined Diogenes' proposal of an alliance.

LIT. A. Carile, "La 'Hyle historias' del cesare Niceforo Briennio," *Aevum* 43 (1969) 235–82. —A.K.

BRYENNIOS, NIKEPHOROS THE YOUNGER, historian and general; born Adrianople? ca. 1064 (A. Carile, *Aevum* 42 [1968] 436) or ca. 1080, died Constantinople ca. 1136/7. He was either the son (A. Carile, *Aevum* 38 [1964] 74–83) or grandson (S. Wittek-De Jongh, *Byzantion* 23 [1953] 463–65; P. Gautier, *infra* 20–24) of his namesake, the rebel of 1077/8. Bryennios married Anna KOMNENE ca. 1097, participated in Alexios I's campaigns, and became caesar ca. 1111. In 1118 IRENE DOUKAINA and Anna Komnene unsuccessfully tried to proclaim him Alexios's successor. Although in disfavor with John II, Bryennios still participated in the emperor's expedition to Antioch, after which he died.

His unfinished memoirs, the so-called *Historical Material* (*Hyle historias*), were written after 1118 and describe the period 1070–79. He presents events not as a history of emperors, but as the power struggle of the mightiest families (the Komnenoi, Doukai, and Bryennioi); under the screen of a polite eulogy of Alexios is veiled criticism, whereas Nikephoros BRYENNIOS the Elder is an unquestionable hero. Aristocratic traits (noble origin, wealth, martial prowess) are presented as positive values. In their structure, Bryennios's memoirs are a forerunner of the ROMANCE, with the core of the tale being the marriage of Alexios and Irene after they overcame obstacles.

ED. *Histoire*, ed. P. Gautier (Brussels 1975), with Fr. tr.

LIT. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:394–400. J. Seger, *Byzantinische Historiker des 10. und 11. Jahrhunderts I. Nikephoros Bryennios* (Munich 1888). A. Carile, "La 'Hyle historias' del cesare Niceforo Briennio," *Aevum* 43 (1969) 56–87, 235–82. —A.K.

BUDGET. Evaluations of the Byz. budget are speculative and arbitrary because of lack of evidence. Yet in recent publications one finds figures that are not too contradictory: 900,000 solidi in the 6th C. (Hendy); 1,700,000 nomismata by the end of the 8th; 3,300,000 nomismata in the middle of the 9th (Treadgold); 1,000,000 half-pure hyperpyra in the 14th (Hendy). Fiscal revenue derived mainly from TAXATION on land (70–95 percent) and COMMERCE AND TRADE; voluntary contributions of wealthy citizens ceased after the 7th C. Regular major expenditures were salaries for members of the armed forces, the administration (less important), and dignitaries (largely self-financed) and cash outlays for philanthropic institutions. Public works were also self-financed through CORVÉES; largess, such as the consulship, became occasional. Extraordinary expenditures, such as major campaigns or tributes, were dealt with either by spending accumulated reserves or by imposing extraordinary taxes and levies. Part of the payments were made in silk textiles, mainly those produced by the imperial workshops.

LIT. W.T. Treadgold, *The Byzantine State Finances in the Eighth and Ninth Centuries* (New York 1982). Hendy, *Economy* 157–227. —N.O.

BUILDING INDUSTRY. Builders formed teams or companies. According to the vita of Symeon the Stylite the Younger, Isaurian MASONS lived in communities, caring for those team members who had lost their health while working. The *Book of the Eparch* does not consider the *technitai* or ARTISANS a guild but a temporary association that included craftsmen of various professions: CARPENTERS, masons, workers in gypsum, etc. Such a team of *technitai* is described in the vita of Germanos of Kosinitza: they were hired to build a church and signed a contract (*homologia*) according to which they were to be paid 100 gold coins upon completion of the work (AASS May 3:9*). In *Basil.* 15.1.39 (and schol. 1 to this passage) an *ergolabos*, or manager, served as intermediary between the owner and the workers. He was paid by the owner and erected the building using his own materials. In the *Book of the Eparch*, on the other hand, there is no distinction between *ergolaboi* and *technitai* and the owner is to supply the materials. The terms are also used synonymously

in vita A of ATHANASIOS OF ATHOS (ed. Noret, par. 234.14-21).

The textbooks of MATHEMATICAL PROBLEMS contain some data on the organization of construction work: the builder is called *mastores* or *technites*; sometimes he appears with his APPRENTICES (*mathetades*); the building of a house takes 6-50 days; the builder receives 20 asproi per day but owes the owner 30 asproi for each day he does not work; in one hypothetical problem the builder is awarded 1,000 asproi for the entire job (A. Kazhdan, *VizVrem* 26 [1965] 281f).

Large undertakings, such as the building of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople or repairs on the aqueduct of Valens, required hundreds of workers who labored under the supervision of governmental officials. Some construction jobs were completed by the army and, in the form of KASTROKTISIA, by the local population. The stages of a church's construction—the transport of stone by hand and on a luge, its cutting, the making of mortar, the feeding of the artisans, and the building's dedication to the Virgin—are shown on the cornice of a 10th-11th-C. church at Korogo in Georgia (N. Thierry in *AAPA* 2 [1987] 321-29).

LIT. Rudakov, *Kul'tura* 142f. Bk. of *Eparch* 257-65. Oikonomides, *Hommes d'affaires* 111f. Smetanin, *Viz.obščestvo* 84-86. M. Bartusis, "State Demands for Building and Repairing Fortifications in Late Byzantium and Medieval Serbia," *BS* 49 (1988) 205-12.

-A.K., A.C.

BULGARIA, state in the northern Balkans. Founded in 681 by ASPARUCH, Bulgaria included former Roman territory between the Danube, the Black Sea, the Balkan range, and the river Iskür. It was populated by Slavs, BULGARS, Vlachs, and some remaining Greek inhabitants. The capital was established at PLISKA. The Slav and Bulgar occupation led to the deurbanization of the region and the expulsion of the Christian church with its hierarchy built upon urban foundations. The focal point of domestic development in the late 7th-9th C. was the union of Slavs and Bulgars into a single ethnos that used the Slavic language, a Bulgar administrative system, and the Greek alphabet for the PROTO-BULGARIAN INSCRIPTIONS. This unity was reinforced by the christianization of the country by 864/5.

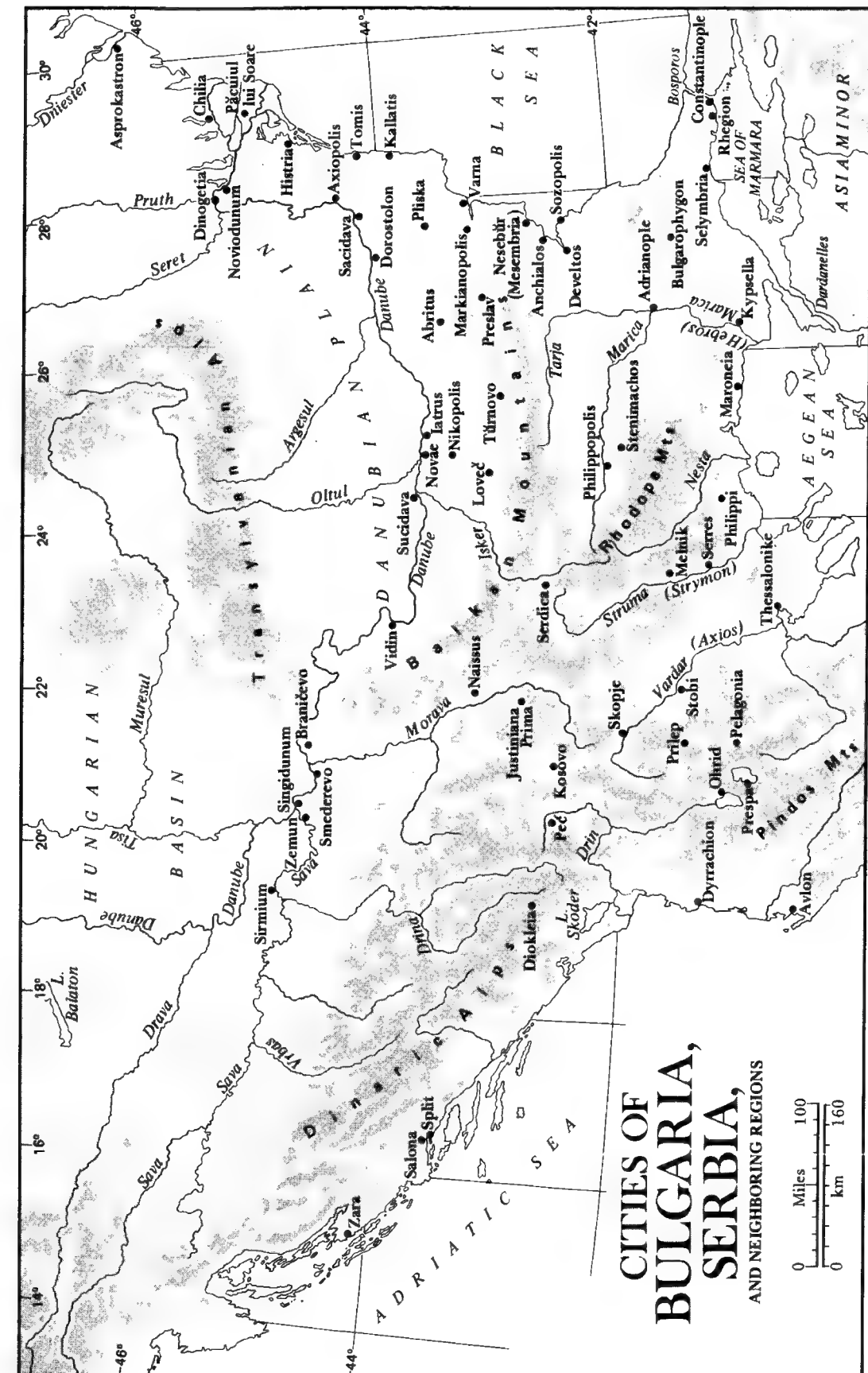
Even though Bulgaria profited from the defeat of the AVARS by Charlemagne and extended its power to the northwest as far as the river Theiss,

Bulgarian northern policy was primarily defensive: Bulgaria had to protect its northern frontier from the Germans, Hungarians, Pechenegs and other steppe tribes, the Rus', and later the Tatars. Bulgaria's policy in the south was more active, and Bulgarians were often involved in Byz. affairs, sometimes as allies (TERVEL supported Justinian II), sometimes as dangerous adversaries (esp. under KRUM and SYMEON OF BULGARIA). The periods of war were interrupted by peace treaties (the 30-year treaty under OMURTAG), and sometimes Byz. managed to exercise considerable influence on Bulgaria, as happened in the reign of BORIS I.

Despite the arrival in 885 of pupils of CONSTANTINE THE PHILOSOPHER and METHODIOS who brought both the Slavic alphabet and incipient Slavic literature and liturgy, Byz. administrative and cultural influence on Bulgaria increased from the end of the 9th C. onward. Bulgarian rulers accepted Byz. imperial and ceremonial titulature (*basileus* for the former *khan*, *patriarch* for the *archbishop*, etc.); the new capital, PRESILAV, harbored a significant artisan population; and a substantial selection of Greek theological literature was translated into CHURCH SLAVONIC. Trade and intermarriage (e.g., Tsar PETER and Maria, Romanos I's granddaughter) helped consolidate Bulgaro-Byz. links.

From the second half of the 10th C. Byz. began to gain the upper hand in the Balkans. After the plan to subjugate Bulgaria with the assistance of SVJATOSLAV of Kiev had miscarried, John I Tzimiskes evicted Svjatoslav from Bulgaria, annexed a substantial part of the country, and abolished the autocephalous Bulgarian patriarchate. The struggle of the KOMETOPOULOI and SAMUEL OF BULGARIA against Basil II, despite temporary success, was lost; by 1018 the whole of Bulgaria had been incorporated into Byz. and formed several themes—Bulgaria, Paradounavon, Dyrrachion, etc.

The imposition of the "Byz. yoke" strengthened the Byz. impact on Bulgaria. The Byz. system of taxation was extended to the new themes, along with Byz. secular and ecclesiastical administration and Byz. forms of peasant dependence (*PAROIKOI*, etc.). Intensified trade and the mass penetration of Byz. coinage accompanied the development of urban life. On the other hand, the Bulgarian aristocracy entered the ranks of the Byz. ruling class; Bulgarian topics were treated in Byz. liter-



such as the BOGOMIL heresy, gained a strong hold in Byz. The Byz. domination over Bulgaria was several times challenged in the 11th C. (revolts of DELJAN and George VOITECH, the Bogomil rebellion in 1086). In 1185 a new revolt broke out, and by 1188 the weakened Byz. government had recognized the independence of Bulgaria north of the Balkan range, with its capital in TŪRNOVO. The Bulgarian victory at ARKADIOPOLIS in 1193 led to the annexation of much of central Thrace. A new Bulgaria emerged, usually called the Second Bulgarian Empire.

At first (under KALOJAN, BORIL, and JOHN ASEN II) Bulgaria profited from the disarray resulting from the Fourth Crusade to occupy more of Thrace and most of Macedonia, and after the Bulgarian victory over Epiros at KLOKOTNICA in 1230 extended its rule to the Adriatic at Dyrrachion. The marriage of John Asen's daughter to Theodore II Laskaris of Nicaea and the creation of a Bulgarian patriarchate in 1235 mark the apogee of Bulgarian power. This zenith was of short duration: the state faced serious domestic and international problems. The country lacked economic unity. The towns on the Danube, such as VIDIN, were more connected with central Europe, those on the Black Sea were involved in Italian trade, and western Bulgaria tended toward Dubrovnik. While ca. 1200 Bulgaria profited from alliance with the Cumans, later the TATAR settlement in the steppe created a serious menace, heightened by constant conflicts with Byz. and Serbia and esp. by the Ottoman invasion of the 14th C. The internal instability found its expression in revolts, such as the mutiny of IVAJLO. By the end of the 13th C. only northeastern Bulgaria recognized Tsar Georgij Terter I. For a short period THEODORE SVETOSLAV, MICHAEL III ŠIŠMAN, and IVAN ALEXANDER reunited Bulgaria, and the country, despite certain military losses, enjoyed relative peace and prosperity. From 1370 onward, however, the increasing encroachment of the Ottomans on the Balkans threatened the very existence of Bulgaria. In 1373 Bulgaria became a virtual Ottoman vassal, and in 1393 MURAD I invaded and annexed it.

Of all the Slavic countries Bulgaria was the closest to Byz. Their interrelationship was very complex, ranging from military rivalry to trade connections (Bulgaria exporting to Constantino-

ple Hax and cattle) to religious and cultural exchange; some Greek regions were absorbed by Bulgaria and for almost two centuries Bulgaria was incorporated by Byz. The Bulgarian state was formed both under Byz. impact and in a constant resistance to the threat of "hellenization." The material interpenetration did not abolish mutual mistrust, and political alliance was sporadic and short-lived. On the other hand, Bulgaria transmitted Byz. civilization to other Orthodox peoples, particularly Rumanians and Muscovite Russia (in the 14th C.). The absorption of Byz. culture was selective. The literature and ideology of Byz. Christianity, both in its learned and its popular form, were taken over (see BULGARIAN LITERATURE), as were the Byz. chroniclers' picture of world history, a simplified version of Byz. civil and canon law, and some popular nonreligious literature such as the ALEXANDER ROMANCE. What was rejected was learned and classicizing literature and thought, including philosophy and science, which Bulgarian society neither needed nor understood. It was this filtered Byz. culture that was passed on to the non-Greek Orthodox world.

LIT. R. Browning, *Byzantium and Bulgaria* (Berkeley 1975). V.N. Zlatarski, *Istoriya na bŭlgarskata dŭrŭŭava prez srednite vekove*, 3 vols. (Sofia 1918-40). P. Mutaŭŭiev, *Istoriya na bŭlgarskija narod*, vol. 2 (Sofia 1944). D. Angelov, *Obrazuvane na bŭlgarskata narodnost*² (Sofia 1981). G.G. Litavrin, *Bolgarija i Vizantija v XI-XII vv.* (Moscow 1960; Bulgarian tr., Sofia 1987). S. Runciman, *A History of the First Bulgarian Empire* (London 1930). I. Dujčev et al., *Histoire de la Bulgarie* (Roanne 1977) 1-244. V. Gjuzelev, *Učilišta, skriptorii, biblioteki i znanija v Bŭlgarija, XIII-XIV vek* (Sofia 1985).

-R.B.

BULGARIAN ART AND ARCHITECTURE.

The First Bulgarian Empire was founded on territory rich in Roman and Byz. remains. These and other sources were used to create an art designed to serve the national and religious needs of the new state. The earliest administrative center, PLISKA, was laid out as a double fortress, an architectural solution also adopted at the second capital, Great PRESлав. The most unusual monument from this period is the large relief of a horseman carved in the cliff above the religious center of Madara. Most likely carved in 705 and probably representing Khan TERVEL, the relief is surrounded by contemporary and later Greek inscriptions of rulers' names. The iconography—a horseman holding aloft a cup, with a lion below

and a dog running behind—bears close resemblance to rock-cut reliefs of Sasanian Persia. But the bold, monumental style, with the figure and the background rendered as two parallel planes, is typical of Bulgarian sculpture from this period and continues into the 10th C. at nearby Preslav and Abradaka.

Bulgarian ceramic TILE decoration may also be Near Eastern in influence. Tiles—both flat tiles and semicircular cornice pieces, large and small—were specially made for use as wall revetment. Some tile images, such as a 20-tile icon of St. Theodore from Sofia and a group of smaller, single-tile icons from Tuzlalŭk, depict saints, though the majority are decorated with floral and geometric motifs. Many have been found *in situ*, adorning the floors and dado zones of small monastery churches around Preslav (the earliest datable example comes from the Round Church of Preslav, probably built before 907). Similar tile decoration is found in Constantinople as well, and probably derives from Arabic antecedents. It is possible that ceramic decoration was used in large quantities in and around Preslav even before its widespread use in Constantinople.

The Round Church at Preslav is a good example of the eclectic use of sources typical of much Bulgarian art of the early empire. The form of the church—a domed rotunda with an interior two-tiered colonnade preceded by an atrium that is enclosed by walls with niches and columns—has been likened to ARMENIAN ARCHITECTURE, while the use of mosaic decoration shows Byz. influence. The structure may in fact reflect late Roman BAPTISTERY forms, underscoring one of the main functions of the church in the newly converted realm. Its round form may also indicate it was intended to serve as a palace chapel.

Byz. culture was to be the decisive influence on Bulgarian art during the 11th and 12th C., when the territory came under Byz. hegemony (cf. the frescoes of the ossuary of the monastery of PETRITZOS). By the time Bulgarian independence was won, Byz. culture had become the single major source for artistic creation.

The art of the Second Bulgarian Empire shows a resurgence of architecture and painting. Donations by nobles include the churches on Trapezitsa Hill in TŪRNOVO and the Tower of Hreljo in the RILA monastery. Two-story churches, which were used for burial and whose structure served to

level uneven terrain, may have derived from Byz. or Caucasian prototypes but became a popular local type of church plan. Other churches are elaborate variants of Palaiologan architectural forms: in the 14th-C. churches of MESEMBRIA, for example, stone, brick, and ceramic inserts combine to produce a rich, textilelike patterning of the exterior quite unrelated to the internal divisions of the church (e.g., St. John Aleitourgetos).

Painting of the Second Empire shows two tendencies. Many monuments rely on Byz. models of the 11th and 12th C., introduced during the period of Byz. rule (e.g., BOJANA). Other fresco ensembles and icons show more awareness of contemporary art in Constantinople. This is especially true of the royal commissions by Tsar IVAN ALEXANDER. The rock-cut "Cŭrkvata" at Ivanovo was decorated by Bulgarian artists in the most up-to-date Palaiologan style; bottom-heavy figures in twisted postures are placed in front of elaborate architectural façades. The flat ceiling of this humble church, which served a hesychast monastic community, is given an unusual treatment: copying the wall decoration, the ceiling is laid out with small scenes in square frames. Manuscript painting also tended to copy Byz. models, both contemporary and older; the *Gospels of Ivan Alexander* (London, B.L. Add. 39627, dated 1355/6) has the format of a FRIEZE GOSPEL, and the portraits it contains of the tsar and his family are clad in Byz.-style imperial costume. The *Chronicle of Constantine MANASSES* (Vat. slav. 2, ca. 1345) copies a Byz. illustrated chronicle, adapting traditional scenes to illustrate the passages on Bulgarian history written expressly for this book. Icon painting (e.g., the late 13th-C. St. George, Plovdiv State Gallery no.486) also reflects contemporary Byz. Palaiologan style.

LIT. S. Vaklinov, *Formirane na starobŭlgarskata kultura VI-XI vek* (Sofia 1977). K. Mijatev, *Die mittelalterliche Baukunst in Bulgarien* (Sofia 1974). A. Grabar, *La peinture religieuse en Bulgarie*, 2 vols. (Paris 1928). *Istoriya na Bŭlgarskoto izobrazitelno izkustvo* (Sofia 1976). E. Bakalova, "Society and Art in Bulgaria in the Fourteenth Century," *BBulg* 8 (1986) 17-72.

-E.C.S.

BULGARIAN LITERATURE. Although a number of inscriptions in Greek and a few PROTO-BULGARIAN INSCRIPTIONS written in Greek characters survive from before the conversion of Bulgaria, and there is evidence that both the Proto-

Bulgarians (Bulgars) and the Slavs were acquainted with writing, Bulgarian literature is a product of the christianization of the country. When the pupils of CONSTANTINE THE PHILOSOPHER and METHODIOS, expelled from Moravia, reached Bulgaria in 885, bringing with them translations of the Scriptures and of the liturgy, they found the ground prepared for the development of literature in CHURCH SLAVONIC. There had already been 20 years of missionary activity by Greek and Roman clergy. Tsar BORIS I was anxious to avoid too close dependence of the Bulgarian church on Byz. Furthermore, a generation of young Bulgarians, including the future tsar SYMEON OF BULGARIA, had studied in Constantinople and brought some familiarity with Byz. literary culture back with them.

From their first arrival, the newcomers received royal patronage and encouragement on a grand scale. Schools were established in monasteries in Preslav and Ohrid for the training of Slavonic clergy and the translation or composition of the literature necessary for a Christian and civilized society. The beginning of Bulgarian literature can be dated with great precision to the second half of the 880s. Translation was the first priority. Among the earliest works translated by KONSTANTIN OF PRES LAV and others were select homilies of Athanasios of Alexandria, Gregory of Nazianzos, Basil the Great, John Chrysostom, and John of Damascus, which provided an introduction to theology. Translations of the chronicles of MALALAS, PATR. NIKEPHOROS I, and GEORGE HAMARTOLOS familiarized Bulgarians with a historical process which was at the same time a process of salvation. The *Christian Topography* of KOSMAS INDIKOPLEUSTES furnished geographical information in a theological framework. The practice of translation provided a laboratory of language and style, in which experimentation with different genres flourished and the flexibility and expressiveness of Slavonic developed. With this end in mind, the short treatise of George CHOIROBOSKOS, *On Figures of Speech*, was translated in the late 9th or early 10th C.

Original writing went hand in hand with translation. Unknown authors wrote Lives, panegyrics, and *akolouthiai* on Constantine the Philosopher and Methodios, KLIMENT OF OHRID and NAUM OF OHRID. JOHN THE EXARCH and Konstantin of

Preslav combined material translated or adapted from Greek with much original matter. KOSMAS THE PRIEST applied Byz. theological concepts to the elucidation of specifically Bulgarian problems arising out of the spread of the BOGOMILS and displayed a capacity for sharp social criticism. Poetry was written, both in Byz. 12-syllable meter, such as the anonymous *enkomion* of Tsar Symeon, and in the complex accentual rhythms of the Byz. liturgy, as in the *kanon* on St. Demetrios. A treatise on church music surviving in a single GLAGOLITIC MS may well be connected with the development of liturgical hymns in the late 9th C.; it was written in Preslav or Ohrid.

Along with the "official" literature of the Byz. church, the Bulgarians took over and translated apocryphal and apocalyptic texts, such as the *Vision of Isaiah*. These provided a model for original compositions expressing Bulgarian aspirations and fears, such as the *Story of the Cross* by Jeremiah the Priest (10th C.) or the Thessalonican legend of the baptism of the Bulgarians. Both the Orthodox and sectarians, esp. the Bogomils, used such texts extensively; 25 apocryphal texts figure in the *IZBORNIK* of 1073.

What was not translated, adapted, or imitated in this period of the development of Bulgarian literature was the classicizing secular literature of the Byz., which must have seemed irrelevant and incomprehensible to Bulgarian readers and listeners. Thus Byz. literature and culture was filtered in its transmission to Bulgaria in the 9th and 10th C.

The piecemeal conquest of Bulgaria by the Byz. between 971 and 1018 destroyed the social and political structure that had fostered Bulgarian literature. Royal patronage, which had been necessary for the origin and rapid growth of Bulgarian literature, ceased. Monasteries, however, provided both a demand for and a supply of saints' Lives, such as the earliest Life of St. JOHN OF RILA, written before 1183. A number of apocryphal writings, sometimes of Bogomil inspiration, probably date from the period of Byz. rule.

Now Bulgarian literature began to have some influence on Byz. hagiography. THEOPHYLAKTOS of Ohrid wrote a Life of his predecessor Kliment that evidently drew on Slavonic sources. The *protokouropalates* George SKYLITZES, who had served as *strategos* of a Bulgarian province, wrote a Greek

Life of St. John of Rila, which survives only in a 13th- or 14th-C. Slavonic translation. It may have been intended as a response to the pro-Bulgarian tone of the earlier Slavonic Life.

The restoration of Bulgarian independence in 1186 did not at once lead to a revival of Bulgarian literature. Feuding between ruling groups, threats from the Latin Empire of the Crusaders, and the general social and political instability of the country in the 13th C. were not conducive to literary production. Little literature survives from the period, apart from minor hagiographical texts and the Synodikon of Tsar BORIL, which contains, along with traditional Byz. material, accounts of the Bulgarian church council of 1211 and of the restoration of the Bulgarian patriarchate, as well as panegyrics on Bulgarian rulers and churchmen.

In the 14th C. the encouragement of literature by successive church leaders, in particular Teodosije, superior of Kilifarevo monastery (died 1363), and EVTIMIJ OF TŪRNOVO, together with the patronage of Tsar IVAN ALEXANDER, stimulated a remarkable literary and cultural revival, centered in monasteries in the Tŭrnovo region. Many new translations were made from Greek, including the *Kephalaia* (Chapters) of the hesychast GREGORY SINAITES, an anthology of sermons of John Chrysostom, and the *Chronicle* of Constantine MANASSES. Evtimij of Tŭrnovo composed Lives of Bulgarian saints, liturgical texts, and dogmatic treatises. His close friend KIPRIAN, an ecclesiastical diplomat of wide experience and for 17 years metropolitan of Moscow, wrote Lives of Russian saints, letters on dogma and church discipline, a *synaxarion* for the Russian church that included many Bulgarian and Serbian saints, and perhaps the first index of prohibited books. More than any other of his time he furthered the spread of southern Slavic and Byz. literary models and techniques in Serbia and Russia. KONSTANTIN KOSTENEČKI, who migrated to Serbia in 1410, wrote a Life of Stefan Lazarević and translated Greek patristic texts. Grigorij CAMBLAK, who migrated first to Serbia and then to Kiev, wrote many hagiographical works, liturgical compositions, and sermons. IOASAF OF VIDIN included in his panegyric of St. Philothea much information on the Bulgaria of his time. Among the many minor and often anonymous works surviving from

the 14th and early 15th C. are a short Bulgarian chronicle, letters on religious problems addressed to Evtimij of Tŭrnovo, and a verse panegyric on Tsar Ivan Alexander.

The literature of this period is marked by the influence, both in matter and in form, of contemporary Byz. literature. HESYCHASM won strong and immediate support among most Bulgarian clergy and monks. A rhetorical, poetic, and often pompously inflated style was reflective of contemporary Byz. taste. At the same time, we sometimes find lively descriptions of Bulgarian society and life. Had not the Turkish conquest destroyed the structures of Bulgarian society, Bulgarian literature might well have flourished. As things were, it provided a stimulus and a model for the literature of Serbia, Rumania, and above all Russia.

LIT. P. Dinekov et al., *Istorijska na bulgarskata literatura, I: Starobulgarskata literatura* (Sofia 1982). Idem, *Pochvala na starata bulgarska literatura* (Sofia 1979). Idem, "Über die Anfänge der bulgarischen Literatur," *International Journal of Slavic Linguistics and Poetics* 3 (1960) 109-21. I. Dujčev, *Iz starata bulgarska knižnina*, 2 vols. (Sofia 1943). M. Murko, *Geschichte der älteren südslavischen Literaturen* (Leipzig 1908). E. Georgiev, *Literatura na Vtorata bulgarska dŭrŭŭava. Pŭrva čast: Literatura na XIII vek* (Sofia 1977). P. Rusev et al., *Tŭrnovska knižovna škola*, vol. 2 (Sofia 1980). A. Davidov et al., *Tŭrnovska knižovna škola*, vol. 4 (Sofia 1985). —R.B.

BULGARIAN TREATY, ANONYMOUS TREATISE ON THE, conventional title of a speech preserved in a single MS (Vat. gr. 483 of the 13th or 14th C.) and dedicated to the signing of the peace treaty with the Bulgarians in October 927. The speech contains a survey of historical events: Leo VI is highly praised; then the author mentions a revolt (*apostasias*); the assault of the *archon* (SYMEON OF BULGARIA), who was crowned by the "helmet of darkness" (NICHOLAS I MYSTIKOS); and the elevation of the new Moses (ROMANOS I), raised up out of the water to extinguish the flames of war. The text is full of classical references and obscure allusions, some of which are explained in red ink in the margins by the hand of the same scribe. Various scholars have suggested the following possible authors of the treatise: Nicholas Mystikos (F. Uspenskij in *Letopis'* 2 [1894] 121), ARETHAS OF CAESAREA (M. Šangin, *Istorijska-Marksist* [1939] no. 3, 177), NIKETAS MAGISTROS (J. Darrouzès, *REB* 18 [1960] 126), and Theodore DAPHNOPATES (I. Dujčev, *DOP* 32 [1978] 252f).

However, the most recent editor, Stauridou-Zaphraka, rejects all these identifications (*infra* 351–55).

ED. A. Stauridou-Zaphraka, "Ho anonymos logos 'Epi te ton Boulgaron symbasei,'" *Byzantina* 8 (1976) 343–406. —A.K.

BULGARS, TURKIC, also Proto-Bulgarians, Pra-Bulgarians, a pastoral people, originally living in Central Asia. Swept westward in the great movement of steppe peoples that brought the Huns and later the AVARS to Europe, some Bulgar tribes settled in PANNONIA, where they were dominated by the Avars and took part in their campaigns against the Franks, Lombards, and Byz. In the 7th C. many of these Pannonian Bulgars settled in Italy, in Lombardy, the Rimini-Osimo area, and the region of Benevento. The main body of the Bulgar tribes, dwelling north of the Azov Sea and the river Kuban, were dominated by the Western Turkic khaganate from the mid-6th C. onward. In 632, profiting from divisions among their Turkic rulers, these Bulgars revolted successfully and formed a powerful confederation of Bulgar and related tribes known as Great Bulgaria, led by KUVRAT. Herakleios, seeking a reliable ally to block the Khazar advance westward, concluded a treaty with Kuvrat.

After Kuvrat died, Great Bulgaria broke up under Khazar pressure. Some tribes migrated to the Volga-Kama region, some probably joined their kinsmen in Pannonia, some remained under Khazar rule, and some, led by ASPARUCH, migrated westward to the area between the Dnieper and the Danube delta. In 681 Asparuch and his followers invaded Byz. territory south of the Danube and established the First Bulgarian Empire. About the same time a group of Pannonian Bulgars and their Slav and Greek subjects led by Kouber migrated to northern Macedonia; Byz. authorities recognized their presence there. Both Bulgar groups had long been in contact with agricultural peoples and had largely given up their pastoral way of life. They quickly mingled with the Slavs among whom they settled, becoming a single people called Bulgarians. By the end of the 9th C. the Bulgars had probably ceased to exist as a separate ethnic and linguistic group. (See also PROTO-BULGARIAN INSCRIPTIONS.)

LIT. V. Beševliev, *Die protobulgarische Periode der bulgarischen Geschichte* (Amsterdam 1981). Idem, *Pŭrvobŭlgariite*:

Bit i kultura (Sofia 1981). V. Gjuzelev, *The Protobulgarians: Pre-History of Asparouhian Bulgaria* (Sofia 1979). P. Petrov, *Obrazuvane na bulgarskata dŭrŭŭava* (Sofia 1981). A. Stojnev, *Svetogledŭt na Prabŭlgariite* (Sofia 1985). N. Mavrodinov, *Le trŕsor protobulgare de Nagyszentmiklŕs* (Budapest 1943). O. Pritsak, *Die bulgarische Fŭrstenliste und die Sprache der Protobulgaren* (Wiesbaden 1955). *Problemi na prabŭlgarskata istorija i kultura, II meŭdunarodna sreŭŭa po prabŭlgarska archeologia, Ŗumen* 1986 (Sofia 1989). —R.B.

BUREAUCRACY. Byz. was governed by the EMPEROR and administered by a corps of officials. The Byz. did not restrict the ruling class to a Greek version of the Western *oratores* and *bellatores*, clergy and knights, but regularly regarded officials as a separate category of the elite, often described as *synkletikoi*, SENATORS (Kazhdan, *Gosp.klass.* 66–70). In the broad sense of the term, bureaucracy also encompassed military commanders and ecclesiastical functionaries. We do not have figures to determine the size of the bureaucracy, although the number of officials was larger than in any other medieval European society. Very approximate data can be drawn from the early 5th-C. NOTITIA DIGNITATUM and the *Kletorologion* of PHILOTHEOS. Around 400, there were 103 main offices of the central and provincial administration of the eastern part of the empire, both military and civil, and more than 260 subaltern offices (the number of officials should be larger since many offices presupposed several functionaries simultaneously); ca.900, there were 59 main and about 500 subaltern offices, despite a drastic contraction of imperial territory.

The main spheres of administrative activity, besides ecclesiastical, were military, fiscal, and judicial—this categorization provided by chrysobulls from the end of the 11th C. PROVINCIAL ADMINISTRATION was in the hands of either military commanders or JUDGES, while DIPLOMACY was not consistently separated from the general administration. A significant role was assigned to various imperial chanceries whose function was the composition of documents and the handling of correspondence addressed to the *basileus*. After the abolition of the office of the PRAETORIAN PREFECT no functionary presided over the whole executive activity; the MESAZON or PARADYNASTEUON who tended to assume this role remained a semi-official imperial favorite.

There were neither social nor educational requirements for recruitment of civil servants—even

illiterate officials are known. EDUCATION, however, did provide one avenue of entrance, while children of officials had a better chance of obtaining administrative positions. By the 12th C. a pattern emerges in which military commanders or fiscal or judicial functionaries predominate in certain families, despite the absence of a hereditary system of TITLES or OFFICES. The combination of land ownership and imperial service was typical, esp. among the military elite, even though the government tried to prohibit the STRATEGOI from acquiring lands within their districts. Civil administrators originated more often than military commanders from families engaged in commerce; they were more likely to be connected with an intellectual milieu and the higher CLERGY.

A typical trait of Byz. bureaucracy was a close connection between the state government and the emperor's household. The difference between the two was ill defined, and the spheres of authority of the emperor's treasury and of the state financial bureau were barely distinguishable. Accordingly, the personnel of the imperial household, including EUNUCHS, was often assigned state functions, both civil and military. Until the end of the 11th C., the imperial household was considered to be a section of the state administration, and courtiers were included in the state hierarchy of the TAKTIKA. The Komnenoi tried to reverse the system and treated the state as the patrimony of the ruling dynasty; relatives of the emperor not only actually obtained high positions in the bureaucracy but also assumed the highest titles by right of consanguinity. A patrimonial element became entrenched in the Palaiologan period. The 14th-C. bureaucracy described by pseudo-KODINOS is based on the principle of consanguinity/affinity and on a post at court rather than on state service.

A position in the bureaucracy was seen as prestigious; it was characterized, esp. from the 12th C. onward, by terms of dependence (on the emperor) such as DOULOS or OIKEIOS; it was strictly contrasted with private service (A. Kazhdan, *RE-SEE* 7 [1969] 469–73). Public service was rewarded by salary (in a direct form or as a part of a province's revenues), by gifts from the emperor on feastdays, by donations of land or incorporeal rights (PRONOIA, CHARISTIKION, etc.), and, finally, by *sportulae* (see SYNETHIAI).

Texts preserve manifold complaints concerning malpractice of officials, esp. tax collectors (coer-

cion, bribery, theft, biased judgment). It is important to remember, however, that historians and hagiographers record primarily exceptional cases, and that the administrative machine could function effectively, although centralization had its negative features—the apparatus was expensive and clumsy, decision making took place in Constantinople, competition between officials could easily grow into intrigues and cabals, and bureaucratic omnipotence opened broad opportunities for personal gain.

Modern scholars, particularly J.B. Bury and F. Dölger, have considered the Byz. bureaucracy as a coherent system with a well-defined division of functions, which drew upon the late Roman administration so that new offices smoothly replaced the old ones. This picture is idealized and simplified; the bureaucracy was often in a state of confusion with the result that the same term might designate various offices, different departments might fulfill identical functions, SEKRETA might combine responsibilities of completely different kinds, and rivalry penetrated the whole state machinery. Direct connection with the Roman system is illusory and based primarily on the deceptive similarity of terms. It is quite probable that around the 7th C. the bureaucracy underwent a profound transformation that cannot, however, be explained by reform or a series of reforms; the main features of the gradual change were replacement of the PREFECTURE by the system of LOGOTHESIA, introduction of THEMES, and the decline of MUNICIPAL ADMINISTRATION. The struggle for centralization was won by the emperors of the 9th and 10th C. The resistance of themes was crushed, the army of TAGMATA created, and an orderly hierarchy established. The 11th C. witnessed the triumph of the centralized administration of the civil bureaucracy that soon revealed its negative features. The Komnenoi tried to rebuild the bureaucracy on the patrimonial basis that, after a reaction under Andronikos I and the Angeloi, was revived by the Laskarids. The small state of the Palaiologoi yielded to decentralizing tendencies; the administration in Constantinople merged with the court, and in the provinces local forces achieved administrative independence.

LIT. A. Guillou, *La civilisation byzantine* (Paris 1974) 103–95. T.F. Carney, *Bureaucracy in Traditional Society* (Lawrence, Kans., 1971). J.B. Bury, *The Imperial Administrative System in the Ninth Century* (London 1911), with an index by

M. Gregoriou-Ioannidou in *EEPhSPTh* 10 (1968) 165–240. G. Weiss, *Oströmische Beamte im Spiegel der Schriften des Michael Psellos* (Munich 1973). A. Hohlweg, *Beiträge zur Verwaltungsgeschichte des Oströmischen Reiches unter den Komnenen* (Munich 1965). W. Kaegi, "Some Perspectives on Byzantine Bureaucracy," in *The Organization of Power: Aspects of Bureaucracy in the Ancient Near East*, ed. McG. Gibson, R. Biggs (Chicago 1987) 151–59. —A.K.

BURGUNDIANS (*Βουργουνδοί*), a Germanic tribe that crossed the Rhine in 406 and settled in the middle Rhineland. In 443, following their defeat by the Huns, AETIUS resettled them in the Rhone-Saône valleys (Burgundy) and eastern Switzerland. The kingdom of Burgundy, by virtue of its rich Roman heritage, well-entrenched Gallo-Roman aristocracy, and proximity to Italy, was the most romanized of all the barbarian states. Although the Burgundians were Arian, relations with the orthodox Gallo-Roman clergy were such that Avitus, bishop of Vienna, was permitted by King Gundobad to convert his son and successor Sigismund to orthodoxy in 516. At least three Burgundian kings were granted an official title by Eastern emperors, perhaps *magister utriusque militiae per Gallias*. Eastern influence in Burgundy is evident in the presence of 5th-C. churches dedicated to Sts. Kosmas and Damianos, Christopher, and George. The Greek TRISAGION was also introduced into the Western Mass by way of Burgundy in the early 6th C. Burgundy was overrun by the FRANKS under Clovis in 534. The Franks sent a contingent of Burgundians to support the Ostrogoths in their struggle against Justinian I's forces in Italy. Tiberios I tried to intervene in Burgundian politics in order to secure Burgundian support against the LOMBARDS in Italy, but failed.

LIT. W. Goffart, "Byzantine Policy in the West under Tiberius II and Maurice," *Traditio* 13 (1957) 73–118. J. Richard, *Histoire de la Bourgogne* (Toulouse 1978) 90–130. Thompson, *Romans & Barbarians* 23–37. H. Rosenberg, "Bishop Avitus of Vienna and the Burgundian Kingdom," *Journal of the Rocky Mountain Medieval and Renaissance Association* 3 (1982) 1–12. —R.B.H.

BURGUNDIO OF PISA, jurist, diplomat, Latin translator of Greek texts; born ca. 1110, died 30 Oct. 1193. On 10 Apr. 1136 Burgundio appeared at Constantinople as an interpreter (along with MOSES OF BERGAMO) at the theological disputation of ANSELM of Havelberg, Lothar III's ambassador to Emp. John II Komnenos, with Niketas, met-

ropolitan of Nikomedeia. His career as a Pisan jurist (1140–74) is well documented. From 7 Nov. 1168 to 9 Nov. 1171 he helped head an embassy to Emp. Manuel I intended to restore PISA's competitive position with her commercial rivals at Constantinople (*Reg* 1, no. 1499). Burgundio's theological translations comprise Chrysostom's *Homilies on Matthew* (finished on 29 Nov. 1151 for Pope Eugenius III from a MS supplied by the Latin patriarch of Antioch); part of John of Damascus's *Fountain of Knowledge*, or *Pege gnoseos* (1153 or 1154); Nemesios (ca. 1164 or 1165; dedicated to Frederick I); and Chrysostom's *Homilies on John* (begun during the embassy from two MSS loaned by Byz. monasteries; finished 1179). He also translated Galen's *On the Sects* (1185; dedicated probably to Henry VI), Greek passages of the *Digest* of Justinian, and the *Geoponika*. His annotations occur in Greek MSS Florence, Laur. 74.5, 74.18, 74.25, 74.30, and Paris, B.N. gr. 1849. Burgundio reproduced the Greek as closely as possible but shows semantic flexibility for individual words; his versions shed light on the Byz. transmission of these works.

ED. See R. Durling, *LMA* 2:1097f. for list of ed.
LIT. P. Classen, *Burgundio von Pisa: Richter, Gesandter, Übersetzer* (Heidelberg 1974). —M.McC.

BURIAL (*ταφή*). Although practices varied in different areas, it was common in warm countries to bury the deceased on the first day after death. Following FUNERAL preparations, the ceremony at the TOMB—including prayers, incense, and the EPITAPHIOS oration—centered on saying farewell to the departed and praying for his salvation and the pardon of his sins. The majority of people were buried in CEMETERIES, which were located outside of a city, town, or village. Some corpses were buried with valuables, which made their tombs liable to GRAVE-ROBBING.

Although a law of 381 (*Cod.Theod.* IX 17.6) prohibited the practice of burials in churches, it continued for clerics, distinguished monks, emperors, and influential laymen and their families. MAUSOLEUMS and MARTYRIA were erected to commemorate some imperial family members or the most venerated martyrs. Three distinct types of burials are to be found in Byz. churches from early Christian times on: ARCOSOLIA, tombs in the pavement, and SARCOPHAGI. All these types are

found in church porches, narthexes, naves, chapels, PAREKKLESIA, burial chambers, and CRYPTS. The burial sites were frequently reserved by individuals during their lifetime; for example, in the 13th-C. *typikon* for the LIPS MONASTERY in Constantinople, Empress Theodora prescribed the placement of her tomb as well as those of her family in various locations in the narthex and the nave of the church.

After the burial relatives of the deceased observed a period of mourning, during which, on the third, ninth, and fortieth day, they commemorated and prayed for the soul of the departed and prepared KOLLYBA.

LIT. N.P. Ševčenko, C.S. Snively, D. Abrahamse, N.B. Teteriatnikov, and S. Čurčić in *GOrThR* 29 (1984) 115–95. J. Kyriakakis, "Byzantine Burial Customs," *GOrThR* 19 (1974) 37–72. A. Rush, *Death and Burial in Christian Antiquity* (Washington, D.C., 1941). —N.T., Ap.K.

BURNING BUSH, a theophany to MOSES on Mt. SINAI (Ex 3:1–6). Pilgrims such as EGERIA (1.2–2.7) visited the site, and the monastery of St. CATHERINE reportedly was built there. The miracle was depicted early, for example, at the synagogue at DURA EUROPOS, at S. Maria Maggiore at Rome (432–40), and at S. Vitale at Ravenna (ca. 540). In and after the 9th C. it is often included with the scene of Moses receiving the Law, since both accounts are connected with Mt. Sinai. In the PARIS PSALTER and the Bible of LEO SAKELLARIOS, for example, the burning bush is represented halfway up the mountain. The Exodus account was read both at vespers and in the liturgy of the feast of the Annunciation, and the burning bush was already treated as a type of the Virgin by Gregory of Nyssa (PG 44:332D), a theme developed in later homilies and prayers. Images of the Virgin or Virgin and Child within the burning bush are found in Palaiologan art, for example, in a cycle of such prefigurations in the *parekklesion* of the CHORA MONASTERY.

LIT. M.Q. Smith, *LCI* 1:510f. S. Der Nersessian in Underwood, *Kariye Djami* 4:336–38. —J.H.L., C.B.T.

BUSTA GALLORUM (*Βουσταγαλλῶρων*, lit. "tombs of the Gauls"), site on the via Flaminia, between Rome and Ravenna, near Tadinæ (H.N. Roisile, *RE* supp. 14 [1974] 749–58, 799–809). Here, at the end of June/early July 552, NARSES

crushed TOTILA and thereby decisively broke the resistance of the Ostrogoths, marking the beginning of the end of their organized fighting ability. The Byz. enjoyed two-to-one numerical superiority, using Lombards, Herulians, and other barbarian infantry. The battle began with a single combat won by Anzalas, a retainer of Narses. Waiting for a troop of 2,000 mounted soldiers, Totila started a display of riding skill aimed at delaying the fight. Narses deployed his army in the shape of a crescent with *foederati* in the center and archers on the flanks. The Ostrogoths tried to smash the center but met a storm of arrows from the flanks. Prokopios, the only source for the battle, ascribes to Totila the order to use not bows but spears only (*Wars* 8:32.6). The unexpected counterattack of Roman cavalry finally compelled the Ostrogoths to retreat; 6,000 of them fell in battle, and many others who had surrendered were massacred. Totila, mortally wounded, fled.

LIT. H.N. Roisile in F. Altheim, *Geschichte der Hunnen*, vol. 5 (Berlin 1962) 363–77. H. Delbrück, *History of the Art of War*, vol. 2 (Westport, Conn., 1980) 351–61. —W.E.K., A.K.

BUTCHER. In the late Roman and Byz. eras a distinct terminology was used for dealers in and butchers of SWINE and merchants/butchers of other kinds of LIVESTOCK (primarily cattle and SHEEP). A law of 419 (*Cod.Theod.* XIV 4.10), for example, united the separate guilds of swine merchants (*suarii*) and cattle merchants (*pecuarii*). In Egypt the pork butcher (*choiromageiros*) was often a separate tradesman (e.g., P.Cair.Masp. II 67164.3). The term *makellarios* (cattle butcher) appears several times in late Roman inscriptions from Korykos (*MAMA* 3, nos. 280, 538, and possibly 388); one of these inscriptions commemorates George *makellarios logarites*, perhaps a treasurer of the butchers' guild.

The 10th-C. *Book of the Eparch* (chs. 15–16) divides the butchers/merchants into two guilds, the *makellarioi* and the *choiremporoi* (swine merchants); the *makellarioi* were strictly prohibited from buying swine and storing pork. At this time the *makellarioi* and *choiremporoi* served numerous functions, purchasing the animals, slaughtering them, and cutting up and selling their meat; in contrast the late Roman *suarii* and *pecuarii* were middlemen who bought animals from stockbreed-

ers and sold them to the actual butchers (*lanii*). Theophanes the Confessor (Theoph. 225.8–9) used the term *kreopoles* for the tradesman who both slaughtered animals and sold the meat.

Butchers in Constantinople were required to operate in authorized markets—Strategion and Tauros. They were forbidden to go to Nikomedeia or other nearby towns to receive delivery of sheep or to buy swine outside these markets; *makellarioi* were, however, allowed to travel beyond the Sangarios River in order to purchase animals for a lower price. *Makellarioi* had to set prices under the supervision of the eparch; they received the heads, feet, and entrails of the butchered animals as their profit but had to sell the remainder according to the fixed price.

A few seals of butchers survive. An 8th-C. seal of the *makellarios* Anastasios (Zacos, *Seals* 1, no. 735) implies that butchers could have administrative functions. There is also a 10th-C. seal of the *makellarios* Leo (Zacos, *Seals* 2, no. 933). A guild of butchers probably existed in 15th-C. Thessalonike; in any case, a *protomakellarios* is attested there (S. Kougeas, *BZ* 23 [1920] 145.10, 146.39). The functions of the guild at this time, however, seem to have expanded, so that a *protomakellarios* in Constantinople also dealt in wool (Oikonomides, *Hommes d'affaires* 111). There is evidence of a struggle in Constantinople in the Palaiologan period over market privileges: in 1320 a Venetian *bailo* protested the prohibition on Venetian meat and fish dealers in the capital's meat market (Matschke, *Fortschritt* 96).

LIT. Stöckle, *Zünfte* 42–45. Bk. of Eparch 222–31. A. Graeber, *Untersuchungen zum spätromischen Korporationswesen* (Frankfurt am Main–Bern–New York 1983) 90–97.

–A.C.

BYTHOS (*Βυθός*), PERSONIFICATION of the Depths of the Sea, occurring most commonly in representations of the CROSSING OF THE RED SEA. Bythos is usually shown as a powerful naked male pulling Pharaoh from his horse into the water. Unknown in Early Christian imagery, he appears from the 10th C. in PSALTER illustration and the OCTATEUCHS. In the Bible of LEO SAKELLARIOS this figure is identified as Pontos, the Sea. (See also THALASSA.)

–A.C.

BYZACENA (*Βυσσάντις χώρα* in antiquity). Under Diocletian, southern AFRICA PROCONSULARIS was formed into a new province known as *Valeria*

Byzacena. Byzacena was a major producer of agricultural goods from imperial and private domains situated on the eastern coast (Sahel) and near important inland towns such as SUFETULA (Sbeitla) and Thelepte. In 442 Valentinian III ceded Byzacena to the VANDALS. In the late 5th and early 6th C. much of southern Byzacena fell under the control of MAURI tribes. Following the Justinianic reconquest, Byzacena was ruled by both civil and military governors. The province was the scene of frequent warfare between the Byz. and Mauri until ca. 571. Byzacena continued, however, to export oil to Constantinople and other parts of the Mediterranean, although in evidently reduced volume. Surveys conducted around Sufetula and Cillium (Kasserine) show a decline in rural settlement in the 6th and 7th C. Byzacena was invaded by the Arabs in 647 and again in 665 and 669. In 670 a permanent Arab presence was established at Qayrawān. By the 680s the province was considered lost by Byz. authorities.

The ecclesiastical province of Byzacena did not emerge before the mid-4th C. Donatists predominated in the mountainous regions, Orthodox in the plains and coast; unlike NUMIDIA, Byzacena was not torn by conflicts between the two sects. Byzacena was, however, a center of Orthodox resistance to the Arian Vandals and at the forefront of African opposition in the THREE CHAPTERS controversy. Byzacena was also involved in opposition to MONOTHELETISM, which crystallized in the brief revolt (646–47) of the exarch GREGORY.

LIT. A. Chastagnol, "Les gouverneurs de Byzacène et de Tripolitaine," *AntAfr* 1 (1967) 119–34. Pringle, *Defence*. J.-M. Lassère, "La Byzacène méridionale au milieu du VI^e s. apC d'après la *Johannide* de Corippus," *Pallas* 31 (1984) 163–78. R.B. Hitchner, "The Kasserine Archaeological Survey," *AntAfr* 24 (1988) 7–41.

–R.B.H.

BYZANTINE ERA, a system of computation of world CHRONOLOGY devised by the 7th C. Its elements are noticeable in the CHRONICON PASCHALE written in the 630s. In 638/9 the monk and priest George elaborated its principles in a treatise on the computation of Easter (F. Diekamp, *BZ* 9 [1900] 24–32); it is difficult to decide whether he was the same priest and *hegoumenos* George to whom Maximus the Confessor dispatched a letter (PG 91:56–61) at approximately the same time. George's point of departure was the observation

that according to the ALEXANDRIAN ERA the sun had to be created on the fourth day of its course and the moon in its full phase, already on the fifteenth day of its course. To eliminate this contradiction George made a shift of 16 years and concluded that the Creation took place not 5,492 but 5,508 years before the birth of Christ. Only by the end of the 10th C. did this system of dating become prevalent, although sporadic use of it in ecclesiastical documents can be found earlier, e.g., in 691 (V. Benešević, *Syntagma XIV titulorum* [St. Petersburg 1906; rp. Leipzig 1974] 145.17–19). The era began originally on 21 Mar., but later (9th/10th C.) was shifted to 1 Sept.

To convert a Byz. Era date to an A.D. date, where commencement of year is 21 Mar., subtract 5,507 for dates between 1 Jan. and 20 Mar., but 5,508 for dates between 21 Mar. and 31 Dec.; where commencement of year is 1 Sept., subtract 5,508 for dates between 1 Jan. and 31 Aug., but 5,509 for dates between 1 Sept. and 31 Dec.

LIT. Grumel, *Chronologie* 98–128.

–B.C., A.K.

BYZANTINE RITE, the liturgical system of the Byz. Orthodox church, comprising the SACRAMENTS; the HOURS and VIGILS; the liturgical YEAR with its CALENDAR OF FEASTS, FASTS, and saints' days; and a variety of lesser AKOLOUTHIAI (blessings, ENKAINIA, EXORCISMS, monastic investiture, etc.), all codified in LITURGICAL BOOKS.

Renowned for the sumptuousness of its ceremonial and for its rich liturgical symbolism, the Byz. rite—in part the heritage of the imperial splendors of Constantinople—is actually a hybrid of Constantinopolitan and Palestinian rites gradually synthesized over the course of the 9th–14th C. Its history can be divided into four phases: "palaeo-Byz." (late Roman), imperial, Stoudite, and neo-Sabaitic. Antioch was the major center of liturgical diffusion in the prefecture of Oriens, and with several early bishops of Byzantion coming from Antioch or its environs, the early Constantinopolitan ASMATIKE AKOLOUTHIA and liturgy of the Eucharist, esp. the ANAPHORA, bear Antiochene traits. In the 6th–7th C., esp. under Justinian I with the construction of HAGIA SOPHIA, the Byz. rite became "imperial," acquiring great ritual splendor and theological explicitation, the latter the result of the contemporary Christological controversies; new feasts, the creed, and sev-

eral new chants (TRISAGION, MONOGENES, CHEROUBIKON) were added at this time.

By the 9th–10th C. the church of Constantinople had evolved its complete liturgical system, codified in the TYPIKON OF THE GREAT CHURCH. The monastic victory over ICONOCLASM resulted in the gradual monasticization of the LITURGY, esp. the adoption by THEODORE OF STODIOS of Palestinian monastic usages for the hours, which initiated an eventual fusion of Constantinopolitan and Palestinian liturgical books. The monks of STODIOS gradually combined the HOROLOGION of the imported Palestinian office of St. Sabas with the EUCHOLOGION of the Great Church to create the hybrid "Stoudite" office: Palestinian monastic psalmody and hymns merged with the litanies and prayers of the Constantinopolitan *asmatike akolouthia*. This period is characterized by a massive infusion of new liturgical poetry into the offices, monastic compositions from both Palestine and Constantinople, and their gathering into new anthologies (OKTOECHOS, TRIODION, PENTEKOSTARION, MENAION). It is in this period that the first STOUDITE TYPIKA appear to regulate the use of these new "prophers."

Meanwhile, the Byz. rite was spreading to the patriarchates of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem, as these churches, weakened successively by the Monophysite schism, the Islamic conquests, and later the Crusades, gradually abandoned their own liturgies in favor of the Byz. rite. This process, already observable in MSS of the 9th C., was fostered esp. by Theodore BALSAMON and was more or less complete in Alexandria and Antioch by the end of the 13th C., though the Liturgy of St. James remained in use longer in the patriarchate of Jerusalem (C. Charon [Korolevskij] in *Chrysostomika* [Rome 1908] 473–718; J. Nasrallah, *OrChr* 71 [1987] 156–81).

The Stoudite office, adopted throughout the Byz. monastic world, underwent further Sabaitic influence in Palestine. The result, codified in the SABAITIC TYPIKA, was adopted on Mt. Athos, where it received its final form under Patr. PHILOTHEOS KOKKINOS. This "neo-Sabaitic" rite was to spread further in the wake of the reform movement under the patriarchate of Philotheos, even replacing the *asmatike akolouthia* everywhere but Thessalonike. By the end of the empire the Byz. rite was in use throughout the Orthodox world and Sabaitic *typika* in force everywhere except south-

ern Italy and Rus', which still retained Stoudite usages.

LIT. M. Arranz, "Les grandes étapes de la liturgie byzantine: Palestine-Byzance-Russie," *Liturgie de l'église particulière et liturgie de l'église universelle* (Rome 1976) 43-72. Taft, "Bibl. of Hours," nos. 40, 45f, 49, 52, 71, 132. Taft, "Mount Athos," 179-94. —R.F.T.

BYZANTION (Βυζάντιον, also Βυζαντίς), name of a Megarian colony at the southern mouth of the BOSPOROS, reportedly founded ca.660 B.C. The word is of Thracian origin; cf. the town of BIZYE, the river Barbyzes, etc. Ancient and Byz. legends considered a certain Byzas (the son of the nymph Semestre or a legendary Thracian king) as the founder of the city, sometimes together with the mythical Antes. The *Parastaseis syntomoi chronikai* often refers to "the days of Byzas and Antes" (e.g., *Parastaseis* 100.17); a combination of these two names must explain the toponym Byz-Ant-ion.

Constantine I chose Byzantion as the site of his residence, transformed gradually into a new capital. Byz. authors through the 15th C. (e.g., Douk. 43.9) used the name *Byzantion* for their capital, although the official designation was CONSTANTINOPLE (Gr. Konstantinoupolis, "the city of Constantine"). The Byz. never extended the name *Byzantion* to their empire, which was termed "of the Rhomaioi"; for them the Byzantioi were the inhabitants of the capital. The term *Byzantine Empire* was coined by 16th-C. humanists.

Layout and Monuments. Seeing that Byzantion was absorbed into Constantinople without any radical replanning, its layout influenced that of the new city and many of its buildings survived into the Byz. period. The ancient city walls, renowned for their strength, described an arc from the Golden Horn to the Propontis, passing a short distance east of what was to be Constantine's Forum. Demolished by Septimius Severus in 195-96, they were rebuilt in the second half of the 3rd C., probably along the same line. The acropolis of Byzantion, on the site of the present Seraglio, contained the main temples, which were still standing in the 6th C. Two fortified harbors lay within the walls on the shore of the Golden Horn. Next to them was an agora (later the Strategion). A second agora, called TETRASTOON, is represented by the open space south of HAGIA SOPHIA, later the AUGUSTAION. From there a colonnaded

street, ascribed to Severus, led westward to the city gate. The theater, amphitheater (in the region of MANGANA), the baths of Achilles and ZEUXIPPOS, the aqueduct of Hadrian, and possibly the HIPPODROME were further features of the ancient city that survived into the Middle Ages. The cemetery of Byzantion lay west of the city walls. The archaeological remains of Byzantion are very meager except for a good number of inscriptions.

LIT. J. Miller, *RE* 3 (1899) 1116-50. V.P. Nevskaja, *Byzanz in der klassischen und hellenistischen Epoche* (Leipzig 1955). H. Merle, *Die Geschichte der Städte Byzantion und Kalchedon* (Kiel 1916). Dagron, *CP imaginaire* 62-69. P.A. Dethier, A.D. Mordtmann, *Epigraphik von Byzantion und Constantinopolis* [= *Denk Wien* 13] (Vienna 1864). N. Firatli, *Les stèles funéraires de Byzance gréco-romaine* (Paris 1964). —C.M., A.K.

BYZANTIUM, or Byzantine Empire, conventional name of a medieval state that existed for more than one thousand years. It can be viewed as a continuation of the Roman Empire inasmuch as its legal and administrative systems retained numerous Roman features; at the same time, it underwent significant transformations, evolving into a Christian and primarily Greek-speaking state centered on the Balkans and eastern Mediterranean. The Byz. themselves called their state the Roman Empire (*basileia ton Rhomaion*) rather than Byzantium, applying the name BYZANTION only to their capital, renamed CONSTANTINOPLE. Byzantium as a term for the state was introduced into scholarship only in the 16th C. by Hieronymus Wolf (1516-80).

Since there is no act formally proclaiming the inauguration of Byz., no revolution abolishing the "ancient regime," the date of its beginning remains under discussion; most scholars prefer the date of 324 (or 330), when Constantinople was founded by CONSTANTINE I THE GREAT, or 395, when the Roman Empire was divided between the sons of THEODOSIOS I. It is easier to set a precise date for the end of Byz.; it ceased to exist in 1453 when Constantinople was captured by the OTTOMANS, although some remnants of the empire (the despotate of MOREA, the empire of TREBIZOND) retained their independence until 1460 and 1461, respectively.

The population was multinational; after the loss of the eastern provinces to the Arabs in the 7th C., it was composed primarily of Greeks, Armenians, and Slavs. Its size is hard to estimate: J.C.

Russell (*TAPHS* 48.3 [1958] 93) proposed about 10.7 million inhabitants for Asia Minor and the Balkans ca.600 (see DEMOGRAPHY). Greek was the official LANGUAGE from the 7th C. onward, although many ethnic minorities kept their own languages. The principal religion was Orthodox Christianity, but Armenians, Jews, and Muslims observed their own rites. Constantinople, which was founded as the emperor's residence, became the capital by the 5th C. and remained the center of administration, culture, and cult until the end of the empire except for a short period of Latin occupation (1204-61), when the capital was moved to NICAEA.

Geography of the Empire. Byz. territory was constantly in flux: originally encircling the entire MEDITERRANEAN SEA (extending over an area of more than 1,000,000 sq km in 560), it shrank first to a state occupying only the Balkans and north-eastern Mediterranean, then to a state surrounding the AEGEAN SEA, and finally to a tiny domain on the BOSPOROS. For much of its history the Balkan peninsula and Asia Minor were its nucleus, supplying basic foodstuffs and manpower. This region is characterized by mountainous terrain (major ranges are the Haimos or BALKANS, RHODOPE, Taygetos, Pontic and Armenian ranges, the TAURUS) with vast plateaus (e.g., CAPPADOCIA) and relatively few valleys; the RIVERS, save for the DANUBE and EUPHRATES on its frontiers, are not major waterways, and are open to navigation only in their lower reaches. This landscape, tending to separate one region from another, strongly contrasts with the politically unified structure of the empire. Indented coastlines and numerous islands provided harbors and formed convenient "stepping stones" from Constantinople to Crete and from the western Balkans to Italy; however, as the empire's political authority over the Mediterranean region diminished, its merchants lost their monopoly on COMMERCE and yielded first to the Arabs and then to the Italians.

The empire possessed a variety of climatic and agricultural zones: regions with hot weather, suitable for growing cotton and palm trees; typically moderate Mediterranean areas producing olives and grapes; northern valleys rich in grain; mountainous plateaus providing pasture for flocks. This diversity of CLIMATE contributed to the development of TRANSHUMANCE on varying scales. There is no evidence for climatic change in the Byz.

period. The issue of erosion has been much debated: there is no doubt that many harbors silted up and coastlines changed with the deposit of alluvium, but this may have been the result of commercial negligence rather than the cause of decreasing economic activity.

LIT. *Tabula imperii byzantini*, vol. 1- (Vienna 1976-). J. Koder, *Der Lebensraum der Byzantiner* (Graz-Vienna-Cologne 1984). A. Guillou, *La civilisation byzantine* (Paris 1974) 19-100. A. Philippson, *Das byzantinische Reich als geographische Erscheinung* (Leiden 1939). O. Maull, "Der Einfluss geographischer Faktoren auf die Geschichte des byzantinischen Reiches," *SüdostF* 21 (1962) 2-21. —A.K.

BYZANTIUM, HISTORY OF. This article is composed of an introductory overview of periodization, followed by six essays on the major divisions of Byz. history.

AN OVERVIEW. The separation of Byz. history into periods, like any historical periodization, is one artificially imposed by scholars. The most broadly used periodization is the tripartite division into early, middle, and late periods. This system has, however, two substantial shortcomings: first of all, it is based not on actual historical developments, but on the dubious philosophical premise that three is a magical figure; second, there is no common consensus concerning the borderlines between particular periods. The conventional system of periodization places the beginning of Byz. history either in the early 4th C. with the foundation of CONSTANTINOPLE by CONSTANTINE I THE GREAT or at the end of that century with the division of the empire into Eastern and Western halves under the sons of Theodosios I, ARKADIOS and HONORIUS. There is much less agreement about what marks the end of the "early Byzantine" period (and, accordingly, the beginning of the "middle Byzantine" period); it has been variously dated to 565 (death of JUSTINIAN I), 610 (accession of HERAKLEIOS), 717 (beginning of the ISAURODYNASTY), and 843 (defeat of ICONOCLASM and the TRIUMPH OF ORTHODOXY). For the end of the middle Byzantine period scholars have usually chosen either 1071 (battle of MANTZIKERT) or 1204 (capture of Constantinople by the Latins). The "late Byzantine" period is traditionally dated from 1204 (or 1261, the recovery of Constantinople by the Byz.) to 1453, when Constantinople fell to the Turks.

The following historical survey does not attempt to establish precise boundaries between periods based upon specific political events; instead, this scheme for the most part uses vaguer, approximate dates corresponding to internal developments rather than to changes imposed from without. Thus, the proposed framework represents a more elaborate periodization than the traditional tripartite division while carrying the acknowledgment that it, too, represents an artificial scheme.

Period of the Late Roman Empire (4th–mid-7th C.), dubbed “Protophysantine” by Lemerle (*Agr.Hist.* 1–26). The application of the term “Byzantine” to this period is debatable, since the empire of this time preserved the main features of ancient urban society and remained a Mediterranean state par excellence. The issue is further confused by the fact that some scholars refer to papyri of the 6th and 7th C. as “late Byzantine,” and that likewise the final period of Byz. rule in Syria and Palestine (6th–7th C.) may be termed “late Byzantine.”

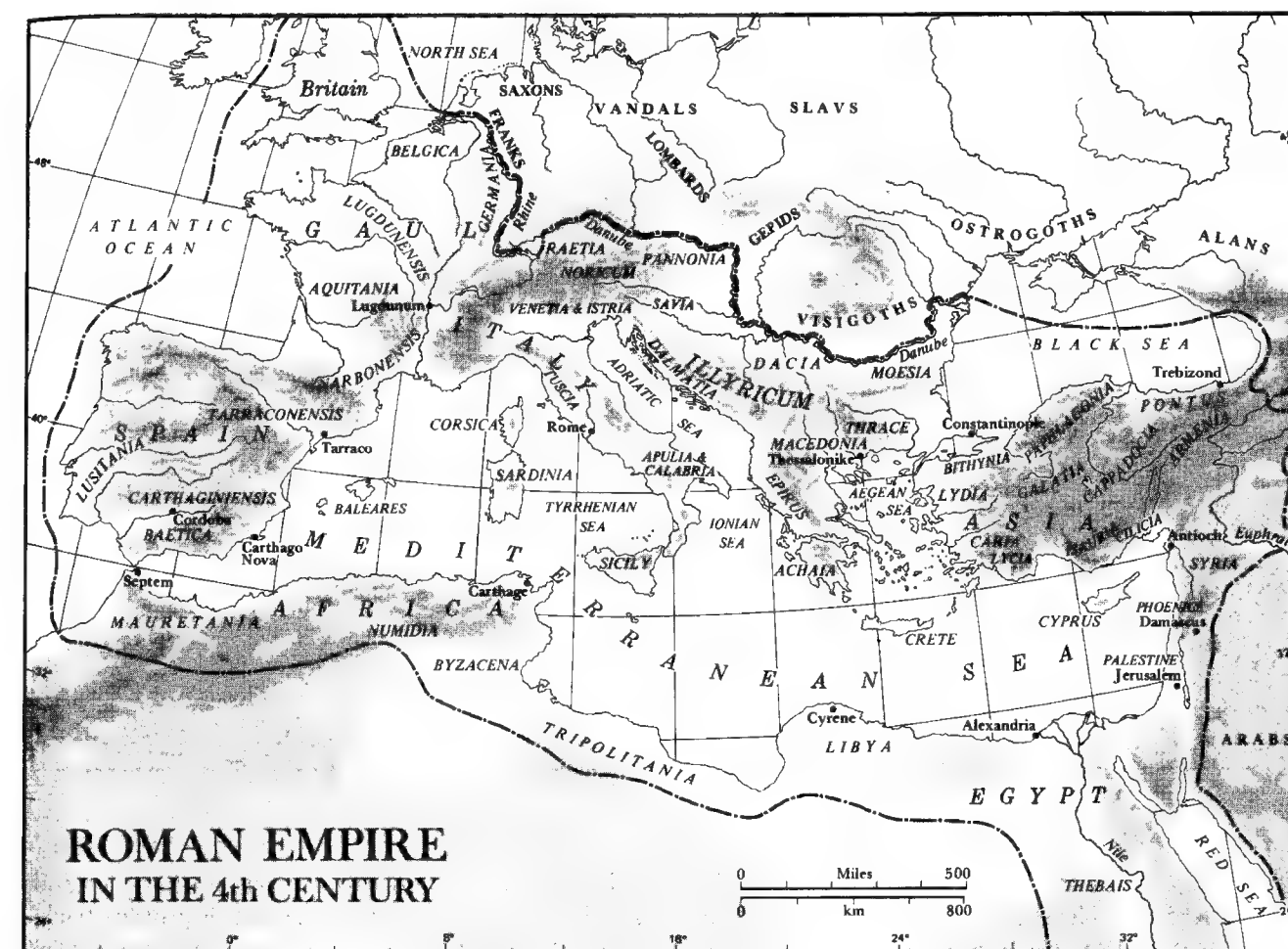
Period of the “Dark Ages” (mid-7th C. to ca.800/850) is characterized by the crisis of ancient city life, aggravated by serious territorial losses and cultural decline. Sometimes it is called the “period of Iconoclasm,” even though the two phenomena do not fully coincide chronologically; moreover, the concept of Iconoclasm does not cover all the changes that Byz. society underwent during this time. No more fortunate is the attempt to describe this period as one of Slavic penetration into the empire, which allegedly caused an essential restructuring of the Byz. economy and administration. In the first half of the 9th C. occurred the first stages of the process of recovery and consolidation that was to characterize the next period.

Age of Recovery and Consolidation (ca.800/850–1000), sometimes called the period of the “Macedonian renaissance” or of *ENCYCLOPEDIA*. The latter term is more appropriate, although it refers only to cultural developments. During this period the “classic” form of the Byz. centralized and “totalitarian” state was established, and ideological and cultural uniformity was superimposed upon society. At the end of this period Byz. launched a series of offensive wars and managed to recover some of its territory in the east and the Balkans.

Period of “Westernization” and the Empire of Nicaea (ca.1000–1261), divided into two unequal parts by the fall of Constantinople to the Fourth Crusade in 1204. Characteristic traits of this period are the rise of provincial towns and of a semifederal nobility, developments that were accompanied by a cultural flowering that is here called “pre-Renaissance” (the traditional term is “Komnenian renaissance”). Byz. took substantial steps toward “westernizing” its economy, social structure, and government, and despite religious friction was close to becoming a member of the European community of feudal states. The catastrophe of 1204 seems to have had no radical impact on the economic and social development of Byz.; the political pattern changed, however, and the centralized empire was replaced by a group of independent entities (the empires of NICAIA and TREBIZOND, the despotate of EPIROS, the LATIN EMPIRE with its vassal states).

“Empire of the Straits” (1261–1453). Under the Palaiologan dynasty Byz. was a minor state whose territory continued to shrink under the blows inflicted by the Latins (esp. the CATALAN GRAND COMPANY), Serbs, and OTTOMANS. The desperate situation was aggravated by socioeconomic factors—the growth of semifederal forces, the increasing urbanization of western Europe, and the growing economic dependence of Byz. on the Italian republics of Venice, Genoa, and Pisa. The Byz. retained nevertheless the illusion of being a universal empire, while in the West national states were emerging as the dominant political form. The government and esp. the church could not reconcile their universal claims with the political realities. Byz. was unable to normalize relations with either the Turks or the West, nor could it unite the divided powers of eastern Europe to resist the Turkish onslaught.

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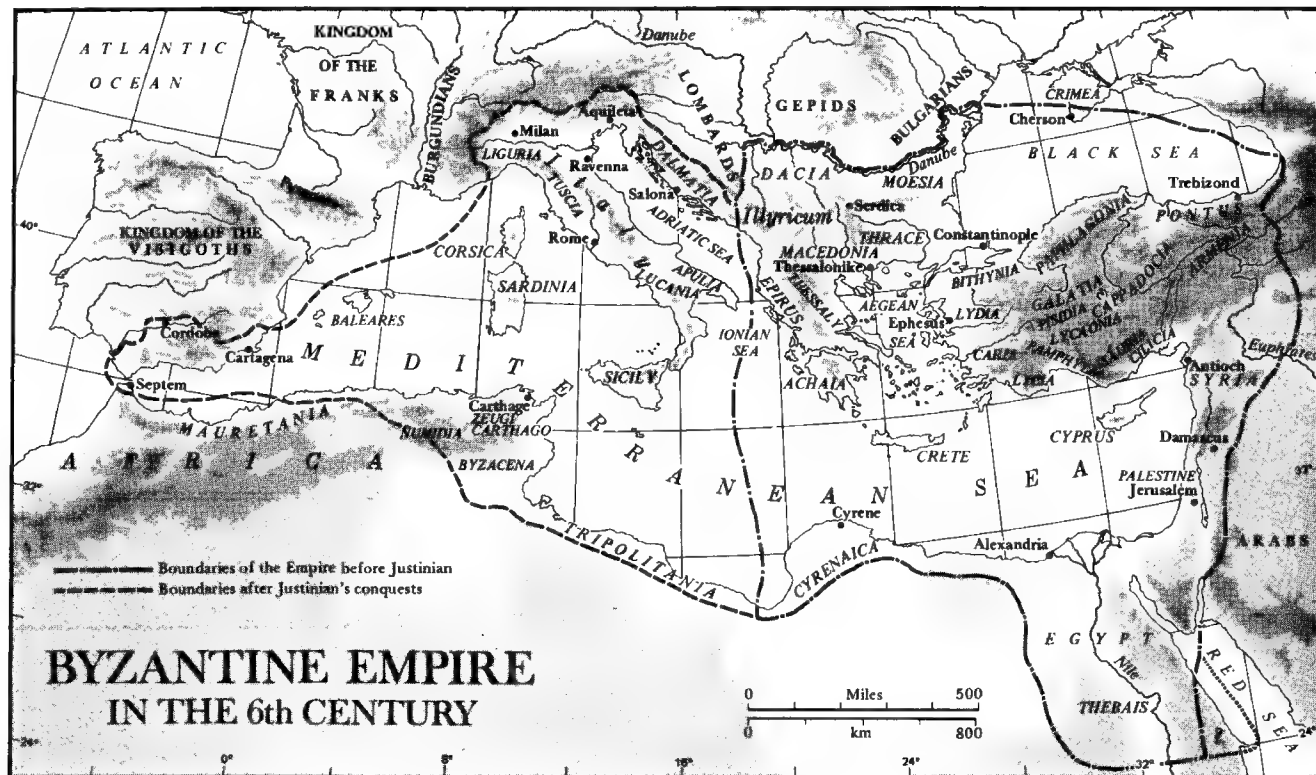


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LATE ROMAN EMPIRE (4th–mid-7th C.). The beginning of the late Roman Empire can be placed ca.300. By that time *DIOCLETIAN*, through a series of administrative and economic reforms, managed to quell the so-called crisis of the 3rd C., during which the empire was beset by internal problems such as impoverishment of the populace, decline of military power, economic and monetary instability, and frequent rebellions and depositions of the emperor, as well as the increasing external threat from Germanic tribes and Sasanian Persia. The system of the *TETRARCHY* established by Diocletian was effective during his 20-year rule but upon his retirement disintegrated. After long power struggles *CONSTANTINE I THE GREAT* emerged victorious in 324. *Constantine's*

policy of toleration of Christianity and his foundation of a new imperial residence in the East, *CONSTANTINOPLE*, were both significant events that began the process of transformation of the Roman Empire into the Byz. Empire.

For a century and a half, until 476, there continued to be emperors in both the Eastern and Western halves of the empire. The rulers in Constantinople managed to avert the threat of the Germanic tribes by diplomacy and accommodation (settling some Germans as *FOEDERATI*) but observed cold-bloodedly (and perhaps even instigated) the barbarian advance into the territory of the Western Empire: *ALARIC* sacked Rome in 410, and later in the 5th C. the *OSTROGOTHS* overran Italy, the *VISIGOTHS* took Spain, and the *VANDALS* North Africa. In 476 the power of the last Western emperor in Italy, *ROMULUS AUGUSTULUS*, was abolished, although *JULIUS NEPOS* continued for



a few more years (until 480) as claimant to the Western throne. Nevertheless, the first Germanic kingdoms on Roman territory were Roman-oriented and, with certain exceptions, ready to acknowledge the theoretical sovereignty of Constantinople. Moreover, in the 6th C. the generals of JUSTINIAN I were able to recover some of the Western lands lost to the barbarians, reestablishing Constantinople's control over Italy, North Africa, and southeastern Spain.

By the end of the 6th C., however, much of Italy was again lost to the empire, when it was overrun by the LOMBARDS. Also at the end of the 6th C. the AVARS and SLAVS began to break through Roman defense lines in the Balkans and to penetrate as far south as the Peloponnesos. The threat of the rival Sasanian Empire was contained until the early 7th C., when the Persians briefly took Egypt, Palestine, and Syria. HERAKLEIOS's recovery of the Holy Land for the Byz. (629) was short-lived; within a decade, the ARABS, newly converted to Islam, had emerged as the dominant power in the Near East, and Byzantium lost its eastern provinces permanently.

The EMPERORS of this period, who originated

primarily from the northern Balkans (Thrace and Illyricum), were sometimes of humble background (Justin I was a peasant, Anastasios I an official, Valens and Leo I were military commanders of mid-rank, Phokas a soldier) or questionable descent (Constantine I was the son of a concubine, Zeno of an Isaurian chieftain). They rarely served as active generals, Julian, Theodosios I, and Herakleios being evident exceptions. Most rulers remained in Constantinople (Theodosios II, Anastasios I, Justinian I); their policies were open to the influence of strong empresses (e.g., Pulcheria, Ariadne, Theodora, Martina) as well as of EUNUCHS and lawyers. Emperors tried to stabilize the throne in two ways: on the one hand, there were attempts to establish a collegiality of power (the tetrarchy, the institution of co-emperors, the system of equal rulers in Rome and Constantinople); on the other hand, an effort was made to build up hereditary power (Constantine I—Constantius II—Julian from 324 to 363, Theodosios I—Arkadios—Theodosios II from 379 to 450). The establishment of dynasties was thwarted, however, by the failure of some of the most successful emperors to produce heirs or by the rivalry

of their sons by different wives; thus, Constantius II, Julian, Theodosios II, Marcian, Zeno, Anastasios I, and Justinian I all died childless, and the deaths of Constantine and Herakleios were followed by power struggles among relatives. In some cases successors to the throne were adopted sons (Tiberios I), nephews (Justinian I, Justin II), sons-in-law (Maurice), or husbands of the late emperor's widow (Anastasios) or sister (Marcian).

In the 4th and 5th C. the empire retained the major features of antiquity: it was still a Mediterranean state bound together not only by political but also by economic, cultural, and linguistic unity. The city and villa formed the cornerstones of the late Roman economy; trade flourished throughout the Mediterranean, and commercial routes over land and sea connected the empire with the remote areas of Ethiopia, India, and the territories beyond the Danube. However, from the 6th C. onward, an economic decline of the POLIS can be traced, primarily in cities of small and medium size. Larger cities (such as Alexandria, Antioch, and Carthage) continued to flourish; their role as administrative centers contributed much to the urban prosperity. Imperial residences played a special role: in the West, Rome preserved the place of honor as the former capital of the empire, but the court moved away—to Milan and then to Ravenna. In the East, Constantinople, inaugurated in 330, became the capital by the mid-5th C., superseding all its administrative, economic, and ecclesiastical rivals, such as Nikomedeia, Naisos, Ephesus, and Alexandria.

By the mid-7th C., however, the urban system was in a state of crisis, both in the areas vulnerable to enemy invasions and in the regions that remained relatively safe from hostile attack. Changes in the countryside are difficult to interpret, since the evidence is contradictory. On the one hand, it is thought that from the 4th C. onward, the colonate (see COLONI) began to assume the traits of personal dependency; by certain scholars this trend is even equated with medieval serfdom. On the other hand, both archaeological data and documentary material indicate that villagers (at least in certain regions) became more prosperous and independent. The ARISTOCRACY also changed in character: both the municipal and senatorial aristocracies (basically hereditary) were replaced (esp. in the East) by a new type of officialdom, seeking and depending on imperial favor.

The administrative structure of the empire was a substantial concern of the authorities; various emperors, esp. Diocletian, Constantine I, and Justinian I, tried to organize and reorganize central and provincial administration, the ARMY, the system of taxation, and court life. Reforms were introduced and abolished, laws promulgated, and voluminous law books (CODEX THEODOSIANUS, CORPUS JURIS CIVILIS) compiled. The main directions of change were as follows: the reinforcement of the central BUREAUCRACY, whose leaders, such as the PRAETORIAN PREFECT and MAGISTER OFFICIORUM, played a decisive part in the administration; the increasing impact of court ceremonial on all aspects of life; the restructuring of the army so that the defensive forces (including the LIMES and the troops of the *foederati*) acquired a predominant role; the gradual replacement of municipal bodies by provincial governors (*duces*, prefects) and their staffs. Of momentous importance were the shifts in provincial organization: initial attempts to combine military and civil power in the same hands were succeeded by the separation of power; finally, by the end of the 6th C., EXARCHATES were created, and the way was paved for the introduction of the THEME organization.

The period of the 4th–7th C. saw the firm establishment of Chalcedonian Christianity as the official religion of the empire. Major PATRIARCHATES were organized at Alexandria, Antioch, Jerusalem, and Constantinople, and a series of ecumenical COUNCILS sought to define Christian doctrine. MONASTICISM, which had its beginnings in the desert, became an urban phenomenon as well; the accumulation of property by monasteries meant that these institutions began to play an increasing role in the economy.

Ancient scholarship and oratory, education, and forms of entertainment continued in the late Roman period. Many intellectuals spoke both Greek and Latin; rhetorical skill reached its peak in works of writers such as Libanios and John Chrysostom; libraries, universities, and theaters still functioned; and philosophers commented on and developed ancient doctrines. Nevertheless, profound changes took place in the sphere of culture: local ethnic traditions (Egyptian, Thracian, etc.) were revived; local literatures (e.g., SYRIAC, COPTIC) emerged; the role of urban professionals (teachers, medical doctors) diminished; and by the mid-6th C. in the East, Greek became the pre-

dominant language of law and administration as well as of literature. The most important feature of late Roman culture was the increasing influence of Christianity. Although pagan scholarship and literature had their exponents up to the 6th C., Christianity dominated both institutionally, through its churches, monasteries, and philanthropic organizations, and ideologically, attracting the traditional intelligentsia and implanting its values and ideals of behavior. With the triumph of Christianity, new literary forms, such as the homily, hymn, and saint's vita emerged, as did new genres of art and architecture.

By the end of this period, society and culture were far from being uniform. The Germanic conquests in the West in the 5th C. led not only to political division but also to a widening economic and cultural breach: the West became more and more latinized, while the East preserved a multilingual pattern with Greek as the language of administration. The pre-feudal landed aristocracy in the West, based on a system of estates and lineage, became increasingly independent, while in the East both the bureaucracy and nuclear family were more significant factors. The crisis of urbanism affected the West more strongly, and in the 6th C. the decline of ancient civilization was more evident there than in the eastern portion of the empire, which was gradually being transformed into Byzantium. In the East disputes took place between pagans and Christians, between numerous groups within Christianity (Arians, Monophysites, Nestorians, Neo-Chalcedonians), and between ethnic communities (attacks were launched against the Germanic *foederati*, the Isaurians, Samaritans, etc.). Scholarly issues were hotly debated, among others Aristotelian and Platonic world views as well as such religio-cultural topics as the legitimacy of the theater, the hippodrome, and divorce. Circus factions, which were normally the mouthpiece of the fans of the hippodrome, could proclaim political slogans at moments of crisis and thus produced an illusion of bipartisan political structure. The involvement of the state in theological discussions, esp. in church councils, however, prepared the climate for the medieval concept of "one state, one dogma."

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"DARK AGES" (mid-7th C. to ca.800/850). During this period, which includes the ISAURIAN and AMORIAN dynasties, the empire suffered great territorial losses but eventually restructured its administration and stabilized its borders. The period witnessed far-reaching societal transformations and, near its close, the beginnings of a sustained economic and cultural revival.

During the 7th and 8th C. the ARABS (UMAYYAD CALIPHATE, 'ABBĀSID CALIPHATE) permanently occupied Byz. territory from Syria to Spain, ended Byz. naval hegemony in the eastern Mediterranean, and twice besieged Constantinople (MU'ĀWIYA, MASLAMA). Although the caliphs HĀRŪN AL-RASHĪD and MU'ṬAṢĪM invaded Byz. territory, by the 9th C. the empire had retained Asia Minor and stabilized a no man's land running between Syria and Armenia. At the same time Byz. cultural influence on the Arabs was considerable, esp. under caliph MA'MŪN. In the 7th C. the BULGARS under ASPARUCH established themselves south of the Danube, but through skillful diplomacy and military campaigns (e.g., Constantine V's defeat of TELERIG at LITHOSORIA) Byz. held on to Thrace and occasionally used the Bulgars as allies (TERVEL). KRUM attacked Constantinople in 811, but OMURTAG made peace and accelerated the Bulgars' entry into the Byz. cultural sphere, which culminated in the conversion of BORIS I and the reign of his son SYMEON OF BULGARIA. In Italy Byz. could not prevent the advance of the LOMBARDS, who took RAVENNA in 751, nor of the FRANKS, who ultimately laid claim to the imperial title itself (CHARLEMAGNE, LOUIS II) and became the new secular protectors of the PAPACY.

External pressures on Byz. accelerated significant internal political, economic, and social changes that definitively transformed late antique civilization into the medieval Greek world. Many scholars (esp. Sjuzumov and, most recently, Weiss) believe that the transition from late antiquity to the so-called middle Byzantine period was marked by a continuity of ideas and institutions. Yet mounting archaeological and numismatic evidence supports the view (advocated by Kazhdan as well as by Foss and Ch. Bouras) that during the 7th and 8th C.

the Eastern Roman *polis* underwent a severe crisis that disrupted the traditions of urban life. Many cities in Thrace, Greece, and Asia Minor ceased to exist or survived only as bishoprics (e.g., NAZIANZOS). Those that did survive were often drastically reduced in size or relocated altogether (EPHESUS). Most commonly, the population abandoned the traditional urban site to cluster in or around a fortified KASTRON on a nearby hill.

The breakdown of late antique urban life had a harmful effect on Byz. culture and also transformed everyday life by producing a shift from "open" to "closed" modes of social expression. Tertiary schools (universities) disappeared by the end of the 7th C. Original literary production in the 7th and 8th C. was apparently negligible. Ecclesiastical disputes stimulated theology, but the greatest Christian writer of the age, JOHN OF DAMASCUS, lived in Arab territory. Few artistic works—icons, mosaics, churches—can be attributed to the period. In architecture, the ancient HOUSE with its interior courtyards, galleries, and fountains now became a tight maze of small functional rooms. In town planning, broad boulevards and open squares disappeared in favor of small streets with limited open space. Churches replaced traditional urban assembly spaces such as BATHS and THEATERS.

Great changes were also underway in economic and social relations, although the scantiness of literary evidence leaves many details unclear. The tradition of private property ownership in cities appears to have yielded to a notion of supreme state ownership of property (see STATE PROPERTY). The BARTER ECONOMY became more important, although it still remained secondary to the monetary economy. Traditional late Roman social categories such as the hereditary nobility, urban aristocracy, dependent peasantry, and slaves declined significantly and were largely replaced by the nobility of the main urban centers (esp. Constantinople), provincial civil and military administrators, and an increasingly uniform rural population, although the appearance of powerful families (e.g., SKLEROS) in the 9th C. signaled the revival of a hereditary aristocracy. The THEME system contributed to this development by increasing the body of moderate landholders and free peasants. Legal texts such as the FARMER'S LAW and hagiographical sources reveal the decline of large landed estates and the rise of free-

holders, along with an increasing reliance on communal landownership, the abolition of compulsory peasant service, and the introduction of free movement.

The loss to the Arabs of rival cities like Alexandria and Antioch made Constantinople the center of the empire, and successive emperors instituted reforms aimed at strengthening the capital's often precarious hold on the periphery. The Arab and Bulgar attacks stimulated a radical restructuring of PROVINCIAL ADMINISTRATION. The themes became the foundation of efforts to retain Byz. territory and then to reassert control over recaptured lands. By the mid-9th C. there were more than 20 themes in Asia Minor, Greece, the Aegean, and the Balkans as well as KLEISOURAI along the Arab frontier and KLIMATA in Crimea. This marked a decisive break with late Roman administration by transferring civil authority to military representatives, although the thematic system was also a source of instability, since it put powerful armies under individual commanders. Serious revolts originated in the themes (SABORIOS, BARDANES TOURKOS, THOMAS THE SLAV), and more than one STRATEGOS became emperor (Leontios, Philippikos, Leo III, ARTABASDOS, Michael II). Efforts to reform the military, including reliance on small units like the DROUNGOS and the BANDON and increases in soldiers' landholdings and wages, made the army more flexible and professional.

Changes in central civil administration made the court bureaucracy increasingly important in running state affairs. Several bureaucrats became emperor (Anastasios II, Theodosios III, Nikephoros I) or were proclaimed emperor in coup attempts (ARSABER). A key development was the emergence of chief bureaus—there were 13 by 842—and the growing influence of the post of LOGOTHETES. The most important official became the LOGOTHETES TOU DROMOU, many of whom (STAURAKIOS, AETIOS, THEOKTISTOS) exercised great authority under weak rulers and during regencies (IRENE, THEODORA).

The primary legislative aim of the emperors was to maintain order in a turbulent world (NOMOS STRATIOTIKOS, ECLOGA). This imperial insistence on unity and uniformity extended to religious affairs. Constans II tried to quell disputes over MONOTHELETISM by promulgating his TYPOS and punishing proponents of Orthodoxy (Pope MARTIN I, MAXIMOS THE CONFESSOR), and Justi-

nian II convened the Council in TRULLO to establish religious uniformity and eliminate pagan customs. In the 8th and 9th C. the attempt by several emperors to impose ICONOCLASM on a reluctant population ultimately failed. The court instituted numerous fiscal reforms aimed at revitalizing the economy and increasing the state's tax revenues. Many are attributed to Nikephoros I, but on the whole he merely formally systematized already existing measures. Most notably, the hearth tax (KAPNIKON) was extended to PAROIKOI belonging to the growing number of ecclesiastical establishments; the VILLAGE COMMUNITY became collectively responsible for its members' taxes (ALLELENGYON); and the POLL TAX may have been separated from the land tax and applied to all taxpayers. Such reforms allowed Constantinople to benefit from an economic recovery that is discernible from the late 8th C.; state revenues apparently doubled between 780 and 850.

By the early 9th C. a cultural revival was also underway, stimulated by a growing economy and the reemergence of wealthy patrons. Historiography reappears with the works of THEOPHANES THE CONFESSOR and Patr. NIKEPHOROS I. KASSIA was a famous poet of the period. The emperor Theophilos launched an ambitious building program in the capital. The breadth of knowledge displayed by scholars such as LEO THE MATHEMATICIAN and the foundation of the school in the MAGNAURA (THEOKTISTOS, BARDAS) testify to the reinvigoration of Byz. secular learning. By this time Byz. culture was primarily Greek: Latin was little known or used.

LIT. A.N. Stratos, *Byzantium in the Seventh Century*, 5 vols. (Amsterdam 1968–80). W. Treadgold, *The Byzantine Revival, 780–842* (Stanford, Calif., 1988). —P.A.H.

AGE OF RECOVERY AND CONSOLIDATION (ca.800/850–1000). This period approximately coincides with that of the MACEDONIAN DYNASTY. The intense desire to perpetuate the dynasty is seen in LEO VI's series of four marriages in the attempt to produce a male heir (TETRAGAMY OF LEO VI) and in the eventual accession to sole power of CONSTANTINE VII PORPHYROGENNETOS and BASIL II after the throne was usurped by strong civilian and military figures during the period of their minority (ROMANOS I LEKAPENOS, NIKEPHOROS II PHOKAS, JOHN I TZIMISKES).

The centralization achieved through Constantinople's economic revival, the predominance of

the civilian aristocracy, and the slow development of a new "knightlike" army permitted Byz. to stop the Arab invasions in the mid-9th C. and to go on the offensive from the mid-10th C. The successes of John KOURKOUAS, Nikephoros II Phokas, and John I Tzimiskes led to the Byz. reconquest of Syria and Crete; Bulgaria, a mighty rival ca.900, had to surrender to John I and was eventually annexed in 1018 under Basil II; Rus' became an ally. Although Byz. recognized OTTO I only as "emperor of the Franks," the Byzantino-German alliance was strengthened by Byz. political and cultural influence. The economic revival that had begun in the first half of the 9th C., primarily in Constantinople and the Aegean coastlands, expanded farther: numismatic and archaeological evidence shows a gradual recovery in the 10th C. throughout Greece and Asia Minor at sites that had lain wholly or partially devastated in the previous period. Constantinople, however, remained the central point of trade and manufacture, its position unrivaled even by large cities such as THESSALONIKE and EPHEBUS.

Nor did the growth of private and ecclesiastical landownership yet challenge the state; although some stable clans (SKLEROS, DOUKAS, PHOKAS, KOURKOUAS) appeared by the 10th C., the state managed to check them and restrict their wealth, partly by bestowing upon the rural community the right of PROTOMESIS. Most aristocratic families served the government loyally, and aristocratic generals were primarily responsible for winning the glorious victories of the period. Another factor in Byz. military success was the restructuring of the army, whereby the heavily armed professional KATAPHRAKTOI replaced the irregular contingents of thematic troops. Even when rebellious, the military aristocrats sought the support of Constantinople and strove to acquire the throne, not to create independent princedoms.

In 843 the government of THEODORA restored the veneration of icons, but the monks who had led the resistance to Iconoclasm did not gain much. Strong monastic communities of working brethren—the ideal of THEODORE OF STODIOS—gave way to individualistically structured LAVRAS and small monasteries dependent on state grants in kind and money (SOLEMNIA); the ideal of the poor brotherhood became very popular, and Nikephoros II Phokas supported it by restricting monastic landownership and by rewarding recently founded

communities on Mt. ATHOS, which in their early stages renounced property. The role of monasteries in intellectual life declined: Byz. culture, which was controlled by monks in the first half of the 9th C., became increasingly secular after 850: after GEORGE HAMARTOLOS, not one significant Byz. writer was a monk until SYMEON THE THEOLOGIAN.

Arguably, the state (personified in the emperor) benefited most from Iconoclasm and its aftermath. The Byz. church was made subject to imperial power. MICHAEL III disparaged the patriarchal office in Constantinople: the patriarchs, regardless of their personal qualities, became puppets in the hands of the emperor (among the deposed patriarchs of the period were IGNATIOS, PHOTIOS, NICHOLAS I MYSTIKOS, and EUTHYMIOS). Twice the patriarchate was awarded to members of the imperial family (Stephen, brother of LEO VI; THEOPHYLAKTOS, son of Romanos I). Only in the second half of the 10th C. was the patriarchate, under POLYEUKTOS, strong and independent enough to influence imperial policy.

The imperial court and the officialdom of the capital assumed a fundamental role in the consolidation and reorganization of the empire. The concept of order (TAXIS) prevailed in the administrative and ideological activity of the time: the TAKTIKA (a literary genre typical of the period from the mid-9th C. to the late 10th C.) aimed at shaping the imperial administrative machine, mostly in its ceremonial functions; two surviving treatises on TAXATION, although not precisely dated, may best be assigned to the 10th or early 11th C. Writers from Leo VI to Nikephoros OURANOS produced a number of military textbooks (STRATEGIKA); this genre also disappears after 1000. The outlines of an ideal imperial system were drafted in the milieu of Constantine VII in books on the themes (DE THEMATIBUS), the goals of diplomacy (DE ADMINISTRANDO IMPERIO), and the ceremonies of the imperial court (DE CEREMONIIS). The law underwent "purification" as well: BASIL I and Leo VI drafted or promulgated a series of legal books based on the formulas of Roman law (PROCHIRON, EPANAGOGHE, BASILIKA).

Imperial regulations were extended throughout the empire: not only did imperial estates increase, but the state proclaimed its supreme right over all the lands of the empire; taxpayers were divided into several special categories according

to their rents and services—STRATIOTAI of different sorts, EXKOUSSATOI of the DROMOS, ordinary peasants. The government attempted to stabilize the categories it imposed on the population: 10th-C. legislation, from ROMANOS I onward, aimed at preserving the village community, making a peasant responsible for his neighbor's taxes and prohibiting him from "fleeing" his village; the members of the community were also obliged to arm a soldier, if he lacked the means to buy a horse or weapons. The state developed the principle of JUST PRICE, prohibiting the unfair pricing of land. The state even attempted to abolish USURY, but when Basil I's measures failed, Leo VI was compelled to rescind them. The state also tended to regulate trade activity, promulgating the BOOK OF THE EPARCH.

Regulation also encompassed ecclesiastical ritual and cultural life. Church architecture acquired a greater homogeneity in form and scale ca.900, the liturgy became more uniform, and SYMEON METAPHRASTES produced a monumental collection of saints' Lives for ecclesiastical feasts. The task of collecting the ancient heritage was emphasized: the Greek classics were transmitted, collections of the most important fragments were compiled (including the GEOPONIKA), and Photios in the BIBLIOTHECA surveyed significant works of ancient and early Byz. authors. Several LEXIKA were published, among them the SOUDA.

The period was doubtless one of political success and expansion. Its accompanying cultural upsurge is often called the Macedonian renaissance, though a more proper term would be ENCYCLOPEDIISM, meaning here the tendency to collect and set in order both Greek and Roman traditions. Little that is original is to be found in the numerous works produced during the period.

LIT. R. Jenkins, *Byzantium: The Imperial Centuries: A.D. 610 to 1071* (London 1966). A. Toynbee, *Constantine Porphyrogenitus and his World* (London 1973). N.G. Popov, *Očerki po graždanskoj istorii za vremja Makedonskoj dinastii* (Moscow 1913). —A.K.

PERIOD OF "WESTERNIZATION" (ca.1000–1204). This era began with the victories of BASIL II, witnessed a collapse before the TURKS and NORMANS in 1071, a partial revival under the KOMNENIAN DYNASTY, a weakening under the ANGELOI, and concluded with a seemingly fatal blow from the Fourth CRUSADE.

From Basil II's reign onward, the system of

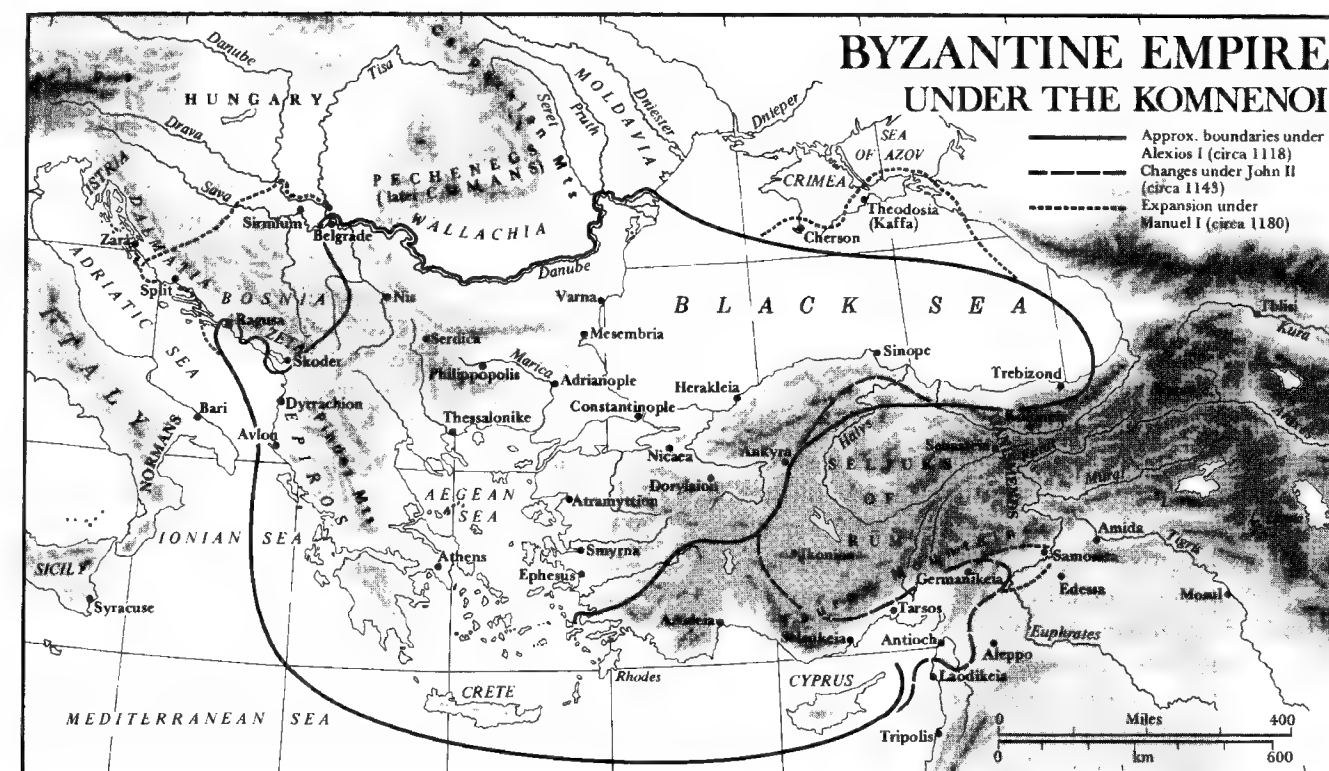


great estates everywhere expanded. By the 12th C. most peasants were apparently dependent *paroikoi* on government, ecclesiastical, or private property. Cities grew: Constantinople was still in the forefront in the 11th C., but such provincial centers as THESSALONIKE, TREBIZOND, ARTZE, CORINTH, and THEBES competed successfully; 12th-C. Theban silk was superior to that of Constantinople. In the capital, a vigorous middle class appeared; it overthrew MICHAEL V. The military crises of the late 11th C. forced ALEXIOS I KOMNENOS to give extensive privileges—similar to those received by the Rus' in the 10th C.—to VENICE and PISA in return for naval assistance; GENOA later obtained similar grants. Using their exemptions from customs dues, Italian merchants exploited the Byz. economy in the 12th C., arousing imperial and popular opposition in Constantinople. While magnates increased their properties where possible, they also sought lucrative government appointments in Constantinople. The Komnenoi secured the support of military-magnate families (DOUKAI, PALAIOLOGOI, KONTOSTEPHANOI, and dozens more) through intermarriage, and an aristocracy based on ties of kinship developed. Whether this social structure (depen-

dent peasantry, militarized aristocracy) constitutes a "feudal" society remains debatable.

The emperors, esp. Alexios I Komnenos and his successors, zealously defended Orthodoxy against popular and intellectual heretics, including the BOGOMILS, JOHN ITALOS, and DEMETRIOS OF LAMPE. The rulers selected and supplanted patriarchs and members of the higher clergy; MICHAEL I KEROUARIOS, Kosmas I, and Dositheos were among those deposed. Yet the ability of the secular clergy to oppose the emperor increased: Patr. ALEXIOS STOUDITES helped overthrow Michael V, Keroularios contrived the downfall of Michael VI, clerics such as LEO OF CHALCEDON seriously embarrassed Alexios I by opposing his appropriation of church treasures, and the metropolitans of MANUEL I resisted his effort to ease the conversion of Muslims to Christianity. Above all, in 1054 Keroularios overrode CONSTANTINE IX and forced a SCHISM with the Western church.

Under Turkish pressure, the focus of monasticism shifted westward, although centers in CAPADOCIA continued to flourish. CHRISTODOULOS founded the monastery of St. John on PATMOS; JOHN II KOMNENOS and his wife Irene established



the PANTOKRATOR MONASTERY in Constantinople. As the empire became more open to foreigners, ethnic monasteries developed within its boundaries: Gregory PAKOURIANOS founded PETRITZOS for Georgians in Byz. Bulgaria; STEFAN NEMANJA established HILANDAR for Serbs on Mt. Athos. Latin monasteries included an Amalfitan one on Mt. Athos and a Venetian one in Constantinople. Cenobitic life within monasteries declined in favor of individual monks' rights to own property and support themselves. In Constantinople "holy men," practicing eccentric forms of asceticism, were patronized by wealthy ladies and criticized by intellectuals. While monasteries expanded their landed wealth, many, mismanaged, fell into decay; a solution was sought in the CHARISTIKION.

In the 11th C., bureaucrats such as JOHN THE ORPHANOTROPHOS and NIKEPHORITZES dominated weak emperors; many of these officials were eunuchs. Scholars such as Michael PSELLOS and Patr. CONSTANTINE III LEICHOUDS also achieved influential positions. The 11th C. allegedly witnessed a conflict between the bureaucrats, with their candidates for the throne (ROMANOS III, Constantine IX, MICHAEL VII), and the landed-magnate generals with their candidates (Leo TOR-

NIKIOS, ISAAC I KOMNENOS, Alexios I). Psellos, an acute observer, was aware of the conflict between bureaucrats and military officers, but neither group seems solid or cohesive: the bureaucrats formed factions around personalities and policies, while the army was split into rival Anatolian and European wings. Emperors such as Isaac I Komnenos and CONSTANTINE X DOUKAS, who came from military backgrounds, were unable to free themselves from the traditional policies of the bureaucrats. With the accession of Alexios I, the government became dominated by imperial relatives; eunuchs lost importance.

Recruitment and leadership of the army posed difficulties. Military service formerly required of landholders was frequently converted into taxation. From the 1040s, foreign mercenaries filled the ranks; sources specify Turks of various sorts, VARANGIANS, Normans, and other Westerners, including Anglo-Saxon refugees. Under John II and Manuel, EXKOUSSEIA was conferred upon certain landowners, and some of them were granted *charistikion* and PRONOIA; Westerners could become LIZIOI and receive grants similar to Western fiefs. In the 11th C., mercenaries such as ROUSSEL DE BAILLEUL attained leadership, but after 1081

commanders of this sort were few. In the 11th C., officers were either court eunuchs or landed magnates; in the 12th, usually aristocrats linked to the Komnenoi or Angeloi. Despite periodic revivals, the navy could not be maintained; the effort to use Venetian, Pisan, and Genoese fleets ultimately failed. In 1204, Danes and Anglo-Saxons led the defense of Constantinople.

In the 11th C., Constantinople witnessed an intellectual flowering, chiefly among representatives of the middle class. Psellos revived interest in Plato, Neoplatonism, and their application to Christianity; in the 12th C., TZETZES and EUSTATHIOS OF THESSALONIKE enhanced the study of classical philology. Constantine IX established a law school for John XIPHILINOS, while making Psellos "chief of the philosophers" (HYPATOS TON PHILOSOPHON), a position that gave him some supervision over secular instruction in Constantinople. The application of formal logic to theology by John Italos and EUSTRATIOS OF NICAIA alarmed Alexios I; instruction was placed under the patriarch's control. Later, the *hypatos ton philosophon* was ordered to exercise an academic censorship. In the writing of history (Psellos, Anna KOMNENE, Niketas CHONIATES) and literature (Theodore PRODOMOS, Eustathios of Thessalonike), conventional ways of depicting people and objects gave way to some elements of "naturalism" and attempts to show the complexity of human character.

Basil II's victories over ARABS and BULGARIANS brought the empire a period of relative external peace, which permitted such rulers as Constantine IX to rely on the bureaucrats and repress the magnates and army. The fall of BARI to the Normans and the Turkish triumph at the battle of Mantzikert (1071) discredited the regime of the civilians, allowing independent Armenian states to appear in CILICIA and ultimately permitting Alexios I to seize the throne. The first three Komnenian emperors provided a century of stability; the army was rebuilt and the new aristocracy strengthened the throne, but concessions to the Italians undermined the economy. Alexios I repelled Norman and PECHENEG invasions of the Balkans; with the help of the First Crusade, he recovered coastal Anatolia. John II and Manuel fought with mixed success against Crusaders, HUNGARIANS, SERBS, and Turks. Manuel's defeat at MYRIOKEPHALON (1176) and weak rulers after

1180 stopped the Byz. drive into Anatolia. ANDRONIKOS I sought to establish his power by bloodily suppressing the aristocracy, but he failed to reinvigorate the Byz. state. CYPRUS, occupied by the rebel Isaac KOMNENOS, was later taken by RICHARD I LIONHEART. The Angeloi emperors, ISAAC II and ALEXIOS III, failed to meet the many challenges that confronted them. Civilian aristocrats, displacing the military aristocracy of the Komnenoi, dissipated the empire's resources. Circa 1186, the Bulgarians and VLACHS established the Second Bulgarian Empire, while the Serbs gained their independence. In addition to these ethnic movements, rebels appeared, striving for separatist regimes: Theodore MANKAPHAS at Philadelphia, Leo SGOUROS of Nauplia, Alexios and DAVID KOMNENOS in Pontos. When the Fourth Crusade conquered Constantinople in 1204 and established the LATIN EMPIRE, the Byz. empire was already partially dismembered. That Byz. recovered was due to its regional strength in the successor states at TREBIZOND, NICAIA, and EPIROS.

LIT. M. Angold, *The Byzantine Empire 1025-1204: A Political History* (London-New York 1984). N. Skabalanovič, *Vizantijskoe gosudarstvo i cerkov' v XI veke* (St. Petersburg 1884). P. Lemerle, *Cinq études sur le XIe siècle byzantin* (Paris 1977). F. Chalandon, *Les Comnène*, 2 vols. (Paris 1900-12; rp. New York n.d.). C. Brand, *Byzantium Confronts the West, 1180-1204* (Cambridge, Mass., 1968). —C.M.B.

EMPIRE OF NICAIA (1204-61). The most successful of the three Greek successor states that emerged after the fall of Constantinople to the Fourth Crusade in 1204, the Nicaean Empire was founded by THEODORE I LASKARIS. Its core comprised the coastlands of western Asia Minor, stretching in an arc from the Paphlagonian coast to the southwestern tip of Asia Minor, where the river Indos (Dalaman Çay) formed the frontier with the Turks. Despite Turkish pressure along these frontiers, the Nicaean AKRITAI were more than able to hold their own. The Nicaean lands in Asia Minor formed two distinct blocks: a northern region around NICAIA, the official capital, and the western coastlands, where in the hills behind Smyrna JOHN III VATATZES established his residence at NYMPHAION. This area formed the hub of the Nicaean Empire. The treasury was housed at Magnesia, while Smyrna became the main naval base. Nicaia remained the residence of the patriarchs, but the emperors rarely visited

it except for their coronations. The choice of Nymphaion as a residence brought the emperors of Nicaia clear advantages. It provided a good vantage point for surveying the Turkish frontier, and it was in the heart of a very fertile region, where imperial and aristocratic estates were concentrated. Once Nicaean armies began campaigning regularly in Europe it was better placed than Nicaia, for it was situated on a shorter and more direct route to the straits of KALLIPOLIS.

At one level, the history of the Nicaean Empire revolves around the ultimately successful struggle to restore the seat of empire to Constantinople. Recognizing the Greeks of the despotate of EPIROS and the Bulgarians as serious competitors, the emperors of Nicaia realized that they must establish their authority in Thrace and Macedonia if they were to have a real chance of recovering Constantinople from the Latins. John III outmaneuvered his rivals and was able to gain control over northern Greece because his authority was based on an effective system of government and he had at his disposal a greater range of resources than any of his opponents. He built up the imperial domains and by careful management increased their profits. The incubus of a bloated and inefficient bureaucracy was swept away with

the loss of Constantinople. In its place the Nicaean emperors created an inexpensive and efficient administration centered on the imperial household, in which the aristocracy had an acknowledged place. John III carefully supervised the fiscal administration. The fiscal surveys, always one of the strengths of Byz. government, were continued. The administrative and financial strength of the Nicaean Empire was reflected in the substantial armies it kept in the field and in its navy, which secured the islands along the Asia Minor coast.

Another source of strength was the presence of the ecumenical patriarch at Nicaia. The period was by and large one of cooperation between emperor and patriarch. The emperors could normally rely on the patriarchs for moral support. The patriarchal presence also gave the Nicaean rulers a role on the international stage that none of their rivals could match: there were a number of rounds of negotiations with papal representatives over the UNION OF THE CHURCHES; an alliance was concluded with FREDERICK II HOHENSTAUFEN; and Nicaia became the acknowledged center of the Orthodox world. In 1220 the Serbian church turned for recognition of its autonomy to Nicaia. In 1235 Patr. GERMANOS II con-



ferred patriarchal rank on the head of the Bulgarian church. In both cases a primacy of honor was reserved for the Nicaean emperor and patriarch.

At another level, these examples show how changes long underway in Byz. crystallized during the period of exile. The recognition of the autonomy of the Orthodox church in Serbia and Bulgaria set the seal on their political independence. Although the Nicaeans were unwilling to make similar concessions to the Greeks of Epiros, the princes of the house of Komnenos Doukas were granted the rank of *DESPOTES*, thus reconciling their autonomous status with Nicaean claims to overlordship. Devolution of authority also occurred within the Nicaean Empire. The policy of granting *EXKOUSSEIA* to the great monastic and aristocratic estates was continued and extended into regions where they had been rare before 1204; the same is true of the *PRONOIA*. In the European provinces the Nicaean emperors issued a series of *chrysobulls* to the towns and cities, thus officially conferring upon them a measure of autonomy. The period of exile saw a significant growth of local and aristocratic privilege, but relations between emperor and aristocracy remained good until the reign of *THEODORE II LASKARIS*, whose attack upon the aristocracy, motivated by his desire to assert imperial autocracy, was doomed to failure.

The loss of Constantinople to the Latins dealt a severe blow to Byz. culture. The emperors of Nicaea sought to revive Byz. education by creating a palace school. A concerted effort was made to collect and copy manuscripts. Byzantium's "Hellenic" past was increasingly appreciated in intellectual circles, which added a new dimension to the Byz. sense of identity. It contributed to the way that Byzantium's universalist claims began to yield to a more strongly "nationalist" feeling, best caught in the growing hatred of what the Latins stood for. When, at last, the seat of empire was restored to Constantinople in July 1261 by *MICHAEL VIII PALAIOLOGOS*, a radical change in the structure and outlook of Byzantium had been completed.

LIT. H. Ahrweiler, "L'expérience nicéenne," *DOP* 29 (1975) 23-40. M. Angold, *A Byzantine Government in Exile* (Oxford 1975). Idem, "Byzantine 'Nationalism' and the Nicaean Empire," *BMGS* 1 (1975) 49-70. M.A. Andreeva, *Očerki po kul'ture vizantijskogo dvora v XIII veke* (Prague 1927). —M.J.A.

"EMPIRE OF THE STRAITS" (1261-1453). The restored "empire" of the 1260s was scarcely large enough to justify its name, limited as it was to the western coast of Asia Minor, northern Greece, and the southeastern Peloponnesos (with the Latin principality of *ACHAIA* in control of the rest of the peninsula). The despotate of *EPIROS* and the empire of *TREBIZOND* maintained their autonomous status. Despite the recovery of its capital, the empire continued to shrink during the remaining two centuries of its history. Although the diplomacy of *MICHAEL VIII* thwarted the plans of *CHARLES I OF ANJOU* for conquest, later Byz. emperors were less successful in containing the expansionist policy of their northern and eastern neighbors. By 1340 the *OTTOMAN* Turks had conquered most of Asia Minor; by 1355 the Serbs, under *STEFAN UROŠ IV DUŠAN*, controlled most of northern Greece, and the Turks had gained a foothold in Europe. *Didymoteichon* and *Adrianople*, the principal towns of Thrace, fell to the Ottomans in the 1360s, *Thessalonike* in 1387 (and again in 1430, after a brief period of Byz. and Venetian recovery). The independence of *Epiros* also ended in 1430 with the fall of *IOANNINA*. Only in the Peloponnesos did the Byz. despotate of *MOREA* prosper and expand (at the expense of the principality of *Achaia*); by 1430 it encompassed virtually the entire peninsula. Shortly thereafter, however, in 1453, *MEHMED II* took Constantinople by siege (see *CONSTANTINOPLE, SIEGE AND FALL OF*), and the *Morea* was able to hold out against Ottoman conquest only until 1460. The next year *Trebizond*, the last Greek stronghold, fell.

Numerous factors contributed to the final demise of the empire, which had already been seriously weakened by the Latin conquest of 1204. First of all, the restored Byz. state had to face the rising power of a vigorous new empire, that of the Ottomans, which steadily conquered Byz. territory and reduced Byz. to vassal status after 1371. The Ottomans besieged Constantinople from 1394 to 1402; the capital was saved only by *TIMUR*'s defeat of the Ottoman sultan *BAYEZID I* at the battle of *ANKARA* in 1402. This setback to the Ottoman fortunes, and the ensuing civil war among Ottoman princes, gave the Byz. Empire a reprieve and enabled it to resist until 1453, although *MURAD II* did besiege the capital in 1422.

Second, the states of western Europe provided

little or no assistance to Byz., even though their very existence was threatened by the Turks. The papacy and Western rulers continued to demand that the Byz. emperor agree to *UNION OF THE CHURCHES* in exchange for military assistance. Twice the Byz. agreed to these conditions, at the Council of *LYONS* in 1274 and at the Council of *FERRARA-FLORENCE* in 1439; the promised Western aid either never materialized or was ineffective. The Western crusading movement had almost died out by the late 13th C.; the two crusades

of the 14th and 15th C., the Crusade of *NIKOPOLIS* (1396) and the Crusade of *VARNA* (1444), both met defeat at the hands of the Turks.

Internal problems also weakened the Byz. state in the 13th-15th C. Although only one dynasty, that of the *Palaiologoi*, held sway throughout the final period, it was not as stable as might appear. It is true that only eight emperors (discounting the brief usurpation of *Andronikos IV* and *John VII*) ruled during a period of 195 years, for an average 24-year reign (*ANDRONIKOS II* was em-



Emperors of Byzantium

<i>Ruler</i>	<i>Reign</i>	<i>Ruler</i>	<i>Reign</i>
Constantine I the Great	324-337	Leo VI	886-912
Constantine II	337-340	Alexander	912-913
Constans I	337-350	Regency for Constantine VII	913-920
Constantius II	337-361	Romanos I Lekapenos	920-944
Julian	361-363	Stephen and Constantine Lekapenos	944-945
Jovian	363-364	Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos	945-959
Valens	364-378	Romanos II	959-963
Theodosios I	379-395	Nikephoros II Phokas	963-969
Arkadios	395-408	John I Tzimiskes	969-976
Theodosios II	408-450	Basil II	976-1025
Marcian	450-457	Constantine VIII	1025-1028
Leo I	457-474	Romanos III Argyros	1028-1034
Leo II	473-474	Michael IV Paphlagon	1034-1041
Zeno	474-491	Michael V Kalaphates	1041-1042
Basiliskos	475-476	Zoe and Theodora	1042
Anastasios I	491-518	Constantine IX Monomachos	1042-1055
Justin I	518-527	Theodora	1055-1056
Justinian I	527-565	Michael VI Stratiotikos	1056-1057
Justin II	565-578	Isaac I Komnenos	1057-1059
Tiberios I	578-582	Constantine X Doukas	1059-1067
Maurice	582-602	Romanos IV Diogenes	1068-1071
Phokas	602-610	Michael VII Doukas	1071-1078
Herakleios	610-641	Nikephoros III Botaneiates	1078-1081
Herakleios Constantine and Heraklonas	641	Alexios I Komnenos	1081-1118
Constans II	641-668	John II Komnenos	1118-1143
Constantine IV	668-685	Manuel I Komnenos	1143-1180
Justinian II	685-695	Alexios II Komnenos	1180-1183
Leontios	695-698	Andronikos I Komnenos	1183-1185
Tiberios II	698-705	Isaac II Angelos	1185-1195
Justinian II (second reign)	705-711	Alexios III Angelos	1195-1203
Philippikos	711-713	Isaac II and Alexios IV Angelos	1203-1204
Anastasios II	713-715	Alexios V Doukas	1204
Theodosios III	715-717	Theodore I Laskaris	1205-1221
Leo III	717-741	John III Vatatzes	1221-1254
Constantine V	741-775	Theodore II Laskaris	1254-1258
Leo IV the Khazar	775-780	John IV Laskaris	1259-1261
Constantine VI	780-797	Michael VIII Palaiologos	1259-1282
Irene	797-802	Andronikos II Palaiologos	1282-1328
Nikephoros I	802-811	Michael IX Palaiologos	1294/5-1320
Staurakios	811	Andronikos III Palaiologos	1328-1341
Michael I Rangabe	811-813	John V Palaiologos	1341-1391
Leo V the Armenian	813-820	John VI Kantakouzenos	1347-1354
Michael II	820-829	Andronikos IV Palaiologos	1376-1379
Theophilos	829-842	John VII Palaiologos	1390
Michael III	842-867	Manuel II Palaiologos	1391-1425
Basil I	867-886	John VIII Palaiologos	1425-1448
		Constantine XI Palaiologos	1449-1453

peror for 46 years, John V for 50). These figures are misleading, however, because the reigns of both emperors were severely shaken by usurpers and civil war. Andronikos II fought for seven years (1321-28) against his grandson ANDRONIKOS III before abdicating; the youthful JOHN V PALAIOLOGOS was challenged by JOHN VI KANTAKOUZENOS, who gained power for seven years after the CIVIL WAR OF 1341-47. These civil wars sapped the strength of the empire, as a result of the devastation of agricultural land and the Byz. use of declining resources to fight each other instead of the common enemy. The Civil War of 1341-47 esp. revealed the hostility of the lower classes toward the landed aristocracy, as manifested in a series of popular urban rebellions, most notably that of the ZEALOTS in Thessalonike; it should be noted that all of these urban movements were ultimately unsuccessful. As rival factions invited Serbs and Turks to take sides in the civil wars as allies or mercenaries, they enabled these dangerous foes to encroach upon Byz. territory. Even after forcing the abdication of Kantakouzenos, John V faced a series of rebellions by his son Andronikos IV and grandson John VII. Another sign of imperial weakness was an increasing tendency for the emperor to divide his territory among his sons, assigning them APPANAGES, which they ruled as autonomous princedoms.

The state treasury was impoverished as revenues declined on account of the decrease in Byz. territory, the immunity from taxes of many large landholders and monastic estates, and the frequent inability of the local population to pay taxes as a result of civil war or foreign invasion. Instead of drawing on the military obligations of PRONOIA holders, the state was forced to pay for an army composed largely of mercenaries. On occasion the use of mercenaries backfired, as when the CATALAN GRAND COMPANY turned against the empire when the emperor was unable to pay them. Under Andronikos II, the fleet was temporarily dismantled as an economy measure. Gold currency, the HYPERPYRON, steadily depreciated in value. Most COMMERCE was in the control of the Italian republics (see VENICE, GENOA), so that the Byz. state received few customs revenues. ANNA OF SAVOY had to pawn the crown jewels to Venice for a desperately needed loan. The empire's remaining wealth lay in the hands of the great landowners.

The empire became further divided by a num-

ber of ecclesiastical controversies. Michael VIII's usurpation of the throne from the Laskarid dynasty at Nicaea precipitated the schism (1265-1310) between ARSENITES, who defended the Laskarid cause, and Josephites, who supported the new Palaiologan emperor. Simultaneously Michael alienated most of his subjects, esp. the monks, by his decision to agree to Union of the Churches at the Council of Lyons. Although he was motivated by the hope of checking Angevin aggression and of securing Western military aid against the growing power of the Turks, his policy was soon repudiated by his son Andronikos II. The middle years of the 14th C. were torn by the debate over HESYCHASM, which was condemned at first but later accepted by the church as orthodox doctrine. This dispute had ramifications in the political arena, as supporters of Gregory PALAMAS and hesychasm tended to favor Kantakouzenos in the Civil War of 1341-47, while the regency for John V opposed the new doctrines of PALAMISM. Disagreement over Union of the Churches continued until 1453, as the Byz. agonized over whether to acknowledge the primacy of the pope in the perhaps vain hope that they would be rewarded with a Western crusade against the Turks. John V personally converted to Catholicism, but not until the reign of John VIII did an emperor again dare to follow the policy of Michael VIII. The Union concluded at Florence in 1439 was rejected, however, by the populace of Constantinople. Loukas NOTARAS reportedly stated that he would rather be conquered by the Turks than submit to the pope.

This era of declining imperial power saw an increase in the prestige and authority of the Byz. church. The patriarchal throne was graced with distinguished scholars such as GREGORY II OF CYPRUS and GENNADIOS II SCHOLARIOS and reformers like the ascetic ATHANASIOS I. In 1312 jurisdiction over the monasteries of Mt. ATHOS was transferred to the patriarch from the emperor. While the empire shrank, the sway of the patriarch of Constantinople was recognized in those lands of Asia Minor and the Balkans no longer under Byz. rule, as well as in Russia, and was even extended to LITHUANIA. MONASTICISM prospered, too, in the Palaiologan era; numerous monasteries were built or restored in Constantinople, Thessalonike, and Mistra. METEORA was colonized by monks from Athos and soon became a new holy

mountain, while Athos, revitalized by the mysticism of the hesychast movement, continued to be a major monastic center even though the peninsula suffered from the raids of Catalans and Turks.

Letters as well as the arts flourished; a sense of Hellenic national identity emerged, accompanied by a new intensification of interest in ANTIQUITY. In the major cities, a small but influential elite of intellectuals pursued studies in classical philology, astronomy, and medicine; they also commissioned the copying of numerous MSS. Among those scholars most inspired by the classical tradition were Theodore METOCHITES and George Gemistos PLETHON. The 14th C. saw a revival of the genre of HAGIOGRAPHY, as monks and secular literati alike composed Lives of contemporary holy men, or rewrote the Lives of older saints. VERNACULAR literature also gained greater impor-

tance, and there was particular interest in the genre of ROMANCE. Greater contact with the scholasticism and humanism of Italy provided a stimulus for scholars such as Demetrios KYDONES and BESSARION. Although Constantinople remained depopulated and wheatfields and vineyards still could be found within its walls, the restoration or new construction of churches and monasteries in the capital and at THESSALONIKE and MISTRA after 1261 attests to the artistic vitality of the declining empire, esp. in the first century of the Palaiologan era (see under MONUMENTAL PAINTING).

LIT. D.M. Nicol, *The Last Centuries of Byzantium, 1261–1453* (London 1972). K.P. Kyrres, *To Byzantion kata ton ID' aiona*, vol. 1 (Leukosia 1982). I. Ševčenko, "The Palaeologan Renaissance," in *Renaissances Before the Renaissance*, ed. W. Treadgold (Stanford, Calif., 1984) 144–223. *Art et société à Byzance sous les Paléologues* (Venice 1971). —A.M.T.

CADASTER, land registry for the purpose of tax assessment. Some early cadasters are preserved on papyri (J. Gascou, L. MacCoull, *TM* 10 [1987] 103–58). Knowledge of the Byz. cadaster in the 10th–12th C. is based on rules presented in the treatises on taxation (see TAXATION, TREATISES ON), on four original folios preserved in Vat. gr. 215, and on some excerpts copied in documents of the archives of Iveron, Lavra, and St. Panteleemon. At least after 995 (maybe earlier) a census (*anagraphe* and later *apographe*) was conducted periodically (probably every 30 years), following a geographical pattern defined by the administrative circumscriptions of the provinces from the larger to the smaller (theme, *διοικησης*, *enoria* or *archontia*, *hypotage*). The results were inscribed in the KODIKES of the province (the "boxes," ARKLAI) and duplicates were kept in the appropriate bureau in Constantinople (GENIKON, *stratitikon* [see LOGOTHETES TOU STRATIOTIKOU]). Each identifiable piece of land occupied a separate line (STICHOS) in the cadaster with the name of its owner (and taxpayer) or its successive owners added piecemeal, sometimes between the lines; there was also an indication of any temporary modifications of the land's fiscal burden and the amount of the tax payable at the right end of the line (*akrostichon*). A copy of the *kodix* (*isokodikon*; registers with that name were created by Basil II) was seen as a necessary proof of ownership. The taxpayer received a PRAKTIKON, i.e., an act signed and sealed by the official enumerating his (eventually scattered) properties and their fiscal obligations. The geographical cadaster does not reappear in the 13th–15th C.; it seems to have been replaced by the *thesis* or *megale apographike thesis*, which included copies of the *praktika* delivered by every surveyor (APOGRAPHEUS) of the province. (See LAND SURVEY.)

LIT. Svoronos, *Cadastre*. N. Oikonomides in *Dionys.* 141f. —N.O.

CAESAR (καῖσαρ), a DIGNITY formerly applied to the emperor himself, was used under Diocle-

C

tian to designate a junior emperor who stood under an augustus and did not possess charismatic qualities (A. Arnaldi, *Rivista italiana di numismatica* 83 [1981] 75–86). Until the 11th C. caesar remained the highest title reserved primarily for the emperor's sons, albeit with several exceptions: BARDAS was caesar under his nephew Michael III, Nikephoros II made his father Bardas Phokas a caesar, Michael IV did the same for his namesake and nephew. The assertion of Patr. Nikephoros I (Nikeph. 42.22–23) that Justinian II granted TERVEL the emperor's cloak and the title of caesar is proved by the evidence of seals (Zacos, *Seals* 1, no.2672). The ceremony of elevation of a caesar is described in the *De ceremoniis* (*De cer.* bk.1, ch.43). The insignia of the caesar was a crown without a cross. Alexios I lowered the rank of caesar, placing it below *sebastokrator*. In pseudo-KODINOS the caesar occupies the rank between *sebastokrator* and *megas domestikos*; from the 14th C., however, the title was conferred primarily on foreign princes, such as caesars of Vlachia, of Thessaly, or of Serbia.

According to Gy. Moravcsik (*ZRVI* 8.1 [1963] 229–36), the Slavic word *tsar* was derived not from the Byz. title but from the Latin designation for the emperor, probably in the 6th/7th C.

LIT. Guiland, *Institutions* 2:25–43. Bury, *Adm. System* 36. B. Ferjančić, "Sevastokratori i kesari u Srpskom carstvu," *ZbFilozFak* 11 (1970) 255–69. —A.K.

CAESAREA (Καيسάρεια, mod. Kayseri), metropolis of CAPPADOCIA. When its enthusiastic Christians destroyed pagan temples, Emp. Julian deprived Caesarea of municipal status, but it soon recovered to flourish under St. BASIL THE GREAT. Caesarea was a great military base with imperial factories of weapons and textiles to supply the frontier. Justinian I replaced its ancient walls, which included fields, gardens, and pasture within their circuit, with a shorter, more defensible rampart. Although Caesarea resisted Chosroes I in 575, Chosroes II took and burned it in 611. Nevertheless, its size and wealth impressed the

Arabs when they first attacked it in 646; they captured it temporarily in 726. Caesarea was first part of the ARMENIAKON theme, then of CAPPADOCIA, and finally, under Leo VI, of CHARSIANON. Caesarea was an important military base in the 10th–11th C.; John KOURKOUAS was stationed there, and NIKEPHOROS II PHOKAS and Bardas PHOKAS, whose revolt the city supported, were proclaimed emperor in Caesarea. Turkish bands attacked it in 1067 and 1073; the Danişmendids conquered Caesarea in 1092; at the time of the First Crusade it was a ruin. Except for some sections of its city walls, which may be Justinianic, the Byz. remains of Caesarea have perished. Caesarea was an ecclesiastical metropolis in the 4th C. Before 431 it won precedence over Ephesus, and when the patriarchate of Constantinople was definitively established, Caesarea became its second see, its archbishop entitled PROTOTHRONOS.

LIT. *TIB* 2:193–96. A. Gabriel, *Monuments turcs d'Anatolie*, vol. 1 (Paris 1931) 6–30. —C.F.

CAESAREA MARITIMA, port in Palestine and the capital city of Palestina I. Until 451 the archbishopric of Caesarea (Καيسάρεια) stood higher in the ecclesiastical hierarchy than Jerusalem, but the Council of Chalcedon subjugated it to Jerusalem. Extensive archaeological excavations have revealed an expansion of the city from the 4th to 6th C. Two aqueducts were restored in 385 and ca. 526, and the main harbor was revitalized between 501 and 518. In the 6th C. streets were refurbished, including a north-south thoroughfare perhaps 17.5 m wide (R. Wiemken, K. Holum, *BASOR* 244 [1981] 27–41). Interregional trade prospered at Caesarea: whereas in the 2nd C. 80 percent of the fine pottery found at the site came from northern Syria, in the 5th–6th C. 36 percent originated in Asia Minor, 32 percent in Cyprus, and 17 percent in North Africa (J. Riley, *BASOR* 218 [1975] 52f).

From literary sources we know that a hippodrome functioned at Caesarea in the mid-4th C. and probably into the 6th C. (J. Humphrey, *BASOR* 213 [1974] 44). The city was a major cultural center: EUSEBIOS OF CAESAREA organized a theological school there; according to Isidore of Seville, its library contained 30,000 books. Many churches are mentioned in the sources: ca. 484 Zeno rebuilt the Church of St. Prokopios; the vita

of Anastasios the Persian (died 628) describes several churches that continued to function under the Persian occupation of 604–28 (W. Kaegi, *IEJ* 28 [1978] 177–81).

The city fell to the Arabs in 640 or 641/2. Its capture was regarded in Muslim sources as the zenith of Arab military success in Palestine. Legend has it that Caesarea had 930,000 defenders against 17,000 Arab besiegers (M. Sharon in *EI*² 4:841). Under the Arabs, Caesarea ceased to be a major port and became the center of an agricultural area. The traditional opinion that the campaign of John I Tzimiskes in 975 reached Caesarea was refuted by J. Starr (*Archiv orientální* 8 [1936] 94f). On 17 May 1101 it was taken by the Crusaders, who retained it until 1187; thereafter the city was the target of countless raids, frequently changed hands, and soon declined.

LIT. J. Ringel, *Césarée de Palestine* (Paris 1975). *Studies in the History of Caesarea Maritima*, ed. C. Fritsch (Missoula, Mont., 1975). L. Levine, *Roman Caesarea* (Jerusalem 1975). L. Levine, E. Netzer, *Excavations at Caesarea Maritima 1975, 1976, 1979* (Jerusalem 1986). K. Holum et al., *King Herod's Dream: Caesarea by the Sea* (New York–London 1988).

—M.M.M., K.G.H.

CAESAROPAPISM, conventional term for the allegedly unlimited power of the Byz. EMPEROR over the church, including unilateral intervention in doctrinal questions ordinarily reserved to ecclesiastical authority. By passively submitting to this system of imperial protective tutelage, the Church—it has been suggested—lost its own sphere of competence and essential independence; it became, in effect, an adjunct of the state bureaucracy.

The term has been rejected by most scholars as a misleading and inaccurate interpretation of Byz. political reality. First, not a single Byz. emperor tried to act as “pope” or patriarch, whereas the bishop of Rome did on occasion assume the role of caesar. Second, the actual relationship between the *imperium* and *sacerdotium* cannot be characterized as a simple subordination of the latter. On the one hand, some emperors described themselves as *episkopoi ton ektos*, “supervisors (bishops) of external [things of the church],” and indeed they controlled the material resources of the church (lands, incomes, dependent peasantry); they even confiscated holy vessels in cases of state emergency. Emperors controlled the staffing of the

higher levels of the church hierarchy, including appointment and deposition of patriarchs and bishops. They enjoyed limited liturgical privileges. Their intervention in internal church affairs was less significant: only a few emperors (Justinian I, Manuel I) attempted to impose their theological views on the church, although others were active during the disputes over Iconoclasm or the debate over the Union of the Churches; the emperors or their representatives, however, usually presided over ecumenical councils. On the other hand, the church insistently defended its ideological independence, including canon law; developed (in the *Epanagoge*) the theory of two correlated powers (the emperor's and the patriarch's); and even proclaimed, in some ecclesiological treatises, that the power of the bishop is higher than that of the emperor. In certain situations the church administration controlled and judged secular functionaries. Finally, the clergy and monks possessed enormous economic wealth and wielded ideological influence over broad strata of the population, so that the church was capable of blocking governmental decisions. In sum, the term caesaropapism altogether exaggerates the degree of actual control of the church by the state.

LIT. D.J. Geanakoplos, “Church and State in the Byzantine Empire: A Reconsideration of the Problem of Caesaropapism,” *ChHist* 34 (1965) 381–403. J.-M. Sansterre, “Eusèbe de Césarée et la naissance de la théorie ‘caesaropapiste,’” *Byzantion* 42 (1972) 131–95, 532–94. H.-G. Beck, *Das byzantinische Jahrtausend* (Munich 1978) 33–108. S. Runciman, *The Byzantine Theocracy* (Cambridge 1977).

—A.P., A.K.

CAFFARO. See *ANNALES IANUENSES*.

CAIN AND ABEL (Κάιν, Ἀβελ), the sons of ADAM AND EVE. Their offerings (Gen 4:3–5) and Abel's death at the hands of his brother acquired Christological and eucharistic undertones already apparent in the New Testament (e.g., Heb 12:24) and explored in great detail by exegetes such as Cyril of Alexandria (PG 69:33B–44D), who juxtaposed the righteous Abel with Christ. John Chrysostom, quoting Hebrews 12:1, discusses Abel as a martyr (*Sur la providence de Dieu*, ed. A.-M. Malingrey [Paris 1961] 236, ch. 19.5). Abel's gifts are cited in the Proskomide prayer of the liturgy attributed to St. Basil (Brightman, *Liturgies* 320; Taft, *Great Entrance* 365).

Representation in Art. At S. Vitale at RAVENNA, a mosaic pairs Melchizedek's offering with Abel's, with clear eucharistic significance (*DACL* 1.1:62). More extensive pre-Iconoclastic representations are implied by the mosaics of S. Marco in Venice, based on the Cotton GENESIS, and by the OCTATEUCHS. Cain and Abel also appear with Adam and Eve on a group of ivory caskets and occasionally in such contexts as the illustrated homilies of JAMES OF KOKKINOBAFOS. Abel often appears in the ANASTASIS.

LIT. K. Wessel, *RBK* 3:717–22. G. Henderson, *LCI* 1:5–10. A. Ulrich, *Kain und Abel in der Kunst: Untersuchungen zur Ikonographie und Auslegungsgeschichte* (Bamberg 1981) 51–73. —J.H.L., C.B.T.

CALABRIA (Καλαβρία), region in southern Italy. Under Diocletian Calabria and APULIA formed a single province administered by a *corrector*. Until ca. 680 the name Calabria was applied to all of southern Italy, including Apulia and Bruttium but, after a significant part of this region had been conquered by the Lombards, Calabria came to designate the former province of Bruttium in the toe of Italy (M. Schipa, *Archivio Storico per le province Napoletane* 20 [1895] 23–47). The capital of Calabria was REGGIO-CALABRIA.

Originally under the jurisdiction of the exarchate of Ravenna, ca. 700 Calabria formed part of the duchy of Sicily (cf. TAKTIKON of Uspenskij). After Sicily fell to the Arabs (by 902), Calabria became a theme: Falkenhausen (*Dominazione* 30) maintains that this occurred between 938 and 956, whereas A. Pertusi (*Byzantino-Sicula* 2 [1975] 427f), referring to a series of Calabrian *strategoi* beginning with Eustathios ca. 917 (Skyl. 263.47–48), suggests an earlier date. Possibly the Byz. did not acknowledge the loss of Sicily and considered Calabria as “Sicily.” Sigillography provides evidence about the Byz. administration of Calabria: in the 8th C. it had a RHAKTOR (Zacos, *Seals* 1, no. 1477); in the 9th C. a *doux*; and a seal of the 10th C. belonged to a certain Pothos, “*tourmarches* of Calabria and *strategos* of Sicily.”

In the late 9th and 10th C. Calabria was contested between Byz. and the Arabs. Nikephoros Phokas the Elder (died ca. 900) secured Byz. power in the area, but at the end of the 10th C. the Arab threat again became serious. Otto II's expedition against the Arabs in 982 was a failure, but Byz.

generals retained control over Calabria. Finally in 1060 the Normans occupied the region.

Calabria was strongly influenced by eastern (Greek) customs, culture, and dialect. The Greek ecclesiastical and cultural impact increased in the 10th C., after the Arab occupation of Sicily, when many Greeks, esp. monks, emigrated from there to southern Italy. In the ecclesiastical notitia of 920–80 the "eparchia Kalabrias" is listed, with SANTA SEVERINA as its metropolitan see (*Notitiae CP*, no.8.51). Several monasteries are known from the documents of the 11th C.: St. Nikodemos near Mammola, St. Leontios of STILO (S. Borsari, *Il monachesimo bizantino nella Sicilia e nell'Italia meridionale prenormanne* [Naples 1963] 65). The Greek Orthodox population in the region was sizable: several saints of the Greek church (NEILOS OF ROSSANO, ELIAS SPELEOTES, ELIAS THE YOUNGER, PHANTINOS THE YOUNGER) were born or settled in Calabria, and Greek books were copied by local scribes. Greek saints' Lives reflect a Byz. cultural world in the region (Wickham, *Italy* 157). Silk manufacture developed in Calabria under the Byz. impact. Greek language and culture survived there even after the Norman conquest; in the 14th C. an eminent Byz. theologian, BARLAAM, originated from Seminara in Calabria.

LIT. *Calabria bizantina* (Reggio-Calabria 1974, 1977, 1983, 1986). *Atti del 4° Congresso storico calabrese* (Naples 1969). F. Lacava Zipparo, *Dominazione bizantina e civiltà basiliana nella Calabria prenormanna* (Reggio-Calabria 1977).

—A.K., R.B.H.

CALENDAR. See CHRONOLOGY.

CALENDAR, CHURCH, a codification of the liturgical YEAR in two lists, both arranged chronologically. One, the *kanonarion*, lists the feasts of the lunar or paschal cycle, the mobile feasts that vary in date depending on when Easter falls. The other, the *SYNAXARION*, is a list of the fixed feasts and saints' days. The calendar was based on the 365 dates of the Julian solar calendar, but with the days of the month numbered continuously, rather than according to the Roman system involving Nones, Ides, and Kalends.

From 313 to 462, the cycle of fixed feasts began on 23 Sept. with the feast of the Conception of John the Baptist, the first Gospel mystery preparing for the Nativity of Jesus. After 462 it followed

the civil year and began 1 Sept., the start of the INDICATION. By the 8th C., the 1 Sept. New Year's day had acquired liturgical status with its own lections, and the feast of the BIRTH OF THE VIRGIN, celebrated on 8 Sept., gradually diminished the importance of the Baptist feast as the start of the fixed cycle (Grumel, *Chronologie* 192–203), though the latter is still called "the new year [day]" in the *TYPIKON OF THE GREAT CHURCH* (Mateos, *Typikon* 1:42, 54f).

Church calendars began to develop in the 4th C. from primitive lists of MARTYRS (saints' days originate in the general custom of venerating the dead on the anniversary of their death), of commemorations and lections. Though the earliest developed calendars are the Jerusalem LECTIONARIES of the 4th–8th C., and there was much borrowing of feasts from church to church, the Constantinopolitan cathedral calendar is basically an independent tradition. It was not just a local usage that later spread far afield: this calendar was conceived from the start as a calendar for the whole of Byz. Fixed between 650 and 750, most likely before 700, it was used in all quarters of the empire by the 9th C., probably owing to the liturgical legislation of the Council in TRULLO (Ehrhard, *Überlieferung* 1:28–33).

Ehrhard divides extant calendar MSS of the 9th–15th C. into four types, according to their relative completeness. The final cathedral form of the calendar is transmitted to us in the *Typikon of the Great Church*. Its history, however, still remains to be written; it will have to be traced on the basis of liturgical books, feasts, saints' days, and sermon collections.

LIT. A. Baumstark, "Das Typikon der Patmos-Handschrift 266 und die altkonstantinopolitanische Gottesdienstordnung," *Jahrbuch für Liturgiewissenschaft* 6 (1926) 98–111. S. Salaville, "La formation du calendrier liturgique byzantin d'après les recherches critiques de Mgr Ehrhard," *EphLit* 50 (1936) 312–23.

—R.F.T.

CALENDAR CYCLES. This genre of HAGIOGRAPHICAL ILLUSTRATION depicted either the portrait or the martyrdom of one saint after another, arranged according to the date of his celebration in the church CALENDAR. The cycle could also include representations of the GREAT FEASTS on the appropriate day of the year.

Martyrological cycles may have existed already by the 8th C. (Life of TARASIOS by Ignatios, ed.

Heikel, 413–16, tr. W. Wolska-Conus, *REB* 38 [1980] 248–50; PHOTIOS, hom.17, ed. Laourdas, 170.17–21). Basil I is known to have included scenes of martyrdom in the decoration of a portico of the NEA EKKLESIA (VITA BASILII 328.2–8). But there is no indication whether either of these lost examples actually followed the sequence of the church calendar.

The earliest and most important surviving cycle of this kind is the *MENOLOGION OF BASIL II*. Its miniatures were copied in the mid-11th C., this time to accompany a true *MENOLOGION*, the texts in this particular group of MSS being modified versions of the lives of the saints composed by SYMEON METAPHRASTES (F. Halkin, *Le ménologe impérial de Baltimore* [Brussels 1985]). Each of these texts concludes with a prayer for the well-being of the emperor, perhaps (but by no means surely) Michael IV.

A set of 11th-C. icons from Sinai preserves a calendar cycle of this type, and literary equivalents can be found in the contemporary metrical calendars, sets of jingles listing each saint and his manner of death composed by CHRISTOPHER OF MYTILENE and Theodore PRODROMOS (cf. E. Follieri, *I calendari in metro innografico di Cristoforo Mitileneo* [Brussels 1980]). Fresco versions appear first in the 13th C., and then only in churches in Thessalonike, Serbia, and Bulgaria, most of them royal foundations. The only other MS calendar cycle is a princely commission of the early 14th C. (Oxford, Bodl. gr. th. f.1, Hutter, *CBM*, vol. 2, no.1); here as with the frescoes, no text, other than verse captions, accompanies the miniatures. The context in which these various martyrological cycles are found suggests that they may have originated in monumental painting; the significance of their imperial connections remains to be explored.

Though many Gospel LECTIONARY MSS include calendar notices, only very rarely are these notices accompanied by images (cf. Vat. gr. 1156 and Athos, Dion. 587, both MSS of the 11th C.). Where they do exist, the images are as laconic as the notices themselves, consisting mainly of a series of saintly portraits. This type of "portrait" calendar cycle apparently represents a separate tradition from the martyrological one of the Basil Menologion and its successors; it recurs on another set of Sinai icons, but never in monumental painting.

LIT. P. Mijović, *Menolog* (Belgrade 1973). S. Der Nersessian, "Moskovskij Menologij," *Vizantija, Iužnye Slavjane i Drevnjaja Rus'*, *Zapadnaja Evropa* (Moscow 1973) 94–111. K. Weitzmann, "Icon Programs of the 12th and 13th centuries on Sinai," *DChAE* 12 (1984) 63–116.

—N.P.S.

CALENDAR OF 354, also referred to as the *Chronographer of 354*, an almanac drawn up from a large variety of both Christian and pagan documents, including consular *fasti*, tables of Roman festivals, a secular chronicle of Roman history, the regionaries of the city of Rome, Easter tables, and lists of bishops and martyrs. The various fragmented MSS, when collated, recreate what seems to be the oldest extant Roman Christian calendar; Mommsen (unaware of an unillustrated MS at St. Gall, not pointed out until 1953) derived them all from the lost Carolingian *Codex Luxemburgiensis*. The calendar throws together all manner of information, from key religious and secular items to such trivia as famous Roman gluttons.

The greatest interest and value comported by this calendar derives from the illustrations, made for his patron Valentine by the artist Furius Dionysius Filocalus, who also was calligrapher of the poems of Pope Damasus (366–84). The 26 illustrations, preserved in 17th-C. drawings based on the Carolingian copy, form a gallery of astrological and political emblems appropriated for Christian purposes: no other visual document provides so immediate or broad an impression of mid-4th-C. beliefs and official imagery. The utility and accuracy of the pictures is assured by comparison with other Late Antique works. The LARGESS of Constans II and the PERSONIFICATIONS of great cities are subjects found on silver; those of the MONTHS are repeated in floor mosaics and represent the tradition inherited by Byz. artists.

ED. *Chronica minora*, pt.1, ed. T. Mommsen in *MGH AuctAnt* 9.1 (Berlin 1892) 13–148.

LIT. H. Stern, *Le Calendrier de 354: Étude sur son texte et ses illustrations* (Paris 1953). T. Mommsen, *Gesammelte Schriften* 7 (Berlin 1909) 536–79. M.R. Salzman, "The Representation of April in the Calendar of 354," *AJA* 88 (1984) 43–50.

—B.B., A.C.

CALENDS (Καλάνδαι), a calendar custom marking the Roman new year; it was celebrated during the first four days of January. Libanios and John Chrysostom describe the Calends in detail (e.g., the decoration of house doors with laurel wreaths). Gregory of Nazianzos condemned this custom,

and a law of 395 prohibited the pagan celebration of holidays (*Cod.Theod.* II 8.22). The Calends gave rise to festive processions where participants got drunk, wore animal costumes, distributed gifts in specie (*kalandika*), and banged on doors in the middle of the night. Chrysostom refers to this as "a procession of demons in the *agorai*" (PG 48:954.4-5). Christian clerics viewed the Calends, which fell during the 12 days between Christmas and Epiphany, as a continuation of the ethos of the BRUMALIA and the pagan cult practices associated with it. The mummers of the Calends gave rise to popular tales about demons called *kallikantzaroi*. The Council in TRULLO prescribed a six-year excommunication for participation in the Calends, but the practices went on at least until the time of Balsamon, who describes the mumery.

LIT. Koukoules, *Bios* 2.1:13-19. Trombley, "Trullo" 5. Lawson, *Folklore* 221-29. —F.R.T.

CALENDŽICHA. See EUGENIKOS, MANUEL.

CAMBLAK, GRIGORIJ, Bulgarian churchman and writer; born Tŭrnovo ca.1365, died Kiev 1419. Although a member of an aristocratic Bulgarian family of Byz. origin (see TZAMBLAKON), it is now considered doubtful that he was the nephew of Metr. KIPRIAN of Kiev and Moscow (D. Obolensky, *DOP* 32 [1978] 8of). He was educated in Tŭrnovo, where he studied with Patr. EVTIMIJ (whose panegyric he later wrote), on Mt. Athos, and in Constantinople. Patr. MATTHEW I of Constantinople sent him on a mission to Suceava in Moldavia ca.1402-03. He then served as superior of the Dečani monastery in Serbia ca.1403-06. In 1406 Kiprian summoned Camblak to Moscow, but he turned back on news of the latter's death. He moved to Kiev ca.1409, and in 1415 local bishops elected Camblak metropolitan as the result of Lithuanian pressure; he was, however, excommunicated by Constantinople and Moscow. In Feb. 1418, shortly before his death, he attended the Council of Constance, where he allegedly made a speech in favor of church unity under the pope.

Camblak wrote a wide range of hagiographical, homiletic, and liturgical works in Slavonic; many are still unpublished. His *Razkaz* (ed. in Kažni-

acki, *infra* 432-36) on the translation of the relics of St. Petka (Paraskeve) is rich in historical information, esp. about the Ottoman invasion of Bulgaria. He was a stylish and powerful writer, with a marked interest in personality. As an ecclesiastical politician he found himself involved in conflicts of power with which he was unfit by temperament and training to deal.

ED. *Werke des Patriarchen von Bulgarien Euthymius*, ed. E. Kažniacki (Vienna 1901). *Pohvalno slovo za Evlimij*, ed. P. Rusev et al. (Sofia 1971). A. Davidov et al., *Žitie na Stefan Dečanski ot Grigorij Camblak* (Sofia 1983). See also list in Heppell, *infra*.

LIT. M. Heppell, *The Ecclesiastical Career of Gregory Camblak* (London 1979). A.I. Jacimirskij, *Grigorij Camblak* (St. Petersburg 1904). K.S. Mečev, *Grigorij Camblak* (Sofia 1969). G. Pŭrrev, "Konstancijat ūbor (1414-1418) i ūčastieto na Grigorij Camblak v nego," in *Tŭrnovska knižovna škola*, ed. P. Rusev et al., vol. 2 (Sofia 1980) 484-500. —R.B.

CAMELS (sing. *κάμηλος*), common BEASTS OF BURDEN and a source of meat and of bone for carving throughout much of Syria and Egypt. In North Africa they were also used for plowing and pulling carts. Camels were envisaged as pack animals for the army in the STRATEGIKON OF MAURICE. A workshop of camel saddles in Damascus is mentioned in the vita of Elias of Heliopolis (ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *PPSb* 19.3 [1907] 48.2-5). Camels are also attested in 14th-C. Greece: John VI Kantakouzenos had them on his estates (Kantak. 2:185.8). Camel drivers (*kamelarioi*) were considered persons of the lowest standing: the *De administrando imperio* attributes such a station to MUHAMMAD. To be paraded through the streets on the back of a camel was a form of humiliation in Constantinople: under Justinian I, persecuted astrologers suffered this punishment (Prokopios, *SH* 11.37); in a similar fashion the deposed Andronikos I Komnenos was led through the capital on a "mangy camel" in the 12th C.

In art, the camel frequently denotes an Egyptian setting: an attribute of St. MENAS or of the Joseph story, as on the cathedra of MAXIMIAN. Attesting to their ordinariness, camels normally appear in CREATION scenes and in images of Adam naming the animals. A mosaic in the GREAT PALACE depicts two boys riding on a camel.

LIT. E. Demougeot, "Le chameau et l'Afrique du Nord romaine," *Annales ESC* 15 (1960) 209-47. R.S. Bagnall, "The Camel, the Wagon and the Donkey in Later Roman Egypt," *BASP* 22 (1985) 1-6. —A.M.T., A.C.

CAMEO, ornament made from a precious or semiprecious stone, usually with two or more layers of different colors. The subject is carved in relief on the often translucent upper layer, while the lower layer forms the base. This distinguishes cameos from stones carved in INTAGLIO. The quality of carving in Byz. cameos is not as high, generally, as in Roman examples. Stones favored in Byz. were carnelian, chalcedony, heliotrope, haematite, jasper, lapis lazuli, sardonyx, and rock crystal. Secular cameos often displayed portraits. Christian examples may depict the Virgin, Jesus, a scene from his life, or the bust of a saint. Although some Byz. cameos bear an inscription, it is usually not contemporary with the scene or figure. For this reason as well as the stone's portability and intrinsic value, it is difficult to determine the date and provenance of cameos, although comparison with coins and seals can be helpful. One firmly dated 11th-C. example in London is of serpentine or green jasper, with a contemporary inscription that names Nikephoros (III) Botaneiates (Rice, *Art of Byz.*, pl.150). Cameos were often mounted to be worn around the neck as ENKOLPIA or AMULETS. GLASS PASTE CAMEOS were made in imitation of hardstone cameos.

LIT. A. Bank, *Prikladnoe iskusstvo Vizantij IX-XII vv.* (Moscow 1978) 115-46. H. Wentzel, "Datierbare byzantinische Kameen," in *Festschrift Friedrich Winkler* (Berlin 1959) 9-21. W.F. Volbach, J. Lafontaine-Dosogne, *Byzanz und der christliche Osten* (Berlin 1968) 202f. —S.D.C., A.C.

CAMP (*ἄπληκτον*, from Lat. *applicatum*). The location, construction, and security of the marching camp were of vital concern to Byz. campaign armies, and nearly every STRATEGIKON contains a section on encampments. The most thorough description of a temporary camp is given by the 10th-C. DE RE MILITARI (ed. Dennis, *Military Treatises* 246-75), which instructs the surveyors preceding the army to locate campsites on level terrain with sufficient water supply nearby. The army camped in a square, keeping the infantry around the outside, the cavalry and supply train within. The commander's tent and his retinue were in the center. Roads, entered by gates set up in the outer defenses, bisected the camp from north to south and from east to west. The distinctly Byz. plan of a square camp crossed by intersecting roads thus differs from the earlier Roman rectan-

gular plan based on the T-shaped intersection of the *via praetoria/principalis* and is first attested in the 6th C.

To protect the camp, the *strategika* recommended digging a trench with the earth heaped up along the inner lip to form a rampart; the infantry might then fix their spears in the earth and hang or lean their shields upon them to make a shield-cover or palisade. John I Tzimiskes' army fortified their camp in this manner before Dorostolon in 971 (Leo Diac. 142.1-143.6); Yahyā of Antioch states that the ditch and shield palisade around the camp of Romanos III Argyros during the Syrian campaign of 1030 reflected "the usual practice of the Greeks in their camps" (M. Canard, *REB* 19 [1961] 305f). A well-protected camp enabled an army to resist attack and organize a counterattack, as when in 1068 Romanos IV Diogenes' men first held off and then defeated an Arab army that had attacked their encampment (Attal. 113.8-114.22).

LIT. Ju. Kulakovskij, "Vizantijskij lager' konca X veka," *VizVrem* 10 (1903) 63-90. R. Grosse, "Das römisch-byzantinische Marschlager vom 4.-10. Jahrhundert," *BZ* 22 (1913) 90-121. H. von Petrikovits, *Die Innenbauten römischer Legionslager während der Prinzipatszeit* (Opladen 1975) 114f. V. Kučma, "Iz istorii vizantijskogo voennogo iskusstva na rubeže IX-X vv. Lagernoe ustrojstvo," *ADSV* 10 (1973) 259-62. —E.M.

CAMPANIA (*Καμπανία*), a region south of Rome comprising the cities of CAPUA, NAPLES, Nola, and BENEVENTO. The GARIGLIANO is one of the important rivers in the area. From the reign of Diocletian onward, Campania was considered to encompass Latium as well, and according to Prokopios (*Wars* 5.15.22) Campania stretched to the city of Tarracina. In Western terminology the name Campania was applied to two districts: Neapolitan Campania, forming a part of the duchy of Benevento, and the section included in the territory of the papacy.

Campania was administered by a *corrector*, who from 333 had the high title of *consularis*. With rich land close to Rome, Campania played an important role during Justinian I's reconquest of Italy in the 6th C.; when TOTILA captured Rome, he resettled Roman senators in Campania. Campania had many senatorial estates. The presence of senators accounts, in part, for the continued spending (moribund in most other parts of Italy) by *patroni* on secular construction in the province

during the 4th and early 5th C. Statues to governors and *patroni* also continued to be erected. Governors promoted secular building activity in Campania in the same period. The military and financial crisis precipitated by the Visigothic invasions, more than Christianity, is the probable cause for the decline in construction of secular monuments in the 5th C. On the other hand, Paulinus of Nola's construction of a church at Fondi in Campania is possible evidence of a redirection from secular to ecclesiastical building by the senatorial aristocracy residing in Campania.

In 553/4 the Franks penetrated the province (Agath. 40.16). After the 6th C. the name *Campania* rarely appears in Greek sources, but in the 12th C. the TIMARION (53.19) still mentions Kampanoi and Italian merchants visiting the fair in Thessalonike. Because of Arab raids a complex trading pattern emerged between Byz., the Arabs, and the West, with Campania serving as a western apex.

LIT. D. Whitehouse, "Raiders and Invaders: The Roman Campagna in the First Millennium A.D.," *Papers in Italian Archaeology* 4 (Oxford 1985) 207-13. Wickham, *Italy* 147-51, 155f, 164f. Ward-Perkins, *From Classical Antiquity* 23-25, 67f, 230-35. —A.K., R.B.H.

CANA (Κανά), town in Galilee where Christ is said to have worked his first miracle, turning water into wine during a wedding feast (see CANA, MARRIAGE AT). Near Nazareth, its precise location has not been established. According to Jerome (Eusebios, *Onomastikon* 117:7) it was a "town of Gentiles" (*oppidum gentium*). Two sites preserve the ancient name: Kafr Kanna east of Nazareth, where remains of a Byz. synagogue were discovered, and Khirbat Kanna north of Nazareth. Many early pilgrims (PIACENZA PILGRIM, Willibald [see HUGEBURC], EPIPHANIOS HAGIOPOLITES) mention Cana. The objects of veneration were the couch on which Christ reclined, a waterpot, and the spring at which the pot was filled. In the 12th C. only a small *kastellion* existed at Cana (John Phokas in *PPSb* 8.2 [1889] 6.29-30), but pilgrims, such as DANIIL IGUMEN, continued to mention it.

LIT. Abel, *Géographie* 2:412f. Wilkinson, *Pilgrims* 153. B. Bagatti, *Antichi villaggi cristiani di Galilea* (Jerusalem 1971) 42-48. —G.V., Z.U.M.

CANA, MARRIAGE AT. Popular already in CATACOMB imagery, Christ's conversion of water into

wine during the wedding feast at Cana (Jn 2:3-10) had a twofold significance: as Christ's first miracle, revealing his Godhead, and as an anticipation of the EUCHARIST. Both meanings are made clear at Sant'Apollinare Nuovo, RAVENNA, where this scene (wine) and the FEEDING OF THE MULTITUDE (bread) open the miracle cycle, facing the Last Supper (see LORD'S SUPPER) across the bema. From the 4th C. (silver reliquary in Milan—Volbach, *Early Christian Art*, pl. 111) through the 14th C. (CHORA), Cana is regularly juxtaposed with the Feeding of the Multitude; a similar eucharistic message appears in the Parma Gospels (Lazarev, *Storia*, fig. 241), where Cana and the Miraculous Draught of Fishes accompany the Last Supper, which has bread baskets like those of the Feeding of the Multitude. Early images included simply Christ, the jars, and servants; Mary and the feasting wedding party were added in the 6th C. The wedding feast dominates the scene thereafter. Although found in Gospel Books and mural cycles, Cana does not appear in illuminated lectionaries.

LIT. Grabar, *Martyrium* 2:244-54. Underwood, *Kariye Djami* 4:280-84. W. Kuhn, "Die Darstellung des Kanawunders im Zeitalter Justinians," in *Tortulae: Studien zu altchristlichen und byzantinischen Monumenten* (Rome 1966) 200-15. —A.W.C.

CANDLEMAKER (κηρουλ(λ)άριος). There was no Roman guild of candlemakers. The role of this profession evidently increased around the 7th C., when the ancient ceramic LAMP was replaced by the CANDLE. The word *keroullarios* appears in the 7th-C. *Miracles* of St. ARTEMIOS (ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, 27.1); in the 9th C. Theophanes (Theoph. 487.31) speaks of a well-to-do *keroullarios* who worked in the Forum; a severe fire in the Forum in 931 destroyed the shops of furriers and candlemakers, *keropoleia* (*TheophCont* 420.13-16).

According to the *Book of the Eparch*, *keroullarioi* bought wax and olive oil (in part from churches) and sold candles in their shops, which, because of precautions against fire, had to be separated from each other by a prescribed distance (30 *orgyiai*); only for the workshops near Hagia Sophia was an exception made. The production of candles, esp. for great festivities, required elaborate skill: a 14th-C. source (pseudo-Kod. 191.9-16) describes a Christmas procession candle (*lampas*), the top of which was colored with cinnabar and the middle



CANA, MARRIAGE AT. The Marriage at Cana; fresco, 14th C. Church of St. Nicholas Orphanos, Thessalonike.

part adorned with golden leaves that bore red roundels with inscribed crosses.

LIT. Stöckle, *Zünfte* 38f. *Bk. of Eparch* 208-11. —A.K.

CANDLES (sing. κηρίον, κηρός) were used extensively in both everyday and ecclesiastical LIGHTING in Byz. The ancient Greeks did not make much use of candles, but the Romans employed them, as well as torches, for festive processions and funeral services; their houses were illuminated with LAMPS made of clay or metal. There are reasons to suppose that in the 7th C. the practice changed and that candles began to replace lamps: first of all, very few clay lamps are found in excavations of post-7th-C. strata, although literary texts continue to speak of oil lamps; secondly, the profession of CANDLEMAKER (*keroullarios*) is known from the 7th C. onward; finally, the term *kerion*,

which in classical texts means honeycomb, acquired the meaning of candle and is used to form compound words such as *keroprates* (candle merchant) or *keropoleion* (candle workshop). Another word, *lampas*, which in classical vocabulary had designated torch or lamp, was used for larger candles (Clugnet, *Dictionnaire* 81, 89f). Late Roman candles were produced of both tallow and wax (F. Cabrol, *DACL* 3.2:1613); the BOOK OF THE EPARCH (11:3-4) stipulates that the candlemaker could use wax and olive oil but not fat. Candles of inferior quality had no wicks (*pinai*). Sources mention the use of candles for processions (e.g., the vita of Eusebios of Alexandria, PG 86:309A), imperial ceremonies, and liturgy, but there is no information on candles in everyday life, save for the prohibition on light in individual cells of some monasteries; nor do we have any data on the price of candles.

Liturgical Candles. In worship, candles were used, with oil lamps, for both practical and symbolic purposes. Christians, who saw Jesus and his salvation as LIGHT and the candle as the image of the eternal light (PG 87:3985C), used candles from the 4th C. onward at funerals, at VESPERS, in processions, at EPIPHANY and the Easter VIGIL, and eventually also at BAPTISM, UNCTION, etc.

Typical of Byz. ritual and private devotion was the honorific use of candles. Candles of varying sizes were kept burning on the iconostasis, by tombs, and before icons and other venerated images inside churches (see, e.g., P. Gautier, *REB* 32 [1974] 37.152, 39.165, 47.282). The patriarch was accompanied in procession by candles, a practice borrowed from court ceremonial, and emperor and patriarch offered obeisance with candles and INCENSE at the opening of services. Liturgical candles evolved into the two episcopal candelabra: the triple-branch *trikerion* in honor of the Trinity and the double-branched *dikerion* for the two natures of Christ, with which the bishop bestowed solemn blessings.

LIT. Taft, "Pontifical Liturgy" 107–110. C. Mango, "Addendum to the Report on Everyday Life," *JÖB* 32.1 (1982) 255f. Koukoules, *Bios* 2.2 (1948) 91. —R.F.T., A.K.

CANICATTINI BAGNI TREASURE. See PLATE, DOMESTIC SILVER AND GOLD.

CANON. For legal term, see CANON LAW; CANONS. For hymnographic term, see KANON.

CANONIZATION (*ἀνακήρυξις*), official ecclesiastical acknowledgment and proclamation of the sanctity of an individual by the patriarch and synod of Constantinople. Although the term is sometimes loosely used by scholars for the period prior to the 13th C., canonization in Byz. appears to have been a development of the Palaiologan period. From the earliest centuries of Christianity, holy men and women were popularly revered as SAINTS, commemorated on their feastdays, celebrated in hagiography, and represented in sacred images; the faithful prayed to them for intercession and sought healing from the relics at their shrines. This recognition of a person's sanctity is properly termed *anagnorisis*. In the West, official papal canonization began in the late 10th C.; the

earliest example in Byz. seems to be that of Patr. ARSENIOS in the late 13th C. In the 14th C. at least eight cases of canonization are attested, including Patr. ATHANASIOS I, Meletios the Confessor (died 1286), and Gregory PALAMAS (cf. *Reg-Patr*, fasc. 5, nos. 2132, 2540; 6, no. 2681a). Among the prerequisites for canonization were popular veneration, evidence of miracles, and creation of an iconic and hagiographic tradition.

LIT. R. Macrides, "Saints and Sainthood in the Early Palaiologan Period," in *Byz. Saint* 67–87. A.-M. Talbot, *Faith Healing in Late Byzantium* (Brookline, Mass., 1983) 21–30. —A.M.T.

CANON LAW, in a broad sense, is the totality of legal regulations concerning church life. In its narrow (formal) sense, it is the totality of the rules that derive from church authorities. Because of the great importance of the church, canon law in Byz. was of an importance equal to secular law (see LAW, CIVIL). There did not develop a strict separation of the two spheres of law as in the Latin West.

Byz. canon law, static and adverse to all innovations, did not undergo any significant development. The history of Byz. canon law (in its narrow sense) falls into three periods: that of the COUNCILS (4th C.—second half of the 9th C.), that of the patriarchs (second half of the 9th C.—11th C.), and that of the canonists (12th–15th C.).

From the 4th C. come the most important sources by far: the CANONS issued by church councils. The canons of some councils were being assembled and arranged in chronological order by the 5th C. at the latest; these collections were supplemented and partly replaced—by the 6th C.—with "systematic" collections (organized according to subject matter) such as the SYNAGOGUE OF FIFTY TITLES and the NOMOKANONES. Excerpts from the writings of church fathers (including the so-called APOSTOLIC CANONS) were also introduced into these collections. The bulk of the sources that became the recognized basis for ecclesiastical law was already established in the 6th C. and given the authority of an ecumenical council in 691 by the Council in TRULLO (canon 2), which repudiated in particular the APOSTOLIC CONSTITUTIONS. These canons (which form the basis of canon law in its narrow sense) were considered to be, in principle, immutable.

The Constantinople council of 879–80 led by

Patr. Photios was the last council that issued generally recognized canons; from then on the corpus of canons was supplemented by occasional prescriptions of individual patriarchs, mostly with the participation of their ENDEMOUSA SYNODOS. In the MSS these prescriptions constitute variously composed appendices to the collections of canons. Only certain prescriptions, in particular those dealing with marriage law, acquired an authority comparable to that of the canons.

The chronologically arranged canons were provided with continuous commentaries in the 12th C. by Alexios ARISTENOS, John ZONARAS, and Theodore BALSAMON; these commentaries, esp. those of Balsamon, took certain other sources into account as well. Byz. canon law studies—which originated in the 11th C., peaked in the 12th C., and flourished once more in the 14th C.—produced compendia, in particular the *Syntagma kata stoicheion* of Matthew BLASTARES and the *Epitome canonum* of Constantine HARMENOPOULOS as well as works on particular problems in the form of treatises and EROTAPOKRISEIS (NIKETAS OF HERAKLEIA, JOHN IV (V) OXEITES of Antioch, Michael CHOUMNOS, NIKETAS OF ANKYRA, NIKETAS "OF MARONEIA," BASIL OF OHRID). Finally, the judicial decisions of ecclesiastical authorities such as John APOKAUKOS, Demetrios CHOMATENOS, and the *endemousa synodos* of the patriarchs of Constantinople, whose register for the 14th C. is almost completely preserved, belong to the sources of canon law in its narrow sense.

Sources of canon law in its broad sense are the imperial laws regarding church life; these are of great importance because individual emperors, in particular, CONSTANTINE I THE GREAT, JUSTINIAN I, and LEO VI, issued large numbers of legal prescriptions involving ecclesiastical matters, which, on the whole, were respected by the church. Laws derived from the CORPUS JURIS CIVILIS were compiled in special collections (see, e.g., *Collectio tripartita*) or integrated into works based on the canons (the *nomokanones*, the commentary of Balsamon, the *Syntagma kata stoicheion* of Blastares).

Even if some collections of canon law are not arranged either chronologically or alphabetically, but according to content (esp. the *Nomokanon of Fourteen Titles*), it is impossible to assert that a "system" of canon law was ever developed in Byz. This was done only in modern times and one can now (following Christophilopoulos) divide church

law into five sections according to content: a general section, constitution, administration, penalties, and judicial procedure.

1. To the general section belong the concept of canon law (including its distinction from secular law, ethics, and theology); the relationship of the church to the state as well as to dissenters (Jews, Muslims, Latins, and heretics, like Manichaeans and Paulicians); and the sources of canon law and their interpretation (see OIKONOMIA).

2. To the constitution of the church belong the regulations concerning its members (who have been received into it through baptism): the laity, clergy, and monks as well as the prescriptions concerning the organs of ecclesiastical administration—the councils, *endemousa synodos*, patriarchs, metropolitans, bishops, and monasteries.

3. The administration of the church includes the rules for the sacraments, esp. marriage, and for religious education as well as the laws regarding church property (see PROPERTY, SACRED), including the income of the clergy.

4. Ecclesiastical penal law deals—both generally and in particular—with ecclesiastical offenses such as apostasy, HERESY, SCHISM, SIMONY, and SACRILEGE as well as with ecclesiastical penalties such as EXCOMMUNICATION, deposition and ANATHEMA (see also EPITIMION, PENANCE).

5. Finally, the ecclesiastical judicial process (see TRIAL, CRIMINAL PROCEDURE) before the ecclesiastical courts (see COURT, LAW) forms a part of canon law.

Byz. canon law was not "law" in the modern sense of the term: neither in substance nor in procedure was the uniformity of the handling of norms ever vouchsafed, because there was never an institutionalized legal education of the clerics concerned with the application of "law" and because the notion of an ubiquitous validity of legal norms (the "concept of the legal state") was completely absent. In several areas (e.g., that of penance) canon law was not clearly divided from ethics or theology; this is due to the fact that the most important producers of the norms of canon law, namely the councils and the church fathers, also determined the codes of ethics and the theological dogmas.

Research into Byz. canon law began in the West in the 16th C.; in the 16th and 17th C., Bonifedius, Voellus, Justellus, and Beveregius in particular produced a series of notable editions of canon

law sources. These studies were taken up again in the second half of the 19th C. by J.B. Pitra and at the beginning of the 20th C. by V.N. Benešević. The documents of the *endemousa synodos* of the patriarchs of Constantinople (*RegPatr*) have been the subject of research since ca.1930 by the French Assumptionists.

Systematic studies on canon law have been pursued since the second half of the 19th C., mainly in Orthodox lands (above all in Greece and, until the revolution of 1917, in Russia) where Byz. canon law was still largely valid. While this so-called inner legal history has received considerable attention, the area of the sources (so-called outer legal history) is still insufficiently researched: most texts still lack a classification of the MS tradition and a critical edition.

LIT. N. van der Wal, J.H.A. Lokin, *Historiae iuris graecoromani delineatio* (Groningen 1985). S.N. Troianos, *Oi peges tou byzantinou dikaiou* (Athens-Komotini 1986). Idem, *Paradosis ekklesiastikou dikaiou*² (Athens-Komotini 1984). N. Milas, *Pravoslavno crkveno pravo*³ (Belgrade 1926). P.I. Panagiotakos, *Systema tou ekklesiastikou dikaiou kata ten en Helladi ischyn autou*, vols. 3-4 (Athens 1962, 1957). A.P. Christophilopoulos, *Hellenikon ekklesiastikon dikaiou*² (Athens 1965). —A.S.

CANONS (*κανόνες*), term that in Roman law was used synonymously with *regulae*, rules, but that eventually acquired a technical meaning as the body of ecclesiastical law or of its individual regulations. As canonical were recognized the rulings of several councils, both ecumenical (Nicaea of 325, Constantinople of 381, Ephesus, Chalcedon, Trullo, Nicaea of 787) and local (esp. Ankyra, Gangra, Serdica) as well as the precepts of several authoritative church fathers (Basil the Great, Gregory of Nyssa, Gregory of Nazianzos, Amphilochios of Ikonion, Cyril of Alexandria, Tarasios, and others).

Canons covered broad areas of CANON LAW—ecclesiastical structure, church discipline, norms of morality and behavior, liturgy, etc. Zonaras (PG 137:509D) distinguishes “the investigation of dogma and decisions (*psephoi*)” from formal canons that should, according to Balsamon, bear the signatures of emperors and “fathers” (PG 137:509A). In theory, canons had to be approved “by the common volition and unanimous desire” (Mansi 11:933D) of the council participants. Canons were considered to be “divine,” “saintly,” or “holy.” Justinian I emphasized the importance of

canons: thus, in his novel 131 of 545 he endowed the canons of the first four ecumenical councils with the validity of imperial legislation.

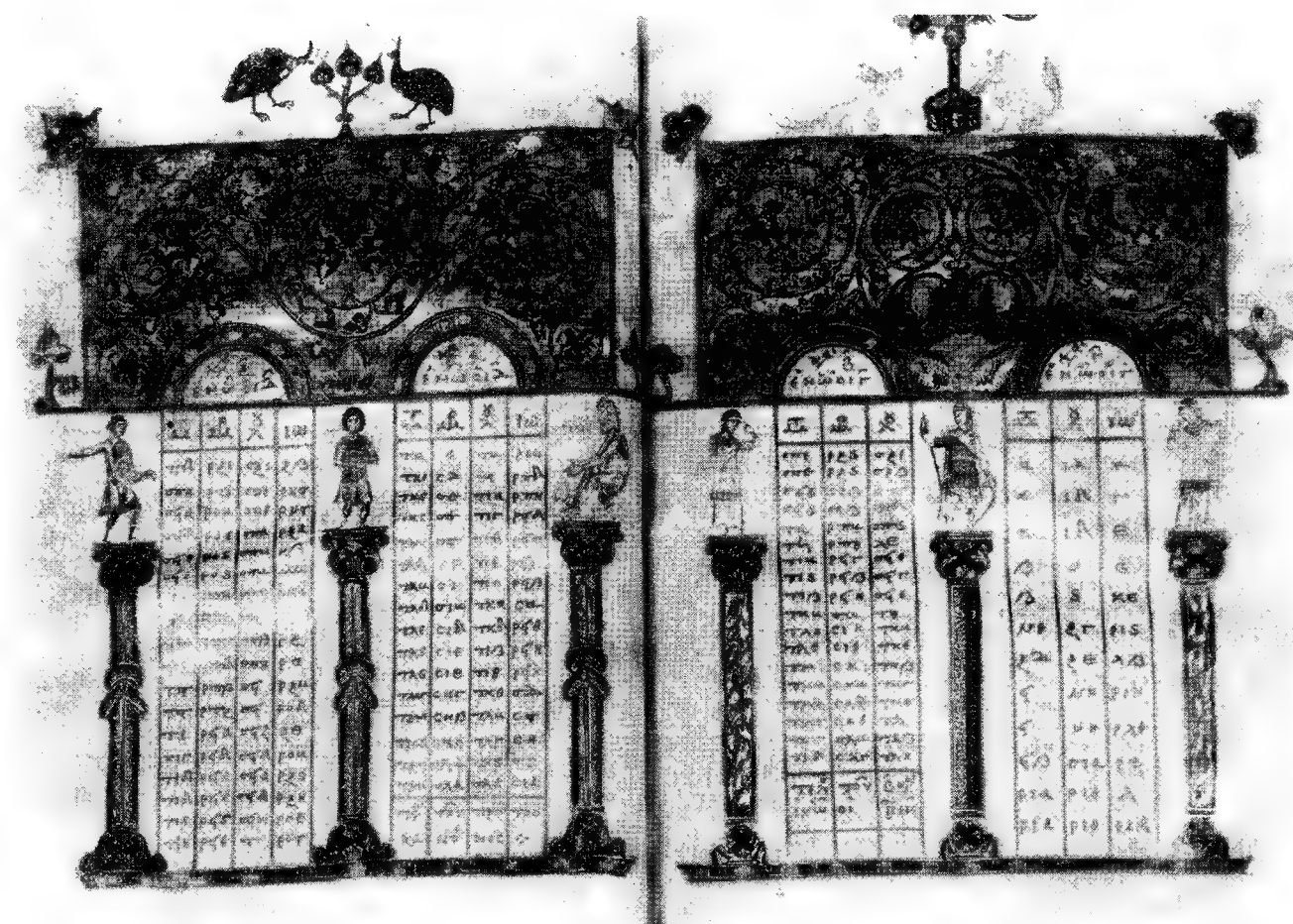
ED. P.-P. Joannou, *Discipline générale antique*, 4 vols. (Grottaferrata 1962-64).

LIT. L. Wenger, *Canon in den römischen Rechtsquellen und in den Papyri* (Vienna-Leipzig 1942) 83-166. E. Schwartz, *Gesammelte Schriften*, vol. 4 (Berlin 1960) 159-275. —A.K.

CANON TABLES, a system of concordance to the Gospels devised by EUSEBIOS OF CAESAREA. His letter to Karpianos, often included with the ten tables, explained their use. Numbered sections of Gospels were accompanied by a red number, corresponding to one of the tables, in which similar passages in other Gospels were listed. Eusebios's original design, preserved in certain 10th-C. MSS, spread the ten tables over seven pages. In the 10th C., Constantinopolitan illuminators extended the series to ten pages and framed the matrix of numbers in elaborate arches. Canon tables enjoyed their greatest popularity and artistic success in the 11th and 12th C. Menageries of exotic animals and mythological creatures play on top of arcades, and personifications of the labors of the MONTHS and virtues are incorporated into the bases and capitals. The same themes appear in Georgian MSS decorated in Constantinople by Byz. painters. At the end of the 12th C. even more elaborate profusions of ornament embellish the tables of DECORATIVE STYLE MSS. In the Palaiologan period, decorated canon tables are neither as common nor elaborate as before.

LIT. C. Nordenfalk, *Die spätantiken Kanontafeln* (Göteborg 1938). E. Nestle et al., *Novum testamentum graece* (Stuttgart 1981) 73-78. R.S. Nelson, “Theokistos and Associates in Twelfth-Century Constantinople,” *The J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 15 (1987) 59-66. —R.S.N.

CANOSCIO TREASURE, 5th(?) -C. hoard of 24 silver objects (nine plates, four cups, nine spoons, a strainer, and a ladle) discovered in 1934 at Canoscio in Umbria and now in the cathedral treasury of Città di Castello. Although the Canoscio Treasure is often described as a church treasure, Engemann (*infra*) convincingly demonstrated that it was for domestic use and belonged to a couple whose names, Aelianus and Felicitas, are inscribed on at least one of its objects. Most of the plates have small crosses at their center, but the lack of dedicatory inscriptions and the flat



CANON TABLES. Canon tables from a Gospel book (Melbourne, 710/5, fols. 3v-4r); 12th C. Above each column stands the personification of a month (left) or of a virtue (right). National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne; Felton Bequest, 1959.

profiles of the plates argue against their being PATENS. The two largest plates, decorated with a cross flanked by two lambs, represent the introduction of Christian themes into household silver. Although usually attributed to the 6th C., individual objects are related to those in the 4th- or 5th-C. CARTHAGE TREASURE. Both these collections offer evidence for the intermediary stages of development in the types of domestic silver PLATE manufactured in the period between the better-known silver TREASURES of the 4th C. and those of the 6th and 7th C.

LIT. E. Giovagnoli, “Una collezione di vasi eucaristici scoperti a Canoscio,” *RACr* 12 (1935) 313-28. J. Engemann, “Anmerkungen zu spätantiken Geräten des Alltagslebens,” *JbAChr* 15 (1972) 154-73. —M.M.M.

CANTICLES. See PSALTER.

CAPERNAUM (*Καφαρναούμ*), a site in Galilee, identified as Tell Hum. Although Capernaum was the center of Jesus' ministry in Galilee, it remained only slightly touched by Christianity. Eusebios of Caesarea (*Onomastikon* 120.2-4) described it as a village of “pagans,” and EPIPHANIOS of Salamis (*Panarion* 30.11.9-10) listed it among those Jewish sites where no church had been constructed and no Christians dwelled. Excavations discovered there the remains of a synagogue with buildings of the 1st and the 4th-5th C. Pilgrims to Capernaum (EGERIA, PIACENZA PILGRIM) were shown the house of the apostle Peter transformed into a church. This holy site is identified as a room in a 1st-C. private house, whose plastered walls bore Christian graffiti. Its hall became a place of worship (*domus ecclesiae*) in the 4th C., and in the 5th C. an octagonal church was erected above it.

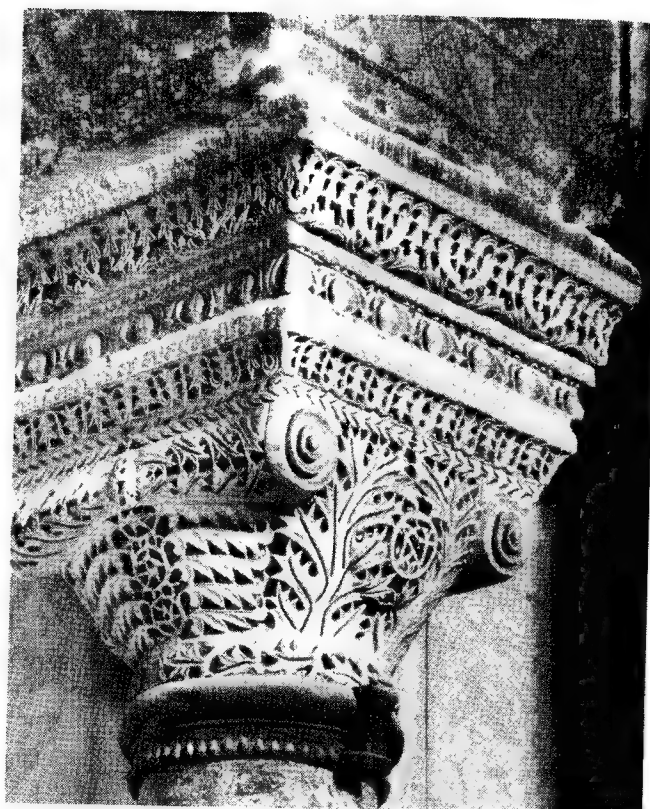
After the Arab conquest of Palestine the church is no longer mentioned, but pilgrims could see the house of John the Evangelist and the place where the paralytic was lowered through the roof. DANIIL IGUMEN confuses two Capernaums: one at the Lake of Tiberias, another near Caesarea. He says that Capernaum used to be a large and populated city but was deserted by his time; he reports a prophecy that the Antichrist would emerge from Capernaum (PPSb 3-9 [1885] 88f).

LIT. V. Corbo et al., *Cafarnao*, 4 vols. (Jerusalem 1972-75). V. Corbo, S. Loffreda, A. Spijkerman, *La sinagoga di Cafarnao* (Jerusalem 1970). V. Corbo, *The House of St. Peter at Capernaum* (Jerusalem 1969). Wilkinson, *Pilgrims* 153f. -G.V., A.K., Z.U.M.

CAPIDAVA (Καπίδαβα), a Roman military fort in the DOBRUDJA at a ford of the Danube, on the route leading to HISTRIA and TOMIS. Excavations have revealed two layers of settlement; a Roman *castrum* (or *locus*) existed to the early 7th C. (a coin of Maurice was found) and was restored several times, the last time probably by Anastasios I. The 6th-C. fort was smaller than the earlier one, and among numerous Latin inscriptions only a few can be dated later than the 3rd C. The second settlement was founded in the time of John I Tzimiskes and can be dated by coins that reach the reign of Theodora. The settlement was surrounded by a wall 2 m thick and the habitations were semisubterranean. The objects found in the second layer are of poor quality, primarily ceramics that show some influence of Slavic ware (the potters' stamps resemble those in Bulgaria); on the other hand, large clay caldrons indicate Pecheneg connections. The city name is mentioned by Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos (*De them.* 1.60, ed. Pertusi p.86).

LIT. G. Florescu, R. Florescu, P. Diaconu, *Capidava*, vol. 1 (Bucharest 1958). R. Florescu, N. Chelutã-Georgescu, "Săpăturile de la Capidava," *Pontica* 7 (1974) 417-35; 8 (1975) 77-85. -A.K.

CAPITAL (κιόκρανον, κιονοκράνιον), the crowning element of a COLUMN, a critical block that marks the junction of a load (e.g., of an EPISTYLE) and its support (the column shaft). A capital is also used with pilasters and piers, where it marks the springing of an arch or vault. During the 4th-5th C. most Ionic and Corinthian capitals relied



CAPITAL. Capital; 6th C. Church of Hagia Sophia, Istanbul. One face of the capital bears the monogram of Justinian I.

on Roman models (J.-P. Sodini, 10 *IntCongChr-Arch*, vol. 1 [Thessalonike 1984] 207-78). Corinthian, with ACANTHUS decoration, was the dominant form and the source of inspiration for most other types: the Composite capital; the "Theodosian" with its characteristic fine-toothed acanthus; the windblown acanthus capital; and the two-zone capital in which animal or bird PROTOMES surmount a zone with acanthus leaves or basket pattern.

Byz. arcades, however, demanded more compact capitals. Adopting the IMPOST BLOCK, the IMPOST CAPITAL had fully emerged by ca. 530, followed by two variants: the kettle and fold capitals, marked by a preference for stylized floral ornament and undercutting (Orlandos, *Palaiochr. basilike* 2:325-37).

Already ca. 550 the production of new capitals dropped dramatically and the use of SPOLIA became a common practice. Rare new forms after the 9th C. include the Corinthian-impost capitals in the Church of the Theotokos at Hosios LOUKAS (H. Buchwald, *ArtB* 48 [1966] 152), impost capi-

tals with busts of angels, and the Palaiologan impost capitals with busts of saints as at the church of the CHORA MONASTERY.

LIT. R. Kautzsch, *Kapitellstudien: Beiträge zu einer Geschichte des spätantiken Kapitells im Osten vom vierten bis ins siebente Jahrhundert* (Berlin-Leipzig 1936). W.E. Betsch, "The History, Production and Distribution of the Late Antique Capital in Constantinople" (Ph.D. diss., Univ. of Pennsylvania, 1977). F.W. Deichmann, *Corpus der Kapitelle der Kirche von San Marco zu Venedig* (Wiesbaden 1981). Grabar, *Sculptures I* 65-67. Grabar, *Sculptures II* 26-28, 131-36. E.D. Maguire, "A Revolution in Northern Justinianic Capital Design," *ByzF* 14 (1989) 59-74. Eadem, "Range and Repertory in Capital Design," *DOP* 41 (1987) 351-61.

-L.Ph.B., W.L.

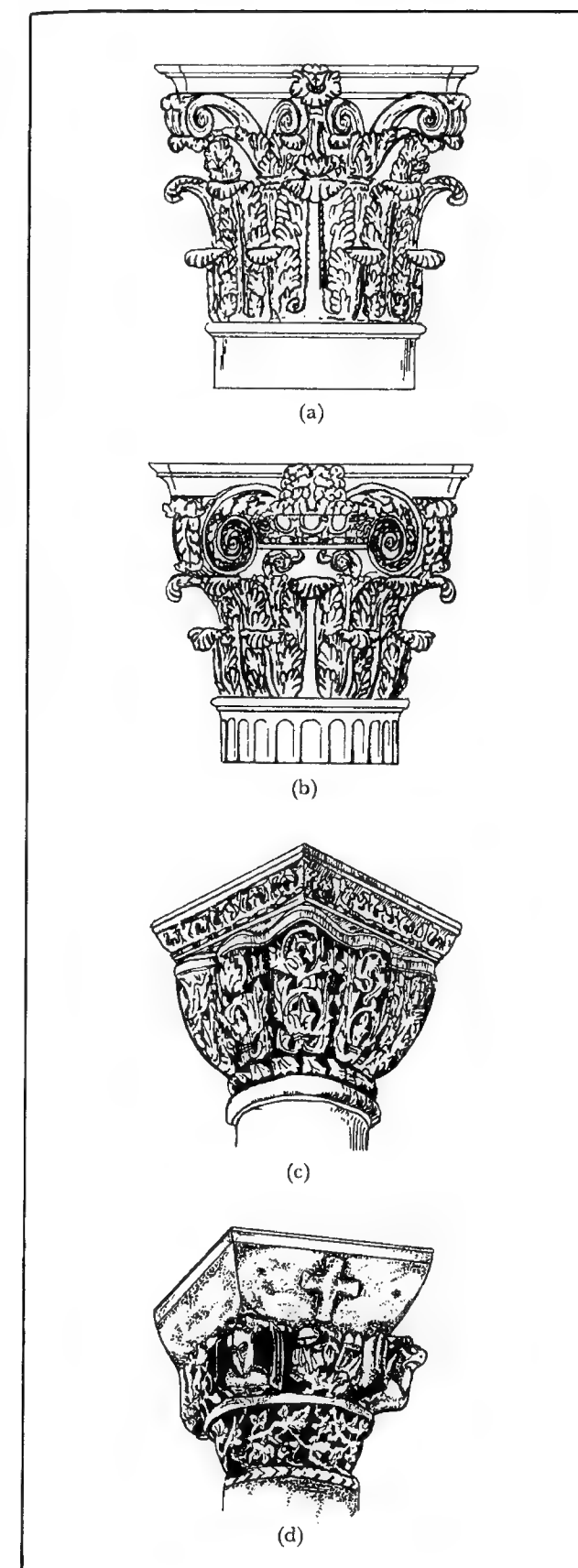
CAPITANATA, territory in northern Apulia that comprises, roughly, the modern Italian province of Foggia. The name, which appears first in the 11th-C. *Chronicle* of Leo Marsicanus (MGH SS 34:261), derives from KATEPANO. In fact, during the first quarter of the 11th C. the *katepano* had reorganized the area, repopulating it with people from neighboring Lombard counties, and founding and fortifying new cities such as Civitate, Dragonara, Torre Fiorentina, and Troia. Troia's act of foundation, by Basil BOIOANNES (1019), has been preserved. The population and the local officials were predominantly Latin-speaking Lombards; the bishop of Troia was directly subject to the Holy See. The territory was intended as a line of defense against invaders from the north; the Normans occupied it in the mid-11th C.

LIT. J.-M. Martin, "Une frontière artificielle: la Capitanate italienne," 14 *CEB*, vol. 2 (Bucharest 1975) 379-85.

-V.v.F.

CAPITATIO-JUGATIO (ζυγοκέφαλον or κεφαλόζυγον), FISCAL SYSTEM related to Diocletian's reforms; its exact nature is unclear, in spite of long and heated discussions. It ensured a fair distribution among individual taxpayers of the ANNONA, the total amount of which was fixed by the authorities at various levels, from the PRAETORIAN PREFECT down to the provincial governor. The distribution was made by taking into account some established shares of tax liability, called JUGUM (for land) and CAPUT (for humans, animals, etc.),

CAPITAL. Byzantine Capitals. (a) Corinthian with acanthus decoration; (b) Composite; (c) Windblown acanthus; (d) Two-zone.



which were estimated as having equal value. Some scholars (Piganiol, Ostrogorsky) saw in the system a combination of POLL TAX and land tax, concluding that a *jugum* could not be taxed unless it had a corresponding *caput* and vice versa; consequently they related the system to the state's effort to bind peasants by law to the land that they cultivated. This theory has been broadly criticized.

LIT. Ostrogorsky, *History* 40f. Jones, *LRE* 448–56. J. Karayannopoulos, "Die iugatio-capitatio-Frage und die Bindung der Agrarbevölkerung an die Scholle," in *Actes du VIIe Congrès de la Fédération Internationale des Associations d'Études Classiques*, vol. 2 (Budapest 1984) 59–72. Idem, "Die Theorie A. Piganiols über die Iugatio-Capitatio und die neueren Auffassungen über die Entwicklung der sozialen und finanzwirtschaftlichen Institutionen in Byzanz," *BNJbb* 19 (1966) 324–49. —N.O.

CAPPADOCIA (Καππαδοκία), the hilly and mountainous region of central Asia Minor stretching from the Pontic mountains to the Taurus and from the Salt Lake to the Euphrates. Except for a few fertile plains (the best around Melitene), Cappadocia is not very productive and never supported a large population or extensive urban life. In antiquity, it had only three cities—CAESAREA, MELITENE, and TYANA; the emperor owned most of the land and its population was his tenants. Cappadocia is rich in minerals and was famed for cattle, sheep, and esp. horses. It gained importance from its command of the main highways across Anatolia and from its proximity to the frontier.

The wars of the 3rd C. depleted the population. Diocletian reduced the area of Cappadocia by forming the provinces of Armenia from its eastern regions. The remaining area, with its capital at Caesarea, was assigned to the diocese of PONTOS. Hannibalianus, nephew of Constantine I, however, was briefly king (*rex regum*) of Cappadocia, Pontos, and Armenia (335–37). When Constantine confiscated the treasures of the temples, the imperial estates grew. They became the *domus divina per Cappadociam*; their revenues supported the imperial bedchamber. In 371, Valens detached the southern half, making a new province, Cappadocia II, with its capital at Tyana.

The writings of the CAPPADOCIAN FATHERS provide considerable information about Cappadocia in the late 4th C., a time of great prosperity. After 363, when the region east of the Euphrates was ceded to Persia, Cappadocia gained in strategic

importance and became more exposed. Tzannoi, Isaurians, and Huns ravaged Cappadocia in the 5th C., provoking a program of fortification continued by Justinian I, who rebuilt Caesarea and established a new fortified center at MOKISSOS. Vainly hoping to repress widespread civil disturbance and revolts by imperial tenants, he appointed a proconsul with full civil and military powers in 535, but the old system was restored by 553. The Persians destroyed SEBASTEIA in 575 and Caesarea in 611, introducing a period of great turmoil.

Arab attacks began with the temporary capture of Caesarea in 646 and intensified after they gained control of the Cilician Gates and Tyana in 708. The long wars led to major changes: the country was covered with strong, usually remote fortresses; large areas, esp. in the east, were depopulated; and Slavs were transported from the Balkans to strengthen the defenses.

In the regime of THEMES, Cappadocia was divided between ANATOLIKON and ARMENIAKON. When these were reduced in the early 9th C., the two new themes of CHARSIANON and Cappadocia occupied the ancient geographical area, which continued to bear the name Cappadocia for unofficial and ecclesiastical purposes. In Byz. administrative parlance, however, Cappadocia came to denote a smaller area, the highly exposed southern region. First mentioned (by Ibn Khurdādhbeh) as a KLEISOURA of Anatolikon, it became a separate theme by ca.830. It extended from the Taurus to the Halys and had its headquarters at Korone in the mountains above the main invasion route of the Arabs. Its *strategos*, who drew a salary of 20 pounds of gold, commanded 4,000 men and numerous fortresses. Leo VI extended Cappadocia to the northwest by adding the region adjacent to the Salt Lake.

In the mid-9th C., the Paulicians attacked from their base of TEPHRIKE just east of the frontier. That threat was removed in 878, but Arab raids continued until the capture of Melitene by the Byz. in 934 and the displacement of the frontier eastward brought renewed security. Major problems remained, however: notably depopulation from the long wars and the concomitant growth of the estates of the military aristocracy, many of whom were Cappadocian. Syrian and Armenian settlers helped to repopulate the country. The increasing power of the magnates sparked a series

of revolts led by Bardas PHOKAS and Bardas SKLEROS that spread from Cappadocia to afflict most of Anatolia from 963 to 989. After finally gaining control, Basil II moved against the Cappadocian aristocracy, confiscating the wealth of such families as the MALEINOI. He gained victories in the east and then annexed much of Armenia; in compensation, Armenian princes and their followers received lands and offices in Cappadocia. Large parts of the country became Armenian, and hostility between the newcomers and the native population grew. In 1057, the deteriorating military situation produced by increasing Turkish attacks provoked Bryennios, general of Cappadocia, to revolt. In the same year the Turks destroyed Melitene and in 1059 Sebasteia; defense of such cities had long been neglected. After the devastation of Caesarea in 1067, Romanos IV strove to restore the military situation in Cappadocia and the east. In 1071, he passed through Cappadocia en route to the fatal battle of Mantzikert, after which Cappadocia was permanently lost to the empire. A province of Cappadocia is last mentioned in 1081, when Alexios I summoned the *toparches* of "Cappadocia and Choma" to Constantinople (An.Komn. 1:131.16–17). This probably indicates either that imperial authority had survived in the westernmost parts of Cappadocia or that the name, perhaps together with troops, had been moved into Phrygia.

LIT. TIB 2. F. Hild, *Das byzantinische Strassensystem in Kappadokien* (Vienna 1977). —C.F.

Monuments of Cappadocia. Few churches built during the 4th–7th C. have survived in the province (M. Restle, *Studien zur frühbyzantinischen Architektur Kappadokiens* [Vienna 1979]). The region is best known for the ROCK-CUT CHURCHES AND DWELLINGS carved into its soft volcanic tuff hills. Large 6th–7th-C. congregational basilicas in the cliffs at Çavuşin and Avçılar survive, but most of the datable rock-cut monuments are small monastic chapels, often associated with cells, mills, winepresses, and refectories. Chapels that have been ascribed dates before 843—and sometimes much earlier—include Ioakeim and Anna and Niketas the Stylite in Kızıl Çukur and St. Basil at Sinassos (N. Thierry, *RSBS* 1 [1981] 205–28). The greatest period of artistic productivity, however, occurred between the cessation of major Arab attacks on Anatolia and the SELJUK conquest, re-

flecting the popularity of the region as a monastic center in the 10th and first half of the 11th C. Among the most important datable fresco cycles from this period are those found in Ayvalı Kilise or the Church of St. John (913–20), GÜLLÜ DERE; Tavşanlı Kilise (913–20); the Old Church of Tokalı Kilise and Kılıçlar Kilise in GÖREME, each associated with a series inappropriately named the "Archaic Group"; the Great Pigeon House of Çavuşin (963–69) and the New Church of Tokalı Kilise (mid-10th C.) in GÖREME; Direkli Kilise (976–1025) and St. Michael (1025–28) near the HASAN DAĞ; ESKİ GÜMÜŞ near Niğde; St. Barbara (1006 or 1021) and Karabaş Kilise (1060–61) in SOÇANLI; and the COLUMN CHURCHES (mid-11th C.?). In their architectural form, programs, and painting style, these chapels reflect the tension between metropolitan cultural hegemony and local artistic tradition.

LIT. Jerphanion, *Églises rupestres*. Thierry, *Nouvelles églises*. Restle, *Wall Painting*. L. Rodley, *Cave Monasteries of Byzantine Cappadocia* (Cambridge 1985). N. Thierry, *Haut moyen-âge en Cappadoce: Les églises de la région de Çavuşin* (Paris 1983). —A.J.W.

CAPPADOCIAN FATHERS, BASIL THE GREAT, GREGORY OF NAZIANZOS, and GREGORY OF NYSSA, the three church fathers who combatted ARIANISM in the 4th C. and were later considered the highest ecclesiastical authority. AMPHILOCHIOS OF IKONION is sometimes included in this group. Basil was the great organizer of men and institutions, Gregory of Nazianzos the great orator and poet, and Gregory of Nyssa the profound and subtle philosopher. Together they are best regarded as masters of compromise and synthesis in their adaptations of Plato and ORIGEN to the Orthodoxy of ATHANASIOS of Alexandria. Their trinitarian definitions paved the way for the Council of CHALCEDON. Basil established and clarified the distinction between the one *ousia* (see SUBSTANCE) and three HYPOSTASES in support of the concept of HOMOOUSIOS. Gregory of Nazianzos developed the properties and mutual relationships of the three divine persons within the TRINITY. Gregory of Nyssa emphasized the divinity and consubstantiality of the Holy Spirit.

The Cappadocians also departed from Origenist notions of SIN, SALVATION, and TIME. In their view, sin is more a product of human weakness and succumbing to temptation than the result of

ORIGINAL SIN. Salvation is attained by penitence, confession, the contemplation and understanding of the divine, and the final reconciliation of sinners with God after the temporary punishment of hell. Much of this comports their efforts to define and distinguish time from eternity, another major departure from Origen; the concept of *diastema* was developed to separate divine from created time (B. Otis, *StP* 12 [Berlin 1976] 327–57), a notion put forth to substantiate their theories of man's fall and redemption. Apart from theological matters, the Cappadocians responded directly to the social issues of their day, with all three denouncing chariot racing, a particular obsession of Cappadocia, as a source of unrest and riot (J.H. Humphrey, *Roman Circuses* [London 1986] 528).

LIT. B. Otis, "Cappadocian Thought as a Coherent System," *DOP* 12 (1958) 95–124. R. Gregg, *Consolation Philosophy: Greek and Christian Paideia in Basil and the Two Gregories* (Philadelphia 1975). T.A. Kopecek, "The Social Class of the Cappadocian Fathers," *ChHist* 42 (1973) 453–66. C.B. Ashanin, "Christian Humanism of the Cappadocian Fathers," *PBR* 6 (1987) 44–52. R. Teja, *Organización económica y social de Capadocia en el siglo IV, según los padres Capadocios* (Salamanca 1974). —B.B.

CAPUA (Κάπυα), city in CAMPANIA. Some remains of late Roman Capua survive: an amphitheater (converted to a fortress in the late 9th C.), bath, and Mithraeum. The Vandal Gaiseric sacked and destroyed Capua in 456. In 594 it was taken by the Lombards. Thereafter Capua was at first under the rule of the duchy of BENEVENTO, and Duke Arechis II (758–87) may have constructed a church there (CHRONICON SALERNITATUM 17.11; Ward-Perkins, *From Classical Antiquity* 84). Capua gained independence in the 9th C. Sometime before 808, abbot Josue of S. Vincenzo al Volturno received permission from King Louis (later Emp. Louis the Pious) to destroy a "very ancient temple." Ward-Perkins (ibid. 206) thinks this proves continued government control (presumably Carolingian) over ruined secular buildings in Italy after 800. The rulers of Capua acquired the title of princes ca.900. At this time the city had to struggle against the Arabs, but the Muslim danger was eliminated at the battle of GARIGLIANO in 915.

The Byz. impact on Capua was less significant than on neighboring Benevento; a Byz. attempt to seize Capua ca.891 failed; the Byz. expedition of 934 was but an armed embassy; the expedition

of 956 ended with a token submission; and the activity of the *katepano* Basil Boioannes in Capua in 1026 was short-lived. German influence in the 10th C. was exerted through their vassal Paldolf I Capodiferro (Ironhead) of Salerno (961–81), who succeeded in unifying the vast Lombard lands in southern Italy around Capua. In 966 Pope John XIII elevated the church of Capua to the rank of metropolis. Capua still flourished in the first half of the 11th C., when Paldolf IV managed temporarily to annex NAPLES, GAETA, and MONTECASSINO, but the Normans captured the stronghold of Capua after a long siege (1058–62), and the principality became part of the Norman state.

LIT. I. Di Resta, *Capua medievale* (Naples 1983). G.A. Loud, *Church and Society in the Norman Principality of Capua* (Oxford 1985) 26–37. —A.K., R.B.H.

CAPUT (Lat. "head"), technical term introduced in the FISCAL SYSTEM with Diocletian's reforms and having three possible meanings: an individual "heading" in the tax register; an unsecured (because it did not consist of land) share of tax assessment, equivalent to the JUGUM; a human or animal component in the formula of assessment. Basically, the *caput* seems to be a unit of account used within the system of CAPITATIO-JUGATIO for taxing humans or animals working on land. According to Goffart (*infra* 35), the concept of *caput* dropped out of the codes; the SYRO-ROMAN LAWBOOK is silent about it, while the *jugum* continued to figure in the laws, at least until the 6th C. As the assessment was gradually considered to be based on land alone, the *caput* disintegrated and the tenant of land was eventually bound to the soil, so as to be kept on the roll of taxpayers.

LIT. W. Goffart, *Caput and Colonate* (Toronto 1974). —N.O.

CARBONE, Italian monastery dedicated to St. Elias and St. Anastasios the Persian; founded at the end of the 10th C. by Loukas Karbounes in a wild mountain region of the Basilicata, probably under the influence of St. Sabas the Younger. While Loukas was active primarily in Armentum, his successors, seeking a refuge from the Arabs, retired to Carbone; nonetheless, one of its superiors, Menas, was captured by them. After the Norman conquest of southern Italy Carbone flourished under the patronage of the feudal fam-

ily of Chiaromonte. Greek monks continued to reside in Carbone until the 16th C.

Despite two fires (in 1174 and 1432) part of the monastic archive survives, including eight Greek documents of 1007–61. Among them are wills containing descriptions of their possessions drafted by Basil (Blasios) in 1041; Loukas II, a superior of Carbone (1059); and Gemma, widow of Nikephoros, *chartoularios* and *topoteretes* of Taranto; also preserved is a *sigillion* of ARGYROS, son of Melo, of 1053, which describes a mutiny against the emperor led by "the impious archbishop [of Taranto] and his accomplices."

LIT. G. Robinson, *History and Cartulary of the Greek Monastery of St. Elias and St. Anastasios of Carbone*, 3 vols. (Rome 1928–30). M. Petta, "Codici del Monastero di S. Elia di Carbone," *VetChr* 9 (1972) 151–71. —A.K.

CARIA (Καρία), district of southwestern Asia Minor, south of the Meander River. Caria has a long indented coastline with many harbors, chains of forested mountains, and fertile interior valleys. It became a separate province ca.305, with APHRODISIAS as its capital; the governor was a *praeses* until the 6th C., then a *consularis* (I. Ševčenko in *Synthronon* [Paris 1968] 29–41). In 536 Justinian I assigned Caria to the *quaestura exercitus*, together with Scythia, Moesia, the Aegean islands, and Cyprus; its purpose was evidently to assure supplies, esp. timber, to the Danube armies. JOHN OF EPHEBUS, in his mission to the pagans of Caria and neighboring provinces in 542, claimed to have made 80,000 converts; paganism was still strong in the mountain regions. Caria became part of the theme of KIBYRRHAIOTAI, but is mentioned as a province as late as 722, when it appears as belonging to the *apotheke* of Asia, Caria, the islands, and the Hellespont organized to supply the army (Hendy, *Economy* 656–60). Later uses of the term refer to the geographic area or to the ecclesiastical province, which lasted until the end of Byz. rule (late 13th C.). Caria is also the Byz. name for APHRODISIAS.

LIT. Jones, *LRE* 43, 482f, 939.

—C.F.

CARICATURE, a deliberately distorted picture of individuals or groups created for satirical purposes. In late antiquity and Byz. it was directed at both domestic and foreign enemies. EUNAPIOS OF SARDIS (fr.78, *FHG* 4:49) relates how an eparch

of Rome set up in the middle of the "Stadium" a picture on panels mocking the barbarians who flee the threatening HAND OF GOD; the picture was accompanied by a written commentary. Legends again accompanied the best-known incident of caricature in Byz. history: according to NIKETAS DAVID PAPHLAGON, minutes of a council opposed to Patr. IGNATIUS were illustrated by Gregory ASBESTAS with colored images identifying Ignatius as "the devil," "the abomination of desolation" (cf. Mt 24:15), etc. Some contemporary marginal PSALTERS had illustrations that caricatured the enemies of Israel. The Ziphites of Psalms 53 and 72:9 are depicted almost literally with their "mouths set against heaven" while their "tongues go through the earth." The Hebrews who reproached Moses are represented with Silenus-heads and exaggerated Semitic features (Dufrenne, *L'illustration* I, fol.106v), while Iconoclasts such as JOHN VII GRAMMATIKOS are shown with the wild hair normally associated with the DEVIL (Ščepkina, *Miniature*, fols. 51v, 67r). In the 12th C., Eustathios of Thessalonike was ridiculed in a sketch that circulated in the city (Eust. Thess., *Opuscula* 98.42–64). Gregoras (Greg. 1:258.24–259.4) again describes the use of caricature in politics: enemies of Patr. Athanasios I painted on the base of the patriarchal throne a picture of Christ and behind him Andronikos II bridled and led by the patriarch "as a charioteer leads a horse." —A.C., A.K.

CARIČIN GRAD. See JUSTINIANA PRIMA.

CARMEN CONTRA PAGANOS, 4th- or 5th-C. work, also known as *Carmen adversus Flavianum*, that survives only in one copy attached to a MS of PRUDENTIUS and consists of 122 hexameters written in difficult Latin, often ungrammatical and unmetrical. Its target is an unnamed prefect who restored paganism at Rome, offended God, and duly perished miserably. The equation of this villain by T. Mommsen with Virius Nicomachus FLAVIANUS (died Sept. 394) still remains the most plausible; a rival theory, however, offers Gabinus Barbarus Pompeianus, prefect at Rome in 408/9 when besieged by Alaric, who after permitting pagan ceremonies was lynched in a food riot. Either way, the poem can be connected with the last attempts at a pagan revival in the West. Its theme and biting tone recall the pseudo-Cyprian

Carmen against a renegade Christian senator and the *Carmen ad Antonium* contained in two MSS of PAULINUS of Nola and thought by some to be his. A recent theory (F. Dolbeau, *REAug* 27 [1981] 38–43) suggests that Pope Damasus (366–84) might have written the *Carmen Contra Paganos*.

ED. T. Mommsen, "Carmen Codicis Parisini 8084," *Hermes* 4 (1870) 350–63. G. Manganaro, *Nuovo Didaskaleion* 11 (1961) 23–45. Eng. tr. B. Croke, J. Harries, *Religious Conflict in Fourth-Century Rome* (Sydney 1982) 79–83.

LIT. L.C. Ruggini, "Il paganesimo romano tra religione e politica (384–394 d.C.): per una reinterpretazione del 'Carmen contra paganos,'" *Atti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Memorie, Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche* 8 23 (Rome 1979) 1–143. J.F. Matthews, "The Historical Setting of the 'Carmen contra Paganos' (Cod. Par. Lat. 8084)," *Historia* 19 (1970) 464–79. F.M. Clover, "The New Assessment of the Carmen Contra Paganos," in *Bonner Historia-Augusta-Colloquium 1982/3* (Bonn 1985) 163–76. D. Shanzer, "The Anonymous Carmen contra paganos and the Date and Identity of the Centorist Proba," *REAug* 32 (1986) 232–48. —B.B.

CARNIVAL, in the strict sense of the three-day festivity preceding LENT, left no trace in Byz. sources; on the contrary, Lent was preceded by weeks of partial abstinence (those of *apokreos* and *tyrophagos*) that, according to Theodore of Stoudios (PG 99:1700B), were established to remind Christians of monastic order (*taxis*) or of "the new and spotless society." The Byz. did celebrate carnivals in the broader sense, however, as semi-pagan feasts that embodied sensual festivities; they expressed themselves primarily in masked processions and coarse jokes, often with sexual overtones. The elements of carnival were reflected in pagan festivities such as LUPERCALIA and BRUMALIA. CHRISTOPHER OF MYTILENE describes a procession of masked students of the school of NOTARIES on the feast of St. Markianos and Martyrios; one of them was disguised as the emperor. Carnival entertainment sometimes had a parodic character, as at the court of Michael III: there, fake liturgies were performed to the accompaniment of lyres (*kitharai*) and a certain Grillos was installed as a bogus patriarch surrounded by eleven "metropolitans," all in gilded holy vestments; Michael himself played the part of the "proedros of Koloneia" (*TheophCont* 200.15–201.17). Canon law discouraged acting in costume, prohibited laymen from masquerading as monks and clerics, and clerics from disguising themselves as soldiers or animals (PG 137:729D). Canonists lamented that

on some saints' days pious women had to stay away from church for fear of being accosted by excessively boisterous merry-makers (PG 138:245D–248B).

LIT. Ja.N. Ljubarskij, "Der Kaiser als Mime," *JÖB* 37 (1987) 41–46. —A.K.

CAROLDO, GIAN GIACOMO, Venetian official and historian; born ca.1480, died 3 June 1538. Carollo's numerous and delicate diplomatic missions included one to the sultan in Constantinople (relazione of 30 Sept. 1503 in Marino Sanudo the Younger's *Diarii* 5 [Venice 1881] 449–68); from 1520 he occupied a key position in the Venetian chancellery. From that date until 1532 Carollo worked on a *Historia Veneta*, whose initial part (to 1280) derives chiefly from Andrea DANDOLO. The independent final section (1280–1382), however, makes extensive use of archival records available to Carollo and sheds valuable light, for example, on Byz.-Venetian relations, connections with Russia, the conflict between John V and John VI, the cession of Tenedos, and the pawning of the Byz. crown jewels. The *Historia* is largely unpublished and survives in three different redactions, two of which exist in partially autograph MSS.

ED. J. Chrysostomides, "Studies on the Chronicle of Carollo with Special Reference to the History of Byzantium from 1370 to 1377," *OrChrP* 35 (1969) 123–82.

LIT. A. Carile, "Carollo, Gian Giacomo," *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani* 29 (1977) 514–17. Idem, *La cronachistica Veneziana (secoli XIII–XVI) di fronte alla spartizione della Romania nel 1204* (Florence 1969) 158f. Karayannopoulos-Weiss, *Quellenkunde* 2:526f. —M.McC.

CARPENTER (τέκτων, λεπτοουργός, ξυλουργός). The terms for ARTISANS working in wood, including the combined form *tekton leptourgos*, are common in papyri (Fikhman, *Egipet* 28f). PALLADIOS (*Hist.Laus.*, ed. Butler, 94.7–9) saw in a monastery in Panos 15 tailors, 14 fullers, 7 smiths, and only 4 *tektones*, which shows a relatively unimportant role for carpentry in this monastery. In his opinion (100.6–7) *tektonike* or carpentry was a profession that should be learned in boyhood. Various carpenters—*tektones*, *leptourgoi*, and, distinct from them, builders or *oikodomoi*—worked in the Stoudios monastery in Constantinople (Dobroklonskij, *Feodor* 413). It seems that by the 10th C. the distinction between the carpenter, MASON, and builder became vague. SOUDA (ed. Adler, 4:517,

no.251) equates *tekton* with *technites* and conceives of him as a craftsman working on both stone and wood. In the *Book of the Eparch*, *leptourgoi* appear in the chapter on *technitai* together with masons (*marmarioi*) and workers in gypsum. In the vita of Ioannikios the Great (AASS Nov. 2.1:407C), *tektonema* is the designing of the building to be constructed by *technitai*. *Tektones* do not appear in later acts of Athos, but the term *xylourgos* is known (e.g., *Lavra* 1, no.63.5, App. I. 12).

Because of the disappearance of most artifacts of wood, carpenters are better known to philology than to archaeology, yet it is self-evident that woodworkers supplied the framework, joists, and tie beams of public and private buildings; ceilings such as that in the church of St. Catherine's monastery at Sinai; and BEMAS, AMBOS, and benches. Their role in SHIPBUILDING and the construction of vehicles was even larger. Various carpenters' TOOLS are named by Theodore of Stoudios, the *Geoponika*, and Eustathios of Thessalonike (Kazhdan, *Derevnja i gorod* 234): one-edged ax, adze, saw, auger, plumbline, plane, square, even a wood-turning lathe (*dinos*).

The word *leptourgia* meant skillful craftsmanship and was applied to the Creation (GEORGE OF PISIDIA, *Hexaem.* 1270, 1505), whereas Anastasios of Sinai (ed. J. Pitra, *Iuris ecclesiastici graecorum historia*, vol. 2 [Rome 1868] 259.15) speaks of the demon's "tektones and followers," and Niketas Choniates (Nik.Chon. 258.14, 301.23) uses the term *tekton* only metaphorically as schemer or contriver.

LIT. Rudakov, *Kul'tura* 143. Koukoules, *Bios* 2.1 (1948) 207. Sodini, "L'artisanat urbain," 86–88. —A.K., A.C.

CARPETS (sing. τάπης) or rugs designated in antiquity any kind of woven material used to cover floors, beds, walls, or apertures of doors (H. Schroff in *RE* 2.R. 4 [1932] 2251). This broad range of functions was preserved in Byz., and various carpetlike hangings (*bela*) played an important role in court ceremonial, concealing the emperor from the eyes of laymen (Treitinger, *Kaiseridee* 55f). In the opinion of Basil the Great (PG 31:288C), covering walls with carpets was a sign of excessive luxury; likewise John Chrysostom (PG 55:510.47) considered that carpets on the floor were as typical of the rich house as throngs of slaves and tables glittering with gold. According to Asterios

of Amaseia (PG 40:168A), wall carpets were sometimes covered with images of hunters, animals, and rocks. In the 9th C. the rich widow DANELIS sent to Constantinople woolen carpets to cover the whole floor of the NEA EKKLESIA; precious stones were woven into the carpets so that they resembled a mosaic (*TheophCont* 319.14–20). More modest was the carpet on which Epiphanius, friend of St. Andrew the Fool, slept on the floor (PG 111:705AB). Since pious people used carpets for kneeling in prayer, a new term, *epeuchion* ("prayer rug"), was created by the 12th C. for carpets.

Some carpets were produced in Constantinople or the Peloponnesos; Demetrios CHOMATENOS (ed. Pitra, 6:542.29) mentions a type of carpet that the local people called *tzerga*. Some carpets were brought from Alexandria or Armenia; esp. famous for carpet production was Persia, and Heraikleios seized precious carpets in Dastagerd.

LIT. Koukoules, *Bios* 2.2:85–88. J. Ebersolt, *Les arts somptuaires de Byzance* (Paris 1923) 11, 147f. —Ap.K., A.K.

CARPIGNANO SALENTINO (Καρπινιάνα), city in southern Apulia, Italy; site of the cave-church of Ss. Marina and Cristina, famous for its dated frescoes. According to A. Jacob (*AttiLinc Rendiconti* 8 37 [1983] 41–64), inscriptions identify the painters as Theophylaktos (959) and Eustathios (1020). H. Belting (*DOP* 28 [1974] 12–14) argues that the style of the earlier artist derives from late 9th-C. Constantinople, while that of Eustathios is a copy of Theophylaktos's work rather than a reflection of Byz. painting in the early 11th C. The church, long in use as a funeral chapel, also contains a long Greek metrical inscription on the death of a child and his father, a *spatharios* (between 1055 and 1075—A. Jacob, *RSBN* 20–21 [1983–84] 103–22).

LIT. C.D. Fonseca et al., *Gli insediamenti rupestri medioevali nel Basso Salento* (Galatina 1979) 59–75. —V.v.F., A.C.

CART (ἄμαξα). Unlike the light chariot pulled by HORSES that was employed for CHARIOT RACES and solemn processions, the cart was a heavy vehicle dragged by oxen and used for everyday business; grain and other foodstuffs were transported in carts (vita of Eustratios, 9th-C. *hegoumenos* of the Abgas monastery, ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Analekta* 4:387.6–9), and a peasant might visit a fair in a cart (*Synax.CP* 720.34). The

Codex Theodosianus (*Cod.Theod.* VIII 5.48) established the maximum weight permitted to be carried in a cart (*raeda*) of four wheels—98–164 kg of gold and 164–327 kg of silver—but these figures do not represent the real capacity of the cart (J. Béranger, *MusHelv* 28 [1971] 125). The ancient system of harnessing was based on traction at the neck of the animal, with a soft collar and a flexible yoke to which a long pole was strapped; this harnessing prevented the animal from hauling big loads. Lefebvre de Noettes (*infra*) hypothesized that in the 9th–10th C. the Byz. introduced some innovations in the ancient system of harnessing, releasing the neck and transferring the force of traction from the neck to the chest; this invention allowed the partial replacement of the ox by the horse.

The Byz. were acquainted with the so-called Wagenburg tactic (i.e., surrounding a military camp with a line of carts), which was used by some of their neighbors, such as the Cumans.

LIT. R. Lefebvre de Noettes, "Le système d'attelage du cheval et du boeuf à Byzance et les conséquences de son emploi," in *Mél.Diehl* 1:183–90. L. Bréhier, *Le monde byzantin*, vol. 3 (Paris 1950) 175f. —A.K., J.W.N.

CARTAGENA. A Punic foundation on the southeastern coast of Spain, it later became the site of the Roman colony of Nova Carthago. In 425 it was destroyed by the Vandals. An inscription recording the repair of the city gates by the Byz. *magister militum* of Spain, KOMENTIOLOS, has led to the assumption that Cartagena was the capital of Byz. Spain, but the inscription provides no indication of the town's status. Cartagena was seized by the Visigothic king Suinthila in 624.

LIT. Thompson, *Goths* 320f, 329f. —R.B.H.

CARTHAGE (Καρχηδών), port in North Africa near modern Tunis, the largest city in the western Mediterranean after Rome. Under Diocletian, Carthage became the seat of the African diocese. It contained numerous churches and monasteries and was the focal point of many religious disputes, such as DONATISM, ARIANISM, the THREE CHAPTERS controversy, and MONOTHELETISM. The city mirrored Rome in its administration, monuments, wealth, and spectacles. Its aristocracy formed the core of the landed elite of Africa and retained close links with Roman senatorial circles. Carthage

was the main port for African grain and oil exported to Rome as part of the ANNONA. It was also a major producer and exporter of AMPHORAS, LAMPS, and tableware, esp. African Red Slip ware (see CERAMICS). Under the VANDALS, there is evidence of an increase in imports of amphoras and other pottery forms, suggesting that the economy was increasingly dependent on supplies brought from outside Africa. Nevertheless Carthage continued to export African agricultural products to Spain, Gaul, and the eastern Mediterranean.

Literary sources emphasize the continued flourishing of Roman culture, including a certain degree of civic patronage on the part of the later Vandal kings. Continuity is also evident in the archaeological record; a number of urban villas, for example, show evidence of remodeling and refurbishment. At the same time, there is evidence that the late Roman walls, Antonine Baths, Via Coelestis, theater, Odeum, and the enigmatic circular monument or rotunda near the theater were allowed to fall into a state of disrepair, and some churches belonging to the Orthodox community are known to have been closed.

Following the Byz. reconquest (533), Carthage, renamed Carthago Justiniana, became the civil and military capital of the prefecture of AFRICA and later the seat of the EXARCH. Justinian I refurbished the walls, the circular and rectangular harbors, and a number of churches. He also constructed a fortified monastery called Mandracium, perhaps on the site of the civic basilica on the Byrsa. A mint was also established (a carryover from the Vandals, who minted in bronze and silver) to serve the monetary needs of the city, prefecture, and army. Justinian's efforts at urban renewal were short-lived (ca.533–60) and probably more cosmetic than substantive, as recent archaeological evidence shows little change in the character and quality of domestic life in Carthage from the Vandal to Byz. periods. There is also numismatic evidence for continuous inflation of the base bronze coinage throughout the 6th–7th C., possibly initiated by the building program and costly wars against the MAURI, a condition that no doubt drained the resources of the city.

While clearly the center of Byz. influence in Africa, Carthage was also the focal point of frequent resistance to Constantinople. In 608 Heraclios, exarch of Africa, rebelled against Emp. Phokas, and his son, the future emperor HERA-

KLEIOS, led the fleet of Carthage against Constantinople. Another exarch, GREGORY, proclaimed himself emperor, with the support of the "Romans" (Roman Africans) and African tribes. Urban life at Carthage declined over the course of the 7th C., the conditions of habitation worsened, and intramural burials became widespread. Trade, now largely with the eastern Mediterranean, was also decreasing (both the circular and rectangular harbors were out of use by ca.650). By the mid-7th C. production of African Red Slip ware ceased altogether, and mint emissions were erratic and small. Arab invasions after 647 contributed significantly to Carthage's decline, particularly after the founding of Qayrawān in 670. After 645/6, no bishop of Carthage can be certainly identified and a number of churches ceased to function. The city was conquered by the Arabs, after several attempts, in 698.

LIT. Lepelley, *Cités* 2:11–53. L. Anselmino et al., "Carthagine," in *Società romana e impero tardoantico*, vol. 3, *Le merci, gli insediamenti*, ed. A. Giardina (Rome-Bari 1986) 163–95. J.H. Humphrey, "The Archaeology of Vandal and Byzantine Carthage," in *New Light on Ancient Carthage*, ed. J.G. Pedley (Ann Arbor 1980) 85–120. H.R. Hurst et al., *Excavations at Carthage: The British Mission* (Sheffield 1984). A. Ennabli, "La campagne internationale de sauvegarde de Carthage: Fouilles et recherches archéologiques 1973–1987," *CRAI* (1987) 407–39. M. Fulford, "Economic Interdependence among Urban Communities of the Roman Mediterranean," *World Archaeology* 19.1 (1987) 58–75. F.M. Clover, "Carthage and the Vandals," *Excavations at Carthage 1978 Conducted by the University of Michigan*, vol. 7 (Ann Arbor 1982) 1–22. Idem, "Felix Carthago," *DOP* 40 (1986) 1–15. W.H.C. Frend, "The Early Christian Church in Carthage," in J.H. Humphrey, *Excavations at Carthage 1976 Conducted by the University of Michigan*, vol. 2 (Ann Arbor 1977) 21–40. —R.B.H.

CARTHAGE TREASURE, dated to the 4th or 5th C. and found at Carthage before 1897, is composed of 24 objects of domestic silver PLATE (19 in the British Museum and five in the Louvre) and seven pieces of jewelry (four gold, three carved gems). One plate is inscribed with the name of the Cresconius family, known from a *comes metallorum* in 365 up to the poet Fl. Cresconius CORIPPUS in the 6th C. The treasure itself, which is usually attributed to ca.400, was thought to have been buried at the time of the campaign against the adherents of DONATISM from 393 onward, or when the Vandal king GAISERIC took Carthage in 439. The display of a family name in the center of a plate occurs also in the CANOSCIO TREASURE

and compares with the use of personal monograms in the 4th-C. Esquiline Treasure (Shelton, *Esquiline* 80f) and on a long series of 6th- or 7th-C. plates. The beaded bowl and dolphin-handled ladles of the Carthage Treasure resemble those in the MILDENHALL TREASURE, while the covered bowls on raised foot find parallels on silver plate discovered in Italy.

LIT. Dalton, *Catalogue* 79–81. A. de Ridder, *Catalogue sommaire des bijoux antiques* (Paris 1924), nos. 1921–22, 1985, 2057–58. —M.M.M.

CARTOGRAPHY. Ancient mapmaking reached its highest development with PTOLEMY. The ancient cartographic tradition, based on mathematics and practical observation, was continued by Arab cartographers, whereas the major goal of Christian mapmakers was to reconcile practical knowledge with biblical data. This concern is reflected in KOSMAS INDIKOPLEUSTES' drawings, which though preserved only in later MSS probably derive from his original sketches. The only surviving late antique map is the TABULA PEUTINGERIANA based on ancient traditions; some maps are preserved in later MSS of such late antique writers as ISIDORE OF SEVILLE and MACROBIUS. Local maps certainly continued to exist and were even reproduced on mosaics, for example, the decorative MADABA MOSAIC MAP. Comparing the Madaba map with the itinerary of a certain Theodosios to the Holy Land (in the first half of the 6th C.), Y. Tsafir (DOP 40 [1986] 129–45) comes to the conclusion that at that time there was a variety of pilgrim maps all differing from each other.

Medieval Western maps of the world, the so-called *mappae mundi*, are known from the 8th C. on, revealing the geographic knowledge of Latin-speaking authors. No Byz. maps have survived, however, even though various texts (e.g., *The Concise Measurement of the Entire Oikoumene*, of uncertain date) allow one to hypothesize the existence of maps, which were eventually used in PORTULANS. Three extant MSS with maps of Ptolemy's *Geography* and one MS of STRABO belong to the 13th C. and were probably compiled under the direction of MAXIMOS PLANOUDS (A. Diller, *Studies in Greek Manuscript Tradition* [Amsterdam 1983] 103). A 14th-C. illustrated MS of Ptolemy, complete with maps, is preserved in Venice, Marc. gr. 516 (Furlan, *Marciana* 4:31–34). In the 15th C.

Italian maps, representing parts of the (former) Byz. Empire, were available: for example, a (military?) map of 1430–53 (probably of 1444) illustrating the northern Balkans, from the left bank of the Danube to Constantinople (M. Nikolić, *Istorijski časopis* 29–30 [1982/3] 63–75), and a map of Cyprus of 1480 (A. & J. Stylianou, *KyprSp* 34 [1970] 145–58).

LIT. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:523–27. Beazley, *Geography* 1:375–85. O.A.W. Dilke, *Greek and Roman Maps* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1985) 167–77. Idem in *The History of Cartography*, ed. J.B. Harley, D. Woodward, vol. 1 (Chicago-London 1987) 234–75. A. De Smet, “Cartes manuscrites du Moyen âge,” *Scripitorium* 21 (1967) 326–35. A.D. von Brincken, “Ost- und Südosteuropa in der abendländischen Kartographie des Spätmittelalters,” *RESEE* 13 (1975) 253–60. —A.K.

CASAUX DE PARÇON (“shared households”), medieval French term designating properties held in co-seigneurie by a Byz. *archon* and a Frankish knight. This type of fiscal arrangement is attested on Frankish territory in the Morea during the late 13th and 14th C. The co-seigneurs shared the *telos* paid in cash by the dependent peasants of one or more villages and the right to their pastures. As for the *DEMESNE* lands, the lords held them privately, unaffected by the co-seigneurial arrangement. *Casaux de parçon* is an example of

compromise and temporarily peaceful coexistence between Franks and Greeks in the border areas of the Morea motivated by political and economic considerations and facilitated by the Franks’ adoption of Byz. fiscal practices.

LIT. Jacoby, *Société*, pt.VIII (1963), 111–25. P. Topping, *Feudal Institutions as Revealed in the Assizes of Romania* (Philadelphia 1949) 121, n.3. —M.B.

CASKETS AND BOXES (θήκαι, κιβωτίδια) in late antiquity were normally made of wood; metals and ivory were used for PYXIDES and more pretentious specimens in a variety of shapes—oblong, cubical, or spherical, with flat, domed, or pyramidal lids. One of the two large silver caskets in the ESQUILINE TREASURE, decorated with domestic and mythological scenes and figures, contained lotion bottles while the other probably held bath linen. The internal arrangements and the iconography (Asklepios, Hygieia, Christ’s Healing of the Blind) suggest that some early ivory boxes were used for medications. Hasty construction of bone- and metal-clad examples as well as prolonged use mean that many have survived only as panels. Important examples such as the Brescia LIPSANOTHEK, made of ivory cornerposts into which panels with Old and New Testament scenes are

slotted, have been reconstructed. As in the case of metal caskets made as late as the 14th–15th C. (W.D. Wixom in *Treasury S. Marco* 201–03), the original function of the lipsanotek is unknown; suggested contents include sacred bread, incense, and monetary offerings.

Equally uncertain is the function of numerous wooden boxes of the 10th–12th C., with ivory panels depicting scenes from Genesis, Joshua, and Kings (Goldschmidt-Weitzmann, *Elfenbeinskulpt.*, vol. 1, nos. 1–5, 67–98). Others, with bone panels representing warriors, fantastic animals, and puttilike manikins, framed with rosette bands, seem to parody classical mythology. There being no evidence to suggest their function, these are commonly supposed to have been ladies’ jewel boxes. This may have been true of the minority originally equipped with locks.

LIT. H. Buschhausen, *Die spätromischen Metallschreine und frühchristlichen Reliquiare* (Vienna 1971). Ai. Loverdou-Tsigarda, *Osteina plakidia* (Thessalonike 1986). A. Cuder, “On Byzantine Boxes,” *JWalt* 42–43 (1984–85) 32–47. J. Duffy, G. Vikan, “A Small Box in John Moschus,” *GRBS* 24 (1983) 93–99. —M.M.M., A.C., L.Ph.B.

ČASLAV (Τζεέσθλαβος in *De adm. imp.*), Serbian prince; born Bulgaria, died Serbia ca.960. Časlav was the son of a Serbian prince, Klonimir, to whom BORIS II gave a Bulgarian wife. SYMEON OF BULGARIA used Časlav in the war against the Serbian ruler Zacharias: Časlav accompanied a Bulgarian army that forced Zacharias to flee to Croatia; the Bulgarians summoned Serbian *župans* (nobles) to receive Časlav as their prince but then tricked them, took them captive, and pillaged the country. “Seven years afterwards,” relates Constantine VII (*De adm. imp.*, 32.128), Časlav escaped from Bulgaria: the date is under dispute, 928/9, 931/2, and 933/4 having been suggested. In any case the flight occurred after PETER OF BULGARIA concluded the treaty of 927 with Byz. Constantine asserts that Časlav found a devastated Serbia inhabited by only 50 men, “without wives and children, who supported themselves by hunting.” He gained the assistance of ROMANOS I by promising to be an imperial vassal, rallied the Serbs living in Croatia and Bulgaria, and created a powerful state rivaling Bulgaria.

LIT. G. Ostrogorsky, “Porfirogenitova hronika srpskih vladara,” *Istorijski časopis* 1 (1948) 24–29. F. Dvornik in *De adm. imp.* 2:136. —A.K.

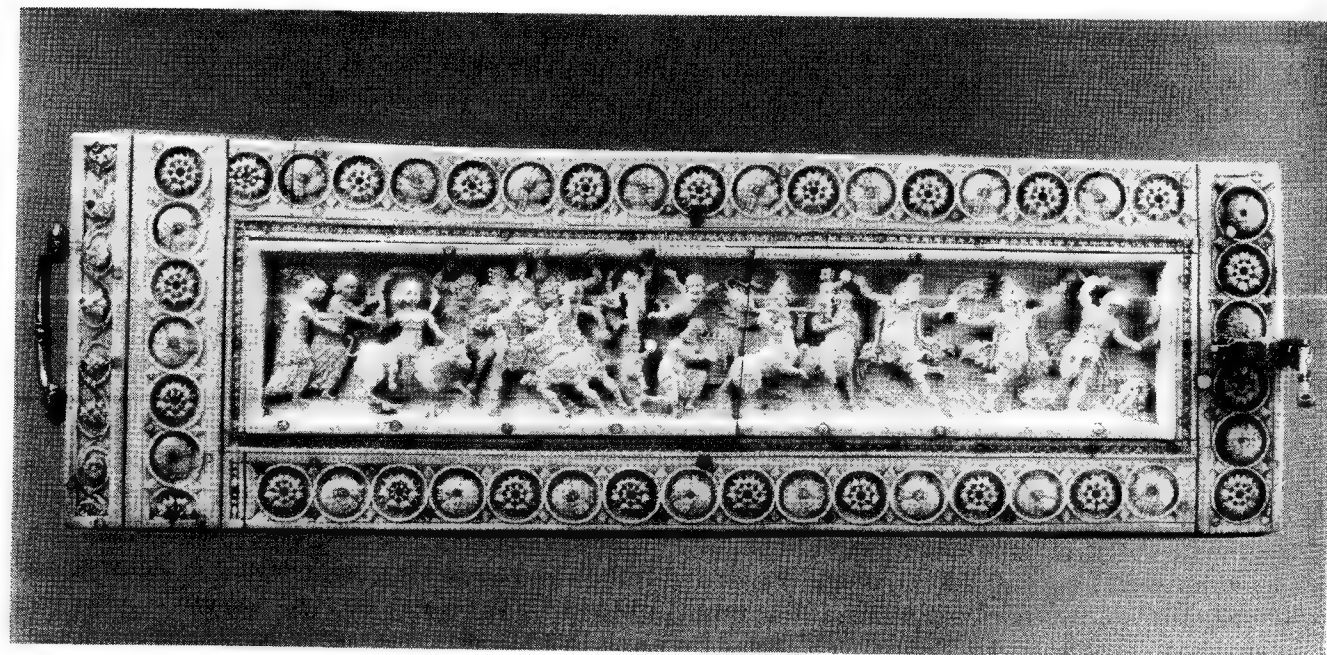
CASOLE, Italian town about 2 km south of OTRANTO. The Greek monastery of S. Nicola di Casole (τῶν Κασούλων) was founded at Casole in 1098/9 by the monk Joseph under Norman patronage. During the later Middle Ages the abbey was one of the most prosperous ecclesiastical institutions in Apulia. The monastery’s reputation as a center of Greek learning is mostly due to its important library and to the presence of NICHOLAS OF OTRANTO. Turks destroyed the monastery in 1480. Its archives and most of the MSS are lost; the *typikon* (1173) survives but has been only partly edited (Dmitrievskij, *Opisanie* 1:795–836).

LIT. T. Kölzer, “Zur Geschichte des Klosters S. Nicola di Casole,” *QFItArch* 65 (1985) 418–26. H. Omont, “Le Typicon de Saint-Nicolas di Casole près d’Otrante,” *REGr* 3 (1890) 381–91. —V.v.F.

CASSIAN, JOHN, a founder of early monasteries in southern Gallia and a Latin ecclesiastical writer; born ca.360, *natione Scythia*, according to GENNA DIUS OF MARSEILLES, that is, probably in Scythia Minor, died Marseilles after 432. Cassian (Κασσιανός) spent his youth in a monastery at Bethlehem, then in Egypt (in Sketis). After leaving Egypt suddenly, ca.399, he came to Constantinople where John Chrysostom ordained him deacon. After Chrysostom’s deposition, Cassian moved westward in 405; in Rome he formed a friendship with the future pope Leo I and ca.410 settled in Provence, where he founded twin monasteries—one for men (named after the local saint, Victor) and another for women.

Here Cassian wrote three books in Latin. The first section of the *Institutions* describes monastic life in Egypt and Palestine, including monastic dress; in the second part of the treatise he presents the theory of eight VICES that monks had to avoid; since four of them bear Greek names (*gastrimargia*, *philargyria*, *acedia*, and *cenodoxia*), it is quite plausible that Cassian used Greek sources, such as EVAGRIOS PONTIKOS. The second book, *Collationes* (Conferences), consists of fictitious conversations with hermits (in the style of the APOPHTHEGMATA PATRUM) and is concerned with the superiority of the way of salvation: the *Institutions* were intended to prepare the flesh for a virtuous life, while the *Conferences* dealt with the journey of the soul to the heavenly abode. Though very popular, the *Conferences* were suspected of Pela-

CASKETS AND BOXES. Lid of the Veroli Casket; ivory, 10th C. Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Decorated with mythological scenes (l. to r., the Rape of Europa, Herakles playing the lyre, erotes, centaurs and dancing maenads).



gianistic formulations and proclaimed apocryphal by the Western church. At the instigation of Pope Leo I, Cassian also compiled a refutation of Nestorians entitled *On the Incarnation of the Lord*.

ED. *Institutiones cénobitiques*, ed. J.-C. Guy (Paris 1963). *Conférences*, ed. E. Pichery, 3 vols. (Paris 1955–59). Eng. tr. C. Luibheid (New York–Mahwah–Toronto 1985). *De incarnatione Domini*, ed. M. Petschenig in *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum* 17 (1888) 233–391.

LIT. P. Rousseau, *Ascetics, Authority and the Church in the Age of Jerome and Cassian* (Oxford 1978) 169–239. O. Chadwick, *John Cassian: A Study in Primitive Monasticism*² (Cambridge 1968). E. Schwartz, "Cassian und Nestorius," *Kon-zilstudien*, vol. 1 (Strassburg 1914) 1–17. —T.E.G., A.K.

CASSIODORUS, more fully, Flavius Magnus Aurelius Cassiodorus Senator, statesman and scholar; prefect of Italy (533–37) under THEODORIC THE GREAT; born Bruttium ca.487, died Vivarium monastery ca.580. He was in Constantinople ca.550 for unknown reasons. Returning to Italy after Justinian I's reconquest, he founded and lived in the Calabrian VIVARIUM MONASTERY until his death. As an official, Cassiodorus was instrumental in romanizing his Gothic masters both administratively and culturally. Vivarium, though physically short-lived, paved the way for medieval preservation of ancient texts and the Benedictine monastic tradition.

Cassiodorus was as tireless a writer as organizer. The *Institutes* are a blueprint for the union of secular and theological study. A commentary on the Psalms, drawing upon AUGUSTINE, emphasizes allegorical interpretation, while the *De anima* dwells upon the spirituality of the soul. The *Historia Tripartita* is a 12-book arrangement of the church historians SOKRATES, SOZOMENOS, and THEODORET OF CYRRHUS translated into Latin by Cassiodorus's pupil Epiphanius. Principal secular works are the *Variae*, 12 books of his official correspondence preserving the imperial edicts that he had drawn up, a model for later chanceries; a *Chronicle* summarizing Roman history within a universal context from the time of Adam to 519; and a treatise on orthography. His *History of the Goths* is preserved only in an abridged version by JORDANES (B. Croke, *ClPhil* 82 [1987] 117–34).

ED. PL 69–70. *Cassiodori Senatoris Variae*, ed. T. Mommsen, in *MGH AuctAnt* 12 (Berlin 1894). *Institutiones*, ed. R.A.B. Mynors (Oxford 1937). Eng. tr. L.W. Jones, *An Introduction to Divine and Human Readings* (New York 1946; rp. 1966). *The Letters of Cassiodorus*, tr. T. Hodgkin (London 1886).

LIT. J.J. O'Donnell, *Cassiodorus* (Berkeley 1979), rev. Av. Cameron, *JRS* 71 (1981) 183–86. *Flavio Magno Aurelio Cassiodoro*, ed. S. Leanza (Soveria Mannelli 1986). A. Momigliano, "Cassiodorus and the Italian Culture of his Time," *ProcBrAc* 41 (1955) 207–45. S. Krautschick, *Cassiodor und die Politik seiner Zeit* (Bonn 1983). M.G. Ennis, *The Vocabulary of the Institutions of Cassiodorus* (Washington, D.C., 1939). —B.B.

CASTELSEPRIO. Mural paintings discovered in 1944 in the unprepossessing Church of S. Maria foris portas, outside the Roman, Byz., and Lombard fortress (*castellum*) of Seprium, northwest of Milan, have figured prominently in the attempt to reconstruct the history of pre-Iconoclastic mural art in Constantinople. The paintings, very similar in style to MSS such as the PARIS PSALTER and JOSHUA ROLL, are apparently the work of an itinerant Byz. master. Their remarkable naturalism first suggested a date in the 6th–7th C., though Weitzmann argued for the 10th. The later dating has been vindicated by radiocarbon analysis of the original roof beams, which suggests a range between 778 (or 808?) and 952 (P. Leveto-Jabr, *Gesta* 26 [1987] 17f). The murals covered the upper wall of the eastern apse with at least 11 scenes of the life of the Virgin, of which 8 survive, making Castelseprio an important witness to narrative iconographies rarely encountered in Byz. monumental painting before the 13th C.

LIT. K. Weitzmann, *The Fresco Cycle of S. Maria di Castelseprio* (Princeton 1951). D.H. Wright, "Sources of Longobard Wall Painting," *AttiCAItMed* 6.2 (Spoleto 1980) 727–39. —D.K.

CASTLES. See CRUSADER CASTLES; FORTIFICATIONS; KASTRON.

CATACOMBS, the usual term for rock-hewn burial grounds, which were in widespread use until the 6th C. Although catacombs were not the prerogative of any one religious group, or limited to a single region (witness Naples, Syracuse, and Alexandria), they are commonly associated with Christianity, under whose aegis they flourished, and the city of Rome, where the largest body of them has been discovered. From the 3rd C. Roman Christians largely buried their dead in extramural subterranean tombs composed of networks of corridors and cubicula that ranged in size from the small and presumably private (e.g., catacomb

of Vibia), single-family complex to the large, multi-storied structure housing thousands of tombs, administered by the church (e.g., catacombs of Calixtus, Domitilla). In the Roman catacombs all classes and ages were buried, in LOCULI and AR-COSOLIA. Tombs were often marked with a carved or painted inscription identifying the occupant. Images expressing Christian hopes of salvation (COMMENDATIO ANIMAE; the GOOD SHEPHERD), painted on the walls of the catacombs and carved on contemporary sarcophagi, are among the earliest Christian art known. After Christianity was granted toleration ca.311–13, the architecture and decoration of the catacombs became quite elaborate, drawing upon forms commonly used for above-ground tombs. The catacombs of Rome ceased to be used for burials in the 6th C.; they continued to be visited, however, and indeed even embellished with works of art (e.g., catacombs of S. Ermete, Calixtus), though sporadically, throughout the Middle Ages.

LIT. P. Testini, *Le catacombe e gli antichi cimiteri cristiani in Roma* (Bologna 1966). W. Tronzo, *The Via Latina Catacomb* (University Park, Penn., 1986). G.B. de Rossi et al., *Inscriptiones christianae urbis Romae* (Rome 1857–). —W.T.

CATALAN GRAND COMPANY, band of Spanish mercenaries hired by ANDRONIKOS II to fight the Turks in Anatolia. The Catalans were able to recover some Byz. territory in 1304, but after the assassination of their leader ROGER DE FLOR (1305) they turned against the Byz. Using the KALLIPOLIS peninsula as their base, they raided the surrounding countryside for two years (1305–07). In 1307 they moved west, plundering Thrace, Macedonia, and even the monasteries of Athos. In 1309 they ventured further south into Thessaly; in 1311 they defeated Gautier de Brienne, duke of Athens, at the battle of Kephissos near Thebes. Having thus ended Burgundian rule over Athens and Thebes, the Catalan mercenaries established themselves in the duchy of Athens. They requested the protection of the Aragonese king Frederick II of Sicily (1296–1337), three of whose sons were in turn named dukes of Athens. Thebes, which served as the political and commercial center of the duchy, was captured by the NAVARRESE COMPANY in 1379. Catalan rule over Athens lasted until 1388, when the city fell to the Florentine Nerio I ACCIAJUOLI.

SOURCES. Ramon Muntaner, *L'expedició dels Catalans a Orient*, ed. L. Nicolau d'Olwer (Barcelona 1926). Eng. tr. Lady [A.] Goodenough, *The Chronicle of Muntaner*, 2 vols. (London 1920–21). A. Rubió i Lluch, *Diplomatari de l'Orient català 1301–1409* (Barcelona 1947).

LIT. Laiou, *CP & the Latins* 127–242. K.M. Setton, *Catalan Domination of Athens, 1311–1388* (Cambridge, Mass., 1948, rev. ed., London 1975). Jacoby, *Société*, pt.V (1966), 78–103. —A.M.T.

CATALANS (Κατελάνοι) of northeastern Spain had contacts with Byz., at least from the 12th C. onward, through the merchants of Barcelona. The Catalans seem to have been involved in Manuel I's dynastic policy when he married his heir, Alexios II, to the daughter of the king of France, and planned the marriage of his niece Eudokia with Ramon Berengar, duke of Provence and brother of the king of Aragon, Alfonso II (1162–96). Relations intensified at the end of the 13th C. The confederation of Aragon and Catalonia was established in Sicily after the SICILIAN VESPERS (1282), the revolt that expelled the Angevin dynasty hostile to Byz. In 1315 Ferrando of Majorca landed in the western Peloponnesos, while his cousin Frederick, Aragonese ruler of Sicily, was at war with the Angevins of Naples. Ferrando was able, however, to keep only a part of the Morea for a year; he was defeated by Louis of Burgundy and beheaded. In the 14th C. the mercenary CATALAN GRAND COMPANY had considerable impact on Byz., eventually establishing Catalan rule over Athens and Thebes. In 1351 Aragon-Catalonia allied with Byz. and Venice against Genoa; this coalition led in the following year to a successful but costly allied naval victory over the Genoese fleet in the Bosporos. The Catalan chronicler, Ramon Muntaner (1265–1336), provides a valuable source for the history of relations between the Catalan Grand Company and Byz.

LIT. J.N. Hillgarth, *The Spanish Kingdoms 1250–1516*, vol. 1 (Oxford 1976) 233–86. Laiou, *CP & the Latins* 127–242. W. Hecht, "Zur Geschichte der 'Kaiserin' von Montpelier, Eudoxia Komnena," *REB* 26 (1968) 161–69. B. Berg, "The Moreote Expedition of Ferrando of Majorca in the Aragonese Chronicle of Morea," *Byzantion* 55 (1985) 69–90. —R.B.H.

CATALAUNIAN FIELDS (Campi Catalaunici), site of a battle that occurred in 451, probably on 20 June. The battle of the Catalaunian Fields is also known as the battle of Châlons or of Maurica. After Emp. Marcian refused to pay the customary

tribute to the Huns in 450, ATILA turned his attention to the West and invaded Gaul with a force of Huns and subject Germans. The *magister militum* AETIUS organized the resistance and the future emperor EPARCHIUS AVITUS arranged an alliance with Theodoric, king of the Visigoths. The Romans and their allies prevented Attila from reaching Orléans and pursued the Huns into eastern Gaul. The two armies met somewhere in what is now Champagne. The exact site has been subject to considerable but futile scholarly debate. The battle was long contested and ended in a draw, although this represented a moral victory for the Romans; Attila reportedly prepared a funeral pyre rather than fall into the hands of his enemies. Thorismund, son of Theodoric (who had died in the battle), wished to pursue the advantage and attack the Huns. Aetius, however, did not want the total destruction of Hunnic power and persuaded the new Visigothic king to return home to forestall the ambitions of his brothers. Attila was thus allowed to slip away and to plan his invasion of Italy in 452. The importance of the battle has generally been exaggerated in historical accounts.

LIT. Bury, *LRE* 1:291–94. D. Jalmain, "Attila en Gaule," *Archeologia* 206 (1985) 72–75. —T.E.G.

CATANIA (Κατάνη), city on the east coast of Sicily; together with the rest of the island, Catania belonged to the Ostrogothic state from 491. While Catania was under the Ostrogoths, royal permission was given to the town to repair its walls with blocks fallen from the ruined amphitheater (CASIODORUS, *Variae* 111.49). In 535, general Belisarios recovered the town for the Byz. without encountering serious resistance. It was temporarily recaptured by Totila in 550; Prokopios (*Wars* 7.40.21) indicates that at this time the city was unwallled. The town was gradually hellenized: the seal of the 7th-C. bishop George has a Latin inscription, whereas the inscriptions of 8th- and 9th-C. seals are in Greek.

In the 9th C. the Arabs repeatedly plundered the environs of Catania. In 900 they besieged it unsuccessfully, but soon thereafter they conquered the city. A legend reports that George MANIAKES seized Catania in 1042 and took to Constantinople the relics of St. Agatha, who had supposedly been martyred at Catania; her bones

were returned in 1126. The Normans occupied the city sometime in the second half of the 11th C.

The first known bishop of Catania was Fortunatus in the early 6th C. The see appears as an archbishopric under the authority of Constantinople in the *notitia* compiled between 787 and 869. In the mid-9th C. the bishop of Catania Euthymios was ordained by Patr. Ignatios but then joined the party of Patr. Photios and was probably rewarded by promotion to the rank of metropolitan by 869. After the fall of Sicily to the Arabs (by 902) the title of the metropolitan of Catania survived: Leo of Catania participated in the meeting convoked by Patr. Sisinnios in Feb. 997 (PG 119:741A), and "Katane of Sicily" is still listed in the *notitia* of the 13th C. (*Notitiae CP*, no.15.44). A Latin bishopric, however, was established in the city in 1086–89. The legendary vita of an earlier LEO OF CATANIA describes frequent travel between Catania and Constantinople as well as the horse races in Catania; both the date and validity of this evidence remain disputable.

LIT. G. Libertini, "Catania nell'età bizantina," *Archivio storico per Sicilia orientale. Conferenza* 28 (1932) 242–66. Laurent, *Corpus* 5.1:700–04. —A.K., R.B.H.

CATECHUMENATE (from *κατηχούμενοι*, "those who receive instruction"), period and discipline of preparation for BAPTISM. Characterized already ca.150 as a period of fasting, prayer, and instruction, the catechumenate reached classic expression ca.215 as a well-defined institution of candidates called *catechumeni* (Tertullian, *De praescriptione Haereticorum* 41.2, ed. R.F. Refoulé [= CChr, ser. lat. 1:221.4–7]). During the catechumenate, which normally lasted three years, the candidates were presented to the church leaders by Christian sponsors, tested, exhorted, and prayed over at common sessions with a teacher; they attended services in a special place reserved for them, but were dismissed before the Prayer of the Faithful, in which they could have no part. From the 7th C., church GALLERIES are often called *katechoumena*, but by then the catechumenate was no longer a living institution in Byz. (R. Taft, *OrChrP* 42 [1976] 301f).

LENT brought a second, final stage, when the *photizomenoi* ("enlightened"), those destined for baptism at Easter, were prepared, in a crescendo of initiatory rites that included renunciation of

Satan, profession of faith, stripping, blessing of the water, prebaptismal anointing, the bath of baptism by triple immersion, clothing, chrismation or sealing, entrance into the waiting community, kiss of peace, eucharistic offering, and COMMUNION, usually at the Easter VIGIL. The dramatization of the ritual for maximum effect is revealed in the classic 4th-C. catechetical homilies of Cyril of Jerusalem, John Chrysostom, Theodore of Mopsuestia, and Ambrose of Milan (E. Yarnold, *The Awe-Inspiring Rites of Initiation* [Slough 1972]; H. Riley, *Christian Initiation* [Washington, D.C., 1974]).

After the 4th C., with the enrollment of infants in the catechumenate and of adults with no intention of seeking baptism in the immediate future, the two-stage system declined. In Constantinople, parents first presented their infants for admission to the "first catechumenate" 40 days after birth. Then on Monday of the fourth week of Lent, those to be baptized at the Easter Vigil were brought to the church for the prayers and exorcisms that began the "second catechumenate" (Mateos, *Typicon* 2:39f). These *photizomenoi* were prayed for in a special LITANY at all services for the rest of Lent. On Good Friday the patriarch held a catechesis for them at St. Irene, followed by the solemn renunciation of Satan and adherence to Christ (ibid. 78f). From at least the 8th C. onward, however, Byz. usage compresses all of this into a service immediately preceding baptism.

LIT. M. Dujarier, *A History of the Catechumenate: The First Six Centuries* (New York 1979). Arranz, "Rites d'incorporation" 36–53. Idem, "Les sacrements," 49 (1983) 284–302; 50 (1984) 43–64, 372–97. —R.F.T.

CATENAE (Lat. "chains"), scholarly term used from the 15th C. onward to designate the genre that the Byz. called "collection of exegetical fragments." The genre was created by PROKOPIOS OF GAZA and survived the fall of Byz.; it expanded to some neighboring countries as well. Catenae consisted of quotations from theologians (both church fathers and heretical writers) attached to a particular verse of the BIBLE and following the sequence of the text itself. On the basis of the catenae to the Psalms, Dorival (*infra*) divided the genre into two groups: the Palestinian and the Constantinopolitan, the latter originating between 650 and 700. The first type of the Palestinian

group is the Prokopian model, consisting of quotations from the commentaries or homilies of Palestinian authors. The second Palestinian type is the chain-scholia, characterized by their brevity and format: they were set forth in a column parallel to the biblical text so that every scholion stood side by side with the verse commented on; sometimes the scribe left empty space between two scholia. Constantinopolitan catenae often consisted of citations from one authority—primarily JOHN CHRYSOSTOM, sometimes THEODORET OF CYRRHUS; another Constantinopolitan type contained citations from the two authors and offered the integrated commentary of particular theologians, rather than quotations out of context. The third Constantinopolitan model combined Chrysostom and Theodoret with Palestinian authorities. Byz. exegetes produced catenae to the books of both Old Testament and New Testament (OC-TATEUCH, PSALTER, Gospels, etc.). Catenae also exist in Christian Oriental languages (Coptic and Syriac).

ED. *Catenae graecae in Genesim et Exodum II*, ed. F. Petit (Turnhout-Leuven 1986).

LIT. M. Geerard, *CPG* 4:185–259. G. Dorival, "La postérité littéraire des chaînes exégétiques grecques," *REB* 43 (1985) 209–26. Ch.Th. Krikones, "Peri hermeneutikon seiron (catenae)," *Byzantina* 8 (1976) 89–139. —J.I., A.K.

CATEPANATE. See KATEPANATE.

CATHARS (from Gr. *καθαροί*, "the pure"), medieval dualist sect that flourished in Germany, southern France, and northern Italy. From the mid-12th C. onward, Byz. DUALISM exerted a formative influence on the Cathar movement, as several reliable Western documents attest. Contact between dualists of eastern and western Europe were facilitated by trade relations and by the Crusades (C. Thouzellet, *RHE* 49 [1954] 859–72). In the second half of the 12th C. dualist missionaries from the Balkans frequently visited Italy and France to propagate either the "absolute" or the "moderate" form of dualism in the local heretical communities. (The "absolute" dualists believed in two coeternal principles of good and evil, while the "moderate" dualists held that the evil demiurge, creator of this world, was himself the creature of the one God.) The most prestigious of these visitors was Niketas, the leader of the

dualists of Constantinople, who came to preside over the heretical council of St. Félix de Caraman near Toulouse (which met probably between 1174 and 1177), and persuaded the French Cathars to adopt "absolute" dualism (D. Obolensky in *Okeanos* 489–500). The Cathars seem generally to have believed that their faith came from the Balkans. Thus, a group of them, condemned to the stake in Cologne ca. 1143, declared that their religion had its home "in Greece and certain other lands" (the latter expression is generally taken to refer to Bulgaria). The Balkan origin of Catharism is confirmed by terminology: their name is Greek, and the Cathars were often known in the West as *Bulgari*, *Bogri*, or *Bugres* (hence *bougre*).

The teaching of the Cathars shows striking similarities with the doctrines of the BOGOMILS: these include denial of the reality of the Incarnation, repudiation of marriage, total opposition to the established church, and the belief (held by the "moderate" dualists) that the Devil was the son of God. The ritual of the Cathars was certainly influenced by that of the Bogomils.

LIT. A. Dondaine, "Les Actes du concile Albigeois de Saint-Félix de Caraman," in *Miscellanea Giovanni Mercati* (Vatican 1946) 5:324–55. Idem, "La hiérarchie cathare en Italie," *AFP* 19 (1949) 280–312; 20 (1950) 234–324. B. Hamilton, "The Cathar Council of Saint-Félix Reconsidered," *AFP* 48 (1978) 23–53. G. Šemkov, "Der Einfluss der Bogomilen auf die Katharer," *Saeculum* 32 (1981) 349–73. G. Rottenwöhler, *Der Katharismus*, 2 vols. (Bad Honnef 1982). —D.O.

CATHEDRA (καθέδρα), term for a bishop's THRONE. Such seats were made of stone, wood, or, as in the case of the cathedra of MAXIMIAN, ivory. The cathedra stood in the center of the apse, at the top of the SYNTHRONON. It was used by the bishop during the liturgy and, in the early period, while he pronounced homilies. The bishop in his cathedra flanked by priests was likened to Christ among the Apostles. Certain cathedrae served strictly symbolic functions, as was the case with the "Sedia di S. Marco," a 6th-C. alabaster throne-reliquary now in Venice (*Treasury S. Marco*, no. 7). —M.J.

CATHERINE, MONASTERY OF SAINT. The site of the BURNING BUSH at the foot of Mt. SINAI (Djebel Mousa) was inhabited by the 4th C. A church marked the *locus sanctus*, and monks lived

nearby in cells, as attested by the pilgrim EGERIA who visited the area in 381–84. Sometime between 548 and 565 Justinian I constructed a heavily fortified monastery around the shrine to protect the monks from Bedouin raids and for the defense of Palestine (Prokopios, *Buildings* 5.8.9). The monastery, which was and still is under the jurisdiction of the patriarch of Jerusalem, has been continuously inhabited ever since. It also has strong ties with Cyprus and Crete, where it possesses METOCHIA.

The monastery was originally called *tou Batou* (of the Burning Bush); it took the name of St. CATHERINE in the 10th or 11th C. after acquiring the relics of the Alexandrian martyr. Because of the monastery's remote location, its artistic treasures escaped destruction during the period of Iconoclasm; hence its collection of over 2,000 icons includes extremely rare examples of encaustic painting of the 6th and 7th C. The library contains more than 3,000 MSS in a variety of languages (Greek, Arabic, Georgian, Syriac, and Slavic) that reflect the diversity of the monks who have lived at Sinai.

Much of the 6th-C. architecture survives, including the fortification walls and the basilica, which preserves some of its original decoration such as the mosaic of the TRANSFIGURATION in the conch of the apse and fine wood carving on the entrance doors and ceiling beams.

LIT. G.H. Forsyth, K. Weitzmann, *The Monastery of St. Catherine at Mt. Sinai. The Church and Fortress of Justinian. Plates* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1973). K. Weitzmann, *The Monastery of St. Catherine at Mt. Sinai. The Icons. I. From the 6th to the 10th C.* (Princeton, N.J., 1976). Idem, *Studies in the Arts at Sinai* (Princeton, N.J., 1982). J. Galey, *Sinai and the Monastery of St. Catherine* (London 1979). I. Ševčenko, "The Early Period of the Sinai Monastery in the Light of its Inscriptions," *DOP* 20 (1966) 255–64. —A.M.T.

CATHERINE OF ALEXANDRIA, saint; feast-days 24 and 25 Nov. Her *passiones* present Catherine, or Aikaterina (Αικατερίνα), as a young virgin of imperial stock who successfully debated with pagan philosophers in Alexandria in the presence of Emp. MAXENTIUS. The emperor ordered Catherine to be stripped of her "imperial purple garb" and flogged. Although Catherine succeeded in converting both the empress and the *stratopedarches* Porphyron to Christianity, Maxentius ordered her decapitation; instead of blood, milk gushed from the wound, and angels carried

her body to SINAI. The monastery founded on Sinai at the site of the Burning Bush eventually took her name (see CATHERINE, MONASTERY OF SAINT). Viteau (*infra*) hypothesized, despite the legendary character of the *passiones*, that a Christian virgin Catherine had in fact been beheaded on 24 Nov. 305; he surmised also that the prototype of the *passiones* dates from the 6th C. or the first half of the 7th C. (see sharp criticism, *AB* 18 [1899] 69f). The evidence for Catherine's cult is late: the monk Epiphanius who visited Sinai ca. 820 knew nothing of Catherine. The interconnection between the preserved *passiones* is unclear; one of them, an obvious forgery, names as its author Athanasios, *tachygraphos* (stenographer) and servant of the saint. The description of Catherine's debate with the Alexandrian philosophers has passages in common with BARLAAM AND IOASAPH. The *passiones* were slightly reworked by SYMEON METAPHRASTES and also translated into Latin, Arabic, and other languages.

Representation in Art. Catherine is invariably clad in imperial vestments (*loros* with *thorakion*, and crown) and holds a martyr's cross. Her beheading and the fiery death of her inquisitors appear in the MENOLOGION OF BASIL II (p. 207), and her dispute with the rhetors in the THEODORE PSALTER (fol. 167r); there is a cycle of 12 scenes surrounding her portrait on a 12th–13th-C. icon on Mt. Sinai (K. Weitzmann, *DChAE* 12 [1984] 95f).

SOURCES. *Passions des Saints Écaterine et Pierre d'Alexandrie, Barbara et Anysia*, ed. J. Viteau (Paris 1897) 5–65. PG 116:275–302. P. Peeters, "Une version arabe de la passion de Sainte Catherine d'Alexandrie," *AB* 26 (1907) 5–32.

LIT. *BHG* 30–32b. G.B. Bronzini, "La leggenda di S. Caterina d'Alessandria," *Memorie dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei. Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche* 9 (1960) 257–416. E. Klostermann, E. Seeberg, *Die Apologie der Heiligen Katharina* (Berlin 1924). J. Grosdidier de Matons, "Un hymne inédit à Sainte Catherine d'Alexandrie," *TM* 8 (1981) 187–207. —A.K., N.P.Š.

CATTLE. See BEASTS OF BURDEN; LIVESTOCK.

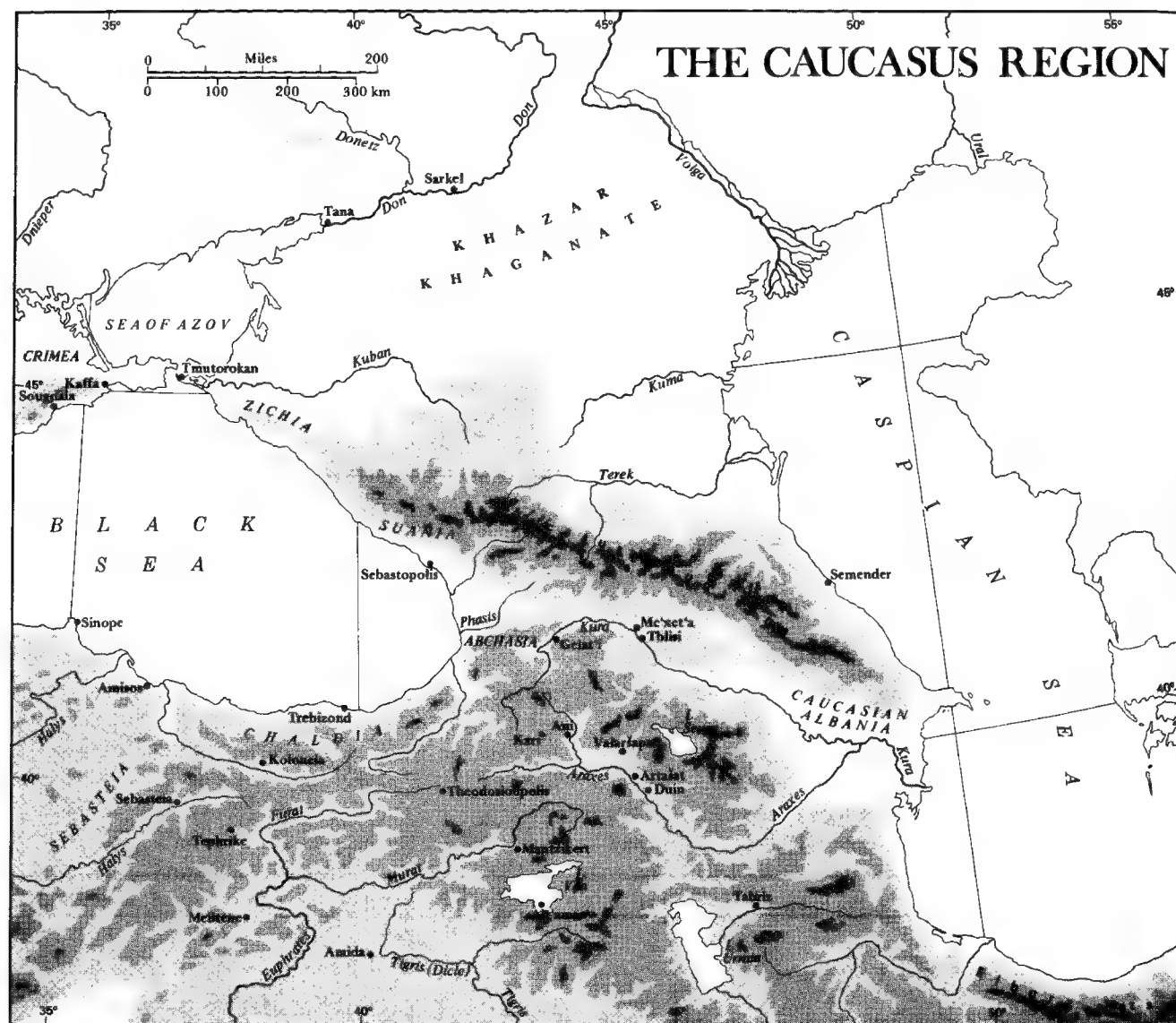
CAUCASUS (Καυκάσος), major mountain range stretching some 1,200 km northwest to southeast from the Black Sea to the Caspian Sea, traditionally held to have been the natural frontier between Europe and Asia. Because many descendants of various nomadic tribes survived in high

mountain valleys, Plutarch claimed that Pompey needed 120 interpreters on his Caucasian campaign, and medieval Arab geographers called it "The Mountain of Languages." Historically the Caucasus served as a barrier protecting the settled kingdoms to the south from northern nomads, and measures were repeatedly taken to control its two main passes: the Darial (Dār-i Alan, "Gate of the Alans") near the center of the chain on the "Georgian Military Highway" descending to Tblisi, and the "Caspian Gates" on the seashore near Derbent. The Peace of 562 between Byz. and Persia stipulated that the Sasanians would garrison the passes, while the empire contributed a subsidy. Justin II abrogated this agreement, leading to the resumption of the Persian war at the end of the 6th C.

Though relatively impenetrable, the Caucasus remained a channel for both military and commercial purposes. Justinian I sought to evade the Persian monopoly over the SILK trade by creating a route running north of the Caucasus to the Caspian and eventually the Far East. Nevertheless, fragments of silk have also been found in the mountains, and the later south-north trade between the caliphate and the Rus' was carried on through the passes. These same passes allowed Byz.'s allies, the KHAZARS, to attack the Arabs in the 8th–9th C., while in the 12th–13th C. the Georgian kings drew support for the unification of their country from the Kipchak Turkish tribes north of the mountains. (For map, see next page.)

LIT. T. Halasi-Kun, "The Caucasus: An Ethno-Historical Survey," *Studia Caucasica* 1 (1963) 1–47. M.O. Kosven, *Etnografija i istorija Kavkaza* (Moscow 1961). *Kavkaz* (Moscow 1966). S.T. Eremyan, "Sinunia i oborona Sasanidami Kavkazskikh prochodov," *Izvestija Armjanskogo filiala Akademii Nauk SSSR* (1941). —N.G.G.

CAVALRY (ἵππικόν, καβαλλαρικόν) provided the offensive force in the Byz. army, and their tactics and equipment were thoroughly discussed in the military treatises. Their skills and tactics reflect the influence of the empire's eastern enemies, most notably in the acquisition of the STIRRUP, possibly from the Avars (first mentioned in the 7th C.), and the use of mounted archers. Books 1–3 of the STRATEGIKON OF MAURICE describe the techniques of cavalry warfare developed in the late Roman period, stressing mobility, the importance of reserves, and the need for individual skill



with both lance and bow. Cavalry tactics sought to combine encirclement with shock by deploying three units forward in an attack line and four behind in support, with other units on both flanks detailed to outflank the enemy on the right and prevent enemy encirclement from the left. To this basic pattern of cavalry deployment the 10th-C. STRATEGIKA show the addition of heavy KATAPHRAKTOI for increased shock against enemy infantry, and a third line of reserves for protection against Arab skirmishers (*Praecepta Milit.* 3-4, pp. 10.15-18.15).

Cavalry warfare in the later period was influenced by Latin MERCENARIES, best illustrated by Manuel I Komnenos's eager imitation of knightly

tournaments (Nik.Chon. 108.53-109.88). These mercenaries provided the bulk of cavalrymen, esp. heavy cavalrymen, in Nicaean and Palaiologan armies.

LIT. A.D.H. Bivar, "Cavalry Equipment and Tactics on the Euphrates Frontier," *DOP* 26 (1972) 271-91. Dagrón-Mihăescu, *Guérilla* 184-90. R.P. Lindner, "An Impact of the West on Comnenian Anatolia," *JÖB* 32.2 (1982) 207-13. W. Gaitzsch, "Ein westeuropäisches Pferdegeschirr des späten 13. Jahrhunderts aus Pergamon," *IstMitt* 37 (1987) 219-56. —E.M.

CAVE CHURCHES AND DWELLINGS. See **ROCK-CUT CHURCHES AND DWELLINGS.**

ÇAVUŞIN. Near this village in CAPPADOCIA are two important ROCK-CUT CHURCHES. The large, finely carved three-aisled Basilica of St. John the Baptist (probably 6th C.) until recently retained part of its impressive façade of massive rock-cut Ionic columns. Along with the Basilica of Dumuş Kadir Kilisesi in the village of Avçılar, St. John the Baptist is prominent among a small group of early rock-cut monuments surviving in the province. The second historically significant structure is the Great Pigeon House, dated to 963-69 by the portraits of NIKEPHOROS II PHOKAS and his family in the prothesis apse. With a figure on horseback at the front of a row of military saints is an invocation on behalf of MELIAS the *magistros*. Portraits (presumably of donors) at the feet of a colossal St. Michael at the east end of the north wall are almost entirely obliterated. The church was decorated with an elaborate Christological cycle largely dependent on the program of Tokalı Kilise in GÖREME Valley.

LIT. Jerphanion, *Églises rupestres* 2:511-50. N. Thierry, *Haut Moyen-âge en Cappadoce: Les églises de la région de Çavuşin*, vol. 1 (Paris 1983). Eadem, "La basilique Saint-Jean-Baptiste de Çavuşin," *BullSocAntFr* (1972) 199-213. L. Rodley, "The Pigeon House Church, Çavuşin," *JÖB* 33 (1983) 301-39. —A.J.W.

CEFALÙ, village on the north coast of Sicily. The cathedral of Sts. Peter and Paul is a T-shaped basilica of largely French design, decorated in the apse and presbytery with mosaics. It was founded in 1131 as the burial church of King ROGER II, but he seems to have lost interest in it; his porphyry sarcophagus eventually was transferred to Palermo cathedral and concomitantly the mosaic decoration was abandoned after the completion of the program in the presbytery. The mosaics in the apse (bust of the PANTOKRATOR in the conch, Virgin with archangels and apostles on the wall below) are dated to 1148 by inscription. Because the craft had no local tradition in Sicily, it is assumed that these first mosaics were executed by Byz. artisans. Those in the presbytery (angels in the vault, and standing prophets and saints) are ascribed to Sicilian pupils.

LIT. *Mostra di documenti e testimonianze figurative della basilica ruggeriana di Cefalù* (Palermo 1982). Demus, *Norman Sicily* 3-24. F. Basile, *L'architettura della Sicilia normanna* (Catania 1975) 87-91. —D.K.

CEIONIUS, a Roman aristocratic family that the *Historia Augusta* credits with royal descent. Actually, the founder of the family's fortune, Ceionius Rufius Volusianus, was not noble but rose through his own political achievements and a good marriage (T.D. Barnes, *JRS* 65 [1975] 46f). He prospered under Diocletian and Maxentius and retained a high position after Constantine I's victory; he was prefect of Rome in 313-15, but thereafter fell into disgrace. Nonetheless, his son, Ceionius Rufius Albinus, was prefect of Rome in 335-37; Ceionius Rufius Volusianus, named also Lampadius, prefect of Rome in 365, may well have been Albinus's son. His building activity proved burdensome for the local population and caused a riot in Rome, during which his house was destroyed. The family was still influential in the first half of the 5th C., when its representatives occupied posts such as *comes rerum privatarum*, quaestor, and prefect of Rome. The family owned estates in Italy and Africa and, unlike the ANICII, supported paganism; Publius Ceionius Julianus was a maternal uncle of Emp. Julian; under his nephew he served as *comes Orientis* and zealously persecuted Christians in Antioch. Another member of the family, Rufius Antonius Agrypnus Volusianus, loyal to paganism, discussed the doctrine of the Incarnation with Augustine (Matthews, *Aristocracies* 353). Some Ceionii, however, married Christian women, and St. MELANIA THE YOUNGER was related to the family. The Ceionii disappeared soon after 440.

LIT. O. Seeck, *RE* 3 (1899) 1858-66. *PLRE* 1:1137-38. —A.K.

CELIBACY (*ἀγαμία*) was extolled by St. Paul and the church fathers, but was not considered as prescribed by God (John Chrysostom, PG 63:602.11-12). Only some radical dissidents/dualists (*Chron. Pasch.* 486.6-8) insisted on mandatory celibacy for laymen. Clerical celibacy was viewed as a matter of personal choice rather than a prerequisite for ordination. Except in the case of monks and nuns, no universal law excluded clerics from marriage. In the West, the Council of Elvira (beginning of the 4th C.) required, for the first time, the obligatory celibacy of the higher clergy, whereas the East remained reluctant to take this step: the First Council of Nicaea, under the pressure of the monk Paphnoutios, a victim of Diocle-

tian's persecutions and a strict ascetic, repudiated a proposal that would have made celibacy compulsory for all clergy. The development in the East was not uniform: in 4th-C. Asia Minor even a bishop could be a married man, whereas in North Africa, Synesios of Cyrene as a special privilege received a dispensation from abandoning his wife when he became a bishop; in Thessaly, at the time of Sokrates (*HE* 5:22.50), an ordinary cleric was forbidden to sleep with his wife after ordination. In 528 Justinian I prohibited marriages of bishops, having particularly stressed the significance of this regulation—bishops should not bequeath their property to their relatives, but to the church and the poor (*Cod. Just.* I 3.41).

The Council in Trullo defined the rules that remained in effect throughout the entire Byz. period: the lower clergy could marry after ordination; priests, deacons, and subdeacons could retain their wives if they had married before ordination; married men elevated to the bishopric had to sever their marital bonds and their wives had to go to convents. The marital status of Byz. middle clergy was one of the serious points in the conflict between the Western and Eastern churches from the 11th C. onward, esp. after the Latin conquest of Orthodox territories, since the Greek priests were not required to be celibate.

LIT. C. Knetes, "Ordination and Matrimony in the Eastern Orthodox Church," *JThSt* 11 (1910) 348–400, 481–513. J. Meyendorff, *Marriage: An Orthodox Perspective* (New York 1970) 52–60. R. Gryson, *Les origines du célibat ecclésiastique du premier au septième siècle* (Gembloux 1970). B. Kötting, *Der Zölibat in der alten Kirche*² (Münster in Westfalen 1970). E. Papagiannes, *Oikonomika tou engamou klerou sto Byzantio* (Athens 1986). —A.P., A.K.

CEMETERY (*κοιμητήριον*, lit. "sleeping place [for the dead]"). John Chrysostom, in his homily *On the Name of the Cemetery* (PG 49:393.33–36), declares that the place was named *koimeterion* to show that buried persons are not dead but asleep. Tombstones of the 4th–6th C. regularly refer to an individual burial as *koimeterion*. Christian cemeteries were both subterranean (CATACOMBS) and above ground (*areae*). Even though some apotropaic symbols have been discovered in mid-4th-C. Christian cemeteries (N. Hampartumian in *Hommages à Maarten J. Vermaseren*, vol. 1 [Leiden 1978] 473–77), pagans were refused burial there. *Areae*

were located outside city walls; BASILICAS began to be erected there from the late 4th C. onward, as did MAUSOLEUMS and MARTYRIA.

TOMBS were commonly built of tiles or rubble masonry, often with vaults. Simple graves were often covered with plastered pseudo-vaults that were visible above the ground. Lamps were left burning at graves, and relatives and friends apparently gathered at tombs for memorial meals and celebrations. In the 6th–7th C. cemeteries began to invade the central areas of cities, including the ancient marketplaces. The Byz. also buried their dead in *hypogaea*, or subterranean vaulted chambers, esp. in Constantinople (Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon* 219–22). These varied from single rooms to multilevel structures where SARCOPHAGI were separated by walls decorated with frescoes.

Most cemeteries were made up of simple interments with burials regularly oriented so that heads were at the west. In many areas simple tile-lined graves were covered with mounded dirt that was then sealed with a coat of plaster. Even though an edict of 381 (*Cod.Theod.* IX 17.6) prohibited BURIAL in churches, the custom was well established, esp. for saints, emperors, and influential persons. Even in monastic cemeteries no equality obtained: the *typikon* of the 12th-C. KECHARITOMENE NUNNERY (117.1727–31) provides that separate burial plots (*stataria*) be assigned to superiors, nuns of the higher rank (*megaloschema*), regular nuns, and servants.

The inscriptions from late Roman necropolises constitute a highly important source of social information: those from KORYKOS, for example, suggest flourishing mercantile activity in the 5th–6th-C. city (A. Gurevič, *VDI* [1955] no.1, 127–35); inscriptions from the so-called cemetery of Sts. Mark, Marcellianus, and Damasus in Rome (ca.331–406) show that this was the graveyard of ordinary people with an average LIFE EXPECTANCY of 20.75 years (P. Saint-Roch, *RACr* 59 [1983] 411–23). Cemeteries can also elucidate the history of barbarian invasions (e.g., AVAR necropolises in Pannonia); in the Balkans, Slavs were frequently interred in the ruins of earlier churches. Despite a common misconception, and although to a lesser extent than in classical burials, Byz. cemeteries commonly contained grave goods, including jewelry and vessels for wine and oil presumably used to prepare the body for interment.

LIT. H. Leclercq, *DACL* 3.2:1625–58. C. Snively, "Cemetery Churches of the Early Byzantine Period in Eastern Illyricum," *GOThR* 29 (1984) 117–24. *The Circus and a Byzantine Cemetery at Carthage*, ed. J.H. Humphrey, vol. 1 (Ann Arbor 1989) 179–336. —N.E.L., A.K., A.C., T.E.G.

CENOBITIC MONASTICISM. See KOINOBION; MONASTICISM.

CENSER (*θυμιατήριον*, *θυμιατός*), a vessel designed to contain glowing coals on which INCENSE was strewn; they were meant either to be set on a horizontal surface (standing censers) or to be swung by chains (hanging censers). Even though the LIBER PONTIFICALIS ascribes to Constantine I the donation of gold censers to the Lateran basilica and St. Peter's, it is doubtful that they came into ecclesiastical use before the very end of the 4th C. They were used (mainly by deacons) for censuring the altar, the Gospel, and the elements of the Eucharist. Censers were also employed in a secular context to show honor to a great person and in private devotions (e.g., censuring a site after an earthquake). It is hypothesized that incense burners found at Sardis were used to deodorize dye shops (J.S. Crawford, *The Byzantine Shops at Sardis* [Cambridge, Mass., 1990] 15). Although the vast majority of surviving examples are in cast bronze, several examples in hammered silver are known, including those in the SION and the CYPRUS TREASURES, and another in the Metropolitan Museum (Mango, *Silver*, no.85).

Until the 8th C., hanging censers consisted of a cubical, polygonal, or cylindrical cup, sometimes accompanied by an openwork cover (*DOCat* 1, nos. 45–49). The most popular type is chalice-shaped with a low foot and decorated with Gospel scenes in relief. This type, with more than 50 surviving examples, appears to have remained in use well after Iconoclasm (*Age of Spirit.*, nos. 563–64). After the 9th C. a new type of standing censer (*katzen*, *katzi(on)*) appears, with a shallow bowl and long flat handle, often decorated with the representation of the patron saint of a church (*Isskustvo Vizantii* 2, no.570). Such objects are recorded in church inventories from the 11th C. onward (e.g., *Pantel.*, nos. 7.12, 49), most of gilded or plain silver, but also of bronze. The *katzi* may have been used esp. in a funerary context. Censers often

appear in representations of DEACON saints, images of the DORMITION, the MYRROPHOROI, and in scenes of the procession of venerated icons (A. Grabar, *CahArch* 25 [1976] 145, figs. 1–2).

Symbolically censers were perceived as images of Christ's humanity and accordingly the epithet "womb of the censer" was applied to the Virgin (pseudo-Basil, *Hist. mystagog.*, ch.42, ed. F.E. Brightman, *JThSt* 9 [1908] 388.1–3). Metaphorically, the tongue of a person praising a martyr could be called a censer (John Chrysostom, PG 50:583.39).

LIT. H. Leclercq, *DACL* 5:21–33. C. Billod, "Les encensoirs en argent d'époque protobyzantine," in *Kanon: Festschrift E. Berger* (Basel 1988) 336–70. —L.Ph.B., A.K.

CENSUS RECORD. See CADASTER.

CENTAUR, zoomorphic mythological figure, half man and half horse. Byz. historians and lexicographers collected general information on the centaurs (Prokopios, *Buildings* 4.3.11–13; GEORGE THE SYNKELLOS 191.16–17). An ancient proverb, "meaningless like a centaur" (cf. *Souda* 3:483.11), is explained by Eustathios of Thessalonike (*Eust. Comm. Il.* 1:160.16–17 [= section 102.27–28]). In Byz. literature the centaur is used as a metaphor for excellence in hunting and horsemanship (Genes. 89.72–74; Nikephoros BASILAKES, *Orationes* 32.26–28). The church fathers considered the centaur as yet another absurd instance of pagan religion (e.g., Athanasios of Alexandria, PG 25:44B) and characterized as "centaurlike" the Monophysite doctrine of Severos of Antioch, which introduced two different incomplete natures in one person (George of Pisidia, PG 92:1625A). In the 10th C. BASIL ELACHISTOS (R. Cantarella, *BZ* 26 [1926] 25.3–9) ridiculed Cheiron, half centaur and half horse [*sic*], the legendary teacher of Achilles; similarly Constantine VII (*TheophCont* 220.4) was skeptical of the educational abilities of Cheiron and referred to him as *mixanthropos* (half man, half brute).

Youthful and aged centaurs playing musical instruments appear, along with EROTES, as images of abandon—often in their traditional role of molesting Lapith women—on numerous CASKETS AND BOXES (Goldschmidt-Weitzmann, *Elfenbeinskulpt.* I, nos. 21, 24, 26, 27). Purely decoratively, they

adorn the headpieces of 11th- and 12th-C. Gospel books.
—P.A.A., A.C.

CENTO (Lat. for "garment made of patchwork," Gr. κέντρον), also *Homerokentron* (*Anth.Gr.* 9:381), a pastiche composed of borrowed lines (primarily from Homer). The composition of centos was a sort of literary game aimed at the creation of new associations, often parodical and even obscene. The practice originated in antiquity (both Greek and Roman) and is mentioned by Epiphanius of Salamis. Eustathius of Thessalonike (*Eust.Comm.II.* 4:757f) explains that the term was derived from a word designating a young shoot grafted onto another plant and was applied to a cloth of many colors (*kentonion* as a kind of garment appears in *Apophthegmata patrum*, PG 65:412D). Latin centos were based on Vergil: in the 4th C. Proba, a noble Roman lady, produced centos "to the glory of Christ." Greek centos were esp. popular in the 5th C.: a certain Leo the Philosopher compiled a 12-line cento on Hero and Leander, another cento on Echo, etc. The empress ATHENAIS-EUDOKIA tried to use these techniques for religious poetry and composed the Life of Christ in borrowed Homeric hexameters, probably in imitation of Proba. Compilation was not restricted to Homer's verses, however; the CHRISTOS PASCHON is actually a cento, one third of which consists of lines taken from ancient tragedians; a similar technique was used for CATENAE and FLORILEGIA.

LIT. Hunger, *Lit.* 2:98–107. F. Ermini, *Il centone di Proba e la poesia centonaria latina* (Rome 1909).
—A.K.

CENTRAL ASIA, a somewhat vague geographical-historical term, here defined as the extensive region north and east of the Amu Darya (Oxus) River, consisting of the inhospitable steppes of Turkestan and Mongolia that lead to northern China. It was the great domain of the Altaic nomadic peoples and at the same time a part of the great caravan SILK ROUTE between Chinese and Islamic civilization. Here Buddhism, Manichaeism, Shamanism, and Christianity often followed the great merchant caravans from the southwest to the east. After the great empires of the Gök Turks, the Uighurs, and finally the Kirghiz Turks in Mongolia, they were displaced there by the Mongols in the 10th C. To the west various

Turkic groups (at least five identifiable groups) pressed ultimately onto the borders of Islam in Khurāsān and Transoxiana. It was here that by the 10th C. they began to convert to Islam and to enter fully into the scene of political chaos and decline in the classical Islamic world. Certainly the most spectacular description of this steppe society is that preserved by the Arab, Ibn Faḍlān, who traversed frigid Turkestan in a great caravan in 922.

Relations with Byzantium. Material objects found in Central Asia indicate that there were (indirect?) connections between the late Roman Empire and this area. Thus in Old Merv was excavated a building, oval in plan, that evidently housed a Christian community (G. Dresvjanskaja in *Trudy Južno-Turkmenistanskoy archeologičeskoj kompleksnoj ekspedicii* 15 [Ash'habad 1974] 155–81); ampullae of St. Menas produced near Alexandria penetrated into Central Asia (B. Staviskij in *Drevnij Vostok* 1 [Moscow 1975] 299–307); Roman coins of the 6th C. as well as their imitations and a medallion with the portrait of Justinian I (M. Masson in *Obščestvennye nauki v Uzbekistane* 16.7 [1972] 29–38) have also been found. One of the routes from the late Roman Empire to CHINA went through Central Asia; in the 6th–7th C. imperial envoys visited it, trying to engage its population in an alliance against IRAN. After the Arab conquest of Iran, Byz. links with Central Asia were severed.

LIT. V.V. Barthold, *Four Studies on the History of Central Asia*, 3 vols. (Leiden 1956–62). R. Grousset, *The Empire of the Steppes. A History of Central Asia* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1970). M. Masson, "K voprosu o vzaimootnošenijach Vizantii i Srednej Azii po dannym numizmatiki," *Trudy Sredne-aziatskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta* 23 (1951) 91–104.
—S.V., A.K.

CERAMIC ARCHITECTURAL DECORATION. Polychrome ceramic ornament with vitreous glazes was widely used on façades and interior walls as well as on tempon screens and icon frames from the late 9th to the 14th C. Though normally set between courses of brick, shallow bowls, plates, and TILES could be inserted at focal points in elaborate brick patterns, around window frames, or even inserted into ashlar blocks. Among pieces specifically made for architectural use (for example, at TEKUR SARAYI) were small tubes, their mouths pinched to form a cross, tapering to a long stem to facilitate bonding in the wall.

LIT. A. Pasadaios, *Ho keramoplastikos diakosmos ton byzantinon kterion tes Konstantinoupoleos* (Athens 1973). *World Ceramics*, ed. R.J. Charleston (New York 1968) 102–04, figs. 303, 306, 308. A.H.S. Megaw, "Glazed Bowls in Byzantine Churches," *DChAE* 4 (1964–5) 145–62. —K.M.K., W.L.

CERAMICS. The Greek word κεράμια (pl.) designated all kinds of VESSELS and pots. John Chrysostom (PG 62:349.28–29) speaks of golden *keramia*; usually, however, the term and related ones referred to earthenware products, both pottery and TILES. Potters were called *kerameis*; they were evidently professionals, although the *Book of the Eparch* does not list a potters' guild and in general they are infrequently mentioned in written sources. The word was applied metaphorically to God as demiurge, and ROMANOS THE MELODE (*Hymnes*, vol. 4, no.33.10.6) speaks of "the potter of the world" who washes clean the foot of the clay vessel.

Earthenware dishes were considered of lower quality than golden and silver vessels: RABBULA of Edessa is said to have ordered his clergy to dispose of their silver dishes and replace them with ceramic ones. Byz. pottery was manufactured on potter's wheels (*trochoi*) and fired in KILNS. The vessels varied in size and shape and were used for transport, storage, cooking, and eating. The principal functional types of Byz. ceramics in the 10th–13th C. were *pitthoi* (usually embedded into the earth) for storage; AMPHORAS for transport and storage; flat-bottomed pots with globular bodies and long-necked jugs usually with one or two handles; chafing dishes—deep bowls set on a ventilated stand with a compartment containing live coals to keep food warm; table dishes—bowls and broad shallow plates; small, usually two-handled cups; stemmed goblets; and flasks (including pilgrim flasks). Vessels ranged from elaborately decorated luxury products of fine clay, well-turned and glazed and painted, to crudely manufactured utilitarian wares.

Ceramics were produced in both towns and villages: the author of the GEOPONIKA (85.20) describes the potter as the most necessary craftsman in the countryside; in 952 the Lavra monastery acquired for three gold coins a potter's workshop located near the seashore (*Lavra* 1, no.4.4); by 982 the Iveron monastery was served by a pottery workshop (? *keramarion*), also situated by the sea (*Ivir.* 1, no.4.68); Balsamon (PG 137:929C) lists



CERAMICS. Ewer decorated with fantastic creatures; 13th C. Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C.

potters' shops (*kerameia*) among various agricultural properties. Excavations in Carthage, Cyprus, Asia Minor, and Egypt have revealed many centers of ceramic production in the late antique period; 10th–13th-C. ceramics from Corinth, Athens, and Cherson are relatively well studied, but Anatolian wares are not as well known. Constantinople is considered to have been a great center for the manufacture of pottery; R. Stevenson (in *Great Palace, 1st Report* 47f) concluded that pottery production in Constantinople declined by the 12th C. (at the end of the 12th C. 70 percent of the finds were ordinary mugs of coarse fabric). Ceramic production in Corinth, however, flourished in the 11th and 12th C.; in temporary decline after the Norman invasion of 1147, it recovered by the end of the 12th C. and prospered in the 13th C.

Ceramics were produced for both local use and export: North African pottery (mostly from Carthage) has been found in many areas, including the Crimea. It is quite plausible that some of the glazed pottery discovered in Cherson was imported from Constantinople (esp. in the 9th and

10th C.) and provincial centers such as Corinth and Thessalonike (in the 11th and 12th C.); after the 12th C. Byz. exports to Cherson ceased (A. Jakobson, *Srednevekovyj Chersones* [Moscow-Leningrad 1950] 223f).

Byz. pottery developed in an unbroken tradition from the wares of late antiquity. In the 4th to 6th C. fine pottery was generally covered with red slip and often stamped, sometimes with figural decoration or Christian motifs; African Red Slip Ware (manufactured at Carthage) and Phokaian Ware (Asia Minor) were apparently the most prominent and were imitated at many local kilns. Large storage/transport amphoras were manufactured throughout the empire.

In the course of the 7th C. important changes took place in pottery manufacture and use, as local wares, frequently of inferior quality, took the place of imported wares, while vitreous glazed wares replaced the red-slipped fabrics of late antiquity. Constantinople and its vicinity seem to have been the major source of these new glazed wares. The earliest of these had a monochrome lead glaze (usually yellow or greenish-yellow) applied directly over the fabric, which was either white (producing a light-colored finished product) or reddish-brown (producing a darker color). By the 9th C. at least, some of these vessels were stamped (Impressed Ware), producing a design in low relief on the center of the interior; a shallow bowl on a high foot (so-called "fruit stand") is a common form of this ware. Another luxury product of the 9th–12th C. was Polychrome Ware, in which designs (usually abstract but occasionally figural) were painted in various colors of glaze on a white fabric.

Beginning in the 11th C. a considerable number of different fine wares were produced, in part to satisfy the desires of the new Byz. officialdom; most of these were inspired by the techniques and methods of contemporary Islamic pottery: Green and Brown Painted Ware, Slip-Painted Ware, Imitation Luster Ware, SGRAFFITO WARE, and Incised Ware. Most of these used simple geometric designs, but motifs derived from classical repertoires (e.g., RINCEAUX and running spirals) were not uncommon and several wares had figural decorations, sometimes people but more commonly fish, animals, and birds. Oriental motifs, esp. pseudo-Kufic, were common on several wares. Most of these fine wares continued into the 13th

C. and beyond, as represented by ZEUXIPPOS WARE and so-called Aegean Ware. Otherwise, political fragmentation and greater foreign influence led to a localization of ceramic production. Italian pottery, esp. PROTO-MAIOLICA, came to replace Byz. wares as the preferred luxury pottery, although locally produced Byz. pottery continued to be made.

Coarse wares, including COOKING WARE, jugs, and other kitchen vessels, present a continuous line of development from antiquity to the end of the Byz. period; most of these were locally produced. Many coarse wares were partially or fully covered with a yellow glaze, giving them a characteristic brown color (usually called Brown Glazed Ware); this was often used for cooking pots and small vessels as well as chafing dishes and was sometimes decorated with molded figures, occasionally of an obscene character. Most of these cannot be precisely dated. In addition to crockery and tiles, clay was also used to produce BRICKS, LAMPS, children's TOYS, CENSERS, and simple icons with images of saints (J. Ebersolt, *Byzantion* 6 [1931] 559f).

Despite the pioneering work of D. Talbot Rice and others earlier in the century, the study of Byz. pottery is still well behind that of other periods in the history of the Mediterranean, in part because of a lack of interest and in part because of the paucity of stratigraphically excavated Byz. sites necessary to the elucidation of ceramic chronologies. Pottery from critical periods, such as the "dark age" of the 7th–8th C. and the 14th–15th C., is poorly known and little studied. Megaw and Jones (*infra*) have made an important beginning in the identification of individual wares and their distribution.

LIT. *Recherches sur la céramique byzantine*, ed. V. Déroche, J.M. Spieser (Paris 1989). A.H.S. Megaw, R.E. Jones, "Byzantine and Allied Pottery: A Contribution by Chemical Analysis to Problems of Origin and Distribution," *BSA* 78 (1983) 235–63. C.H. Morgan, *The Byzantine Pottery* [Corinth 11] (Cambridge, Mass., 1942). T.S. MacKay, "More Byzantine and Frankish Pottery from Corinth," *Hesperia* 36 (1967) 249–320. D. Talbot Rice, *Byzantine Glazed Pottery* (Oxford 1930). A.L. Jakobson, "Srednevekovaja polivnaja keramika kak istoričeskoe javlenie," *VizVrem* 39 (1978) 148–59. Kazhdan, *Derevnja i gorod* 204–21. Koukoules, *Bios* 2.1:196f. —T.E.G., A.K.

CEREMONY (κατάστασις, τάξις). Symbolic gestures, usually public and assembled into rituals,

marked important moments in Byz. life. Ceremony flourished at all social levels, from the Byz. infant's baptismal liturgy and procession, to the promotion of the *patrikios*. It was, however, the ceremony that shaped the public life of the emperor, projected his power and LEGITIMACY, and defined his relations to the church, army, senate, and people that concretized the imperial idea in a way essential to Byz. Roman IMPERIAL CULT contributed to the content of ceremony, which took the Hippodrome, Hagia Sophia, and palaces and monuments of Constantinople as its main theaters. The high officials who stage-managed ceremonies—successively, the *magistros*, the *praepositus* assisted by the *epi tes katastaseos*, the *proto-vestiarites* assisted by the *primikerios tes aules*—relied on specialized treatises to design ceremonial traditional in appearance yet flexible in its details and adhering to the ideal of TAXIS. PETER PATRIKIOS, the *Kletorologion* of PHILOTHEOS, DE CEREMONIIS, and pseudo-KODINOS suggest that ceremonial innovation and recording peaked in the 6th, 9th–10th, and 14th C.

Depending on the period, ACCLAMATION, CORONATION, SHIELD-RAISING, and ANOINTING inaugurated a reign; a PROCESSION, AUDIENCE, or PROKYPISIS manifested the emperor in the PURPLE and with INSIGNIA; he was adored with PROSKYNESIS. PROCECTIO and ADVENTUS heralded his departure from and return to the capital, while TRIUMPHS signaled his victorious return from battle; all allowed or forced Byz. CITIZENS to display their loyalty and PATRIOTISM. The pervasive and spectacular PROPAGANDA of imperial ceremony captured the Byz. imagination, leaving manifold traces in art and literature, and fascinated foreigners like LIUTPRAND OF CREMONA.

LIT. O. Treitinger, *Die oströmische Kaiser- und Reichsidee nach ihrer Gestaltung im höfischen Zeremoniell* (Jena 1938; rp. Darmstadt 1956). M. McCormick, "Analyzing Imperial Ceremonies," *JÖB* 35 (1985) 1–20. —M.McC.

Representation in Art. In their representations of these ceremonies the Byz. placed the same emphasis on the majesty of the imperial power. Thus, depictions of historical ceremonial events such as military triumphs, coronations, marriages, official receptions, etc., focus on imperial ideology in preference to fuller historical detail; these images have a specific and limited visual language that conveys the most significant act of the ceremony without reference to time or, in most cases,

to place. The ceremonial events were commemorated in wall paintings and mosaics in public places and PALACE buildings as well as on more private objects such as MSS, ivory plaques, and silver vessels.

The formal or compositional principles are generally the same as those governing the performance of these ceremonies: SYMMETRY, hierarchy, and FRONTALITY. These principles are used to focus attention on the emperor and to define the status of others in relation to him. In the images, this system of presentation is made immediately apparent by limiting secondary figures and eliminating the audience, as well as, for example, by marking hierarchy through color or through variations in the sizes of figures.

Little survives of all these representations, particularly of the monumental images. The types of ceremony commonly depicted in Roman art (PROCECTIO, ADLOCUTIO, LARGESS, etc.), still found in some of the early monuments such as the ARCH OF CONSTANTINE in Rome, do not survive much beyond the Justinianic period. A notable example from the 6th C. is to be found in the mosaics of San Vitale, RAVENNA, which show Justinian I and Theodora participating in a liturgical ceremony. Although a specific emperor, Justinian, is shown with a specific bishop, Maximian, the procession remains generic enough to be any liturgical procession requiring the presence of the emperor, such as the later ceremonial entry of the emperor and patriarch into Hagia Sophia on the great feast days.

Another ceremony, which can be inferred from the silver Missorium of Theodosios I (for ill., see PLATES, DISPLAY), is the distribution of offices by the emperor, a ceremony that took place in the palace. In this depiction, Theodosios is enthroned in the center under an arch, just as he would have been seated in the palace under the arch of the apse in the throne room. He is flanked by his two co-emperors, who are placed in secondary positions. The emperor hands to an official of much smaller size the diptych listing the duties of his office. Although the emperor is handing out the tablets, his action is hardly noticeable. The emphasis is on his person and his successful rule, implied by the PERSONIFICATION of Abundance at the emperor's feet.

In an 11th-C. miniature (Paris, B.N. Coisl. 79, fol.2r—for ill., see EMPEROR) there is a represen-

tation of an enthroned emperor with his administrators. He is in the center of the composition. Two officials, again much smaller in size, stand on each side. The hierarchy and symmetrical relationship of the figures to each other express the ceremonial configurations of official meetings of the emperor. The figure standing on the emperor's right side and closest to him wears fancier dress than others in attendance; the fact, too, that his hands are not covered, as are those of the others, is a sign of his more privileged position vis-à-vis the emperor.

These representations, although based on court protocol, are removed from the specificity of one historical moment. This has been achieved in different ways: sometimes, as in the Missorium, through the addition of another, allegorical dimension; sometimes through the lack of any reference to a spatial setting, as in the miniature. The presence of Christ in such images works in a similar way. In the representation of Romanos (IV?) and Eudokia on an ivory plaque in Paris in the Cabinet des Médailles, for example, Christ is crowning the imperial couple. It is not clear from the composition alone if this is a depiction of their wedding, coronation, both, or of the idea of investiture. It appears that such representations were meant to be more encompassing by containing all three and possibly even more readings, and did not limit their meaning or message to one historical moment.

Another such example is the representation of BASIL II in a Venice psalter MS. The image shows Basil in military dress being presented with a crown by Christ and a lance by an angel. His defeated enemies are at his feet. This scene may have been created after a particular military triumph. The accompanying poem, however, does not mention a specific victory, instead stressing Basil's triumphant divine rule and power.

A second category of depictions of ceremonies is found within a narrative context. These images show events from the past rather than contemporary times. They are found in MSS like the *MENOLOGION OF BASIL II* or the Madrid MS of John SKYLITZES. In the *Menologion* the painters depict ecclesiastical ceremonies in which the emperor is participating; in the Skylitzes they illustrate imperial ceremonies described in the *Chronicle*. The compositions of these representations are also different. The narrative moves from left to

right like a written text and does not follow the compositional principles outlined above. For example, in the *Menologion* on 26 Jan., a day commemorating an earthquake, the patriarch and the emperor, accompanied by clergy and citizens carrying candles, walk through the city in a penitential procession. The barefooted and simply dressed emperor, the candles, and the censer refer to a specific ceremony that must have taken place on that day. The depiction of the translation of the relics of John Chrysostom is another such example. Theodosios II and Patr. Proklos, who holds a candle and the Gospels, are shown receiving the body in front of the Church of the Holy Apostles. A representation of a similar event, the translation of the relics of St. Stephen on the ivory plaque in Trier, shows Theodosios II at the head of the procession and PULCHERIA receiving them in front of the newly built church.

In the Madrid Skylitzes a number of ceremonies are depicted: receptions of ambassadors, baptisms, coronations, marriages, proclamations of emperors, and triumphal processions. Grabar-Manoussacas, *Skylitzès*, no. 368, for example, shows the triumphal entry of Nikephoros II Phokas on horseback into Constantinople. A large group of musicians playing cymbals and trumpets is welcoming him. The ceremony of SHIELD-RAISING is represented twice. These are the only two illustrations of this ceremony in Byz. art that represent Byz. historical figures; all others show Old Testament kings. Leo Tornikios (*ibid.*, no. 561) is proclaimed emperor by his rebel supporters, an event that we know took place as depicted. Another page (*ibid.*, no. 2) shows Michael I and Leo V raised together on the shield, with Michael placing his hand on the head of Leo, whom he has chosen as co-emperor. This depiction is not historically correct, since the coronation and raising on the shield never occurred simultaneously, but was presumably chosen to emphasize the new order of imperial rule.

LIT. A. Grabar, *L'empereur dans l'art byzantin* (Paris 1936). Idem, "Pseudo-Codinos et les cérémonies de la Cour byzantine au XI^e siècle," in *Art et Société à Byzance sous les Paléologues* (Venice 1971) 195–221. S. MacCormack, *Art and Ceremony in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley 1981). M. McCormick, *Eternal Victory* (Cambridge 1986). —I.K.

ČERNJACHOVO, the name of a culture in the Ukraine (2nd C. A.D.—ca. 400), known from ar-

chaeological excavations, first discovered and studied in 1899. The designation is derived from the agricultural settlement excavated in the village of Černjachiv (Kaharlyk region, Kiev district) on the middle South Bug River. This culture was spread over an area extending in a north-south direction from the sources of the Dniester and South Bug to the Danube delta (including Moldavia) and the Dnieper estuary. To the north it extended along a line that went from the upper West Bug (a tributary of the Vistula), across the region that later became Kiev, to the upper Sivers'kyj Donec', and traversed the Dnieper river bend, but it did not reach the Crimea.

The Černjachovo settlements, of which over 2,500 are known at present, are scattered along the rivers. Two groups are distinguishable, the larger settlements (2–3 km long, covering 35–45 hectares), and the smaller ones (300–400 m long, covering 3–4 hectares); in both groups semisubterranean dwellings coexist with subterranean. More than 350 burial grounds have been excavated, showing evidence of mixed burial rites, though inhumation seems to have prevailed. Characteristic is the production of gray and black pottery of high quality, iron tools, and metal ornaments; amphoras, *terra sigillata*, small lamps, buckles, and coins were exported to the Romans.

By A.D. 400 life in all Černjachovo settlements came to an abrupt end, which scholars at present connect with the Hunnic invasion. Animated debate still continues concerning the ethnic composition of the Černjachovo culture. The Slavic hypothesis (until recently highly favored) is gradually being abandoned. There is good reason to identify some bearers of this culture with the Ostrogoths in the Ukrainian "Mesopotamia" (Gothic *Oium*) described by JORDANES.

LIT. V.D. Baran, *Černjachiv'ska kul'tura* (Kiev 1981). Z. Váňa, *The World of the Ancient Slavs* (London 1983).

—O.P.

ČERNOMEN, BATTLE OF. See MARICA, BATTLE OF.

CEYLON (*Ταπροβάνη*, mod. Sri Lanka), called Sinhala by its inhabitants during the Middle Ages. Archaeological investigations of the island have not been extensive and are of limited value; some hoards of 5th–6th-C. Byz. bronze coins and imi-

tations have been found. KOSMAS INDIKOPLEUSTES, who describes the island's location correctly as being east of southern India, claims that Byz. merchants traded there and that a Christian community lived on the island. Its noteworthy export was the *hyakinthos*, a blue gem, perhaps the sapphire. Ceylon may have been involved in the SPICE trade and perhaps served as a clearinghouse for products from Southeast Asia. Byz. merchants participated in the trade directly, but not exclusively: Axumite, South Arabian, and South Asian ships are also known to have sailed to and from Ceylon. The preferred transit points inside the Byz. Empire were the Red Sea ports, esp. Klysma. Partly to protect the Red Sea shipping lanes from Persian interference, Justin I forged an alliance with AXUM. The Persian occupation of South Arabia in 599 and the subsequent conquest of the Red Sea littoral by the Arabs effectively closed this route to direct participation in Far East trade by Byz. merchants.

LIT. H.W. Codrington, *Ceylon Coins and Currency* (Colombo 1924; rp. Colombo 1975). J. Still, "Roman Coins Found in Ceylon," *Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 19 (1907) 161–88.

—D.W.J.

CHAIRS. See FURNITURE.

CHALCEDON (*Χαλκηδών*, now Kadıköy), city of BITHYNIA, located directly across the Bosphoros from Constantinople. Chalcedon was permanently overshadowed by the nearby capital, but it did benefit in the 4th and 5th C. from the generosity of imperial dignitaries who enlarged its harbor and built palaces and churches in the vicinity. Chalcedon was taken by the Persians in 615 and 626 and by the Arabs during their attacks on Constantinople. It was the main camp for the First, Second, and Fourth Crusades before their further advances. Chalcedon fell to the Ottomans in 1350.

The Byz. remains of Chalcedon have disappeared: they consisted of a palace, a hippodrome, and numerous churches. Most notable was that of St. EUPHEMIA, built outside the walls in the 4th C. and seat of the Council of 451 (see CHALCEDON, COUNCIL OF). It contained the circular domed shrine of the saint, from whose tomb was said to issue a miraculous flow of blood, and was decorated with paintings showing scenes from her life.

It was destroyed by the Persians. The suburbs of Chalcedon contained the important monastic centers of ROUPHINIANAI and Mt. AUXENTIOS. Originally a suffragan bishopric of NIKOMEDEIA, Chalcedon became an independent metropolis in 451.

LIT. Janin, *Églises centres* 31–60. Janin, *CP byz.* 493f. —C.F.

CHALCEDON, COUNCIL OF, the fourth ecumenical council, held in the Church of St. EUPHEMIA OF CHALCEDON (8–31 Oct. 451). About 350 bishops attended its sessions, primarily those from the East. The leading roles at the council were played by the representatives of the imperial couple (Marcian and PULCHERIA) as well as Paschinus, the legate of Pope LEO I, to whom the Egyptian bishops stood in opposition. The council was intended to answer the Christological question raised by EUTYCHES after the Council of EPHEBUS (431). Chalcedon defined Christ's two natures as inviolably united without confusion, division, separation, or change, in one person or hypostasis. This negative formula, distinguishing precisely between nature and person, was clearly aimed at the teaching of NESTORIOS and Eutyches. Doctrinally, it rejected neither the Council of 431 at Ephesus nor CYRIL of Alexandria. Still, the definition acknowledging Christ "in two natures"—grounded on the Nicene faith, Cyril, and the Tome of Pope Leo I—was viewed by Egypt as a betrayal of strict Cyrillian Christology. This conviction, along with the council's condemnation of DIOSKOROS and Eutyches and cancellation of the "Robber" Council of Ephesus of 449 (see under EPHEBUS, COUNCILS OF)—decisive blows to Alexandria's ecclesiastical and theological hegemony—were to cause the Monophysite schism.

Chalcedon also granted patriarchal status to Constantinople by enlarging its territorial jurisdiction to include the dioceses of Asia, Pontus, and Thrace and by confirming its existing honorary primacy after Rome (canon 28). Constantinople also received the right to hear appeals from regional METROPOLITANS (canons 9, 17) and to consecrate the metropolitans of the three dioceses under its jurisdiction. Finally, because monasticism had become a serious urban problem by expanding into the cities, it was decided (for the first time in the history of Christian asceticism) to bring every monastery under the direct jurisdiction of its local bishop (canon 4).

SOURCE. *Acta—ACO* Tom.II, vols. i–vi. Partial Fr. tr., A.-J. Festugière, *Actes du Concile de Chalcédoine: Sessions III–VI (La définition de la foi)* (Geneva 1983).

LIT. Grillmeier-Bacht, *Chalkedon*, 3 vols. P. Stockmeier, "Das Konzil von Chalkedon. Probleme der Forschung," *Freiburger Zeitschrift für Philosophie und Theologie* 29 (1982) 140–56. R.V. Sellers, *The Council of Chalcedon* (London 1953). J. Meyendorff, "La primauté romaine dans la tradition canonique jusqu'au concile de Chalcédoine," *Istina* 4 (1957) 463–82. P.T.R. Gray, *The Defense of Chalcedon in the East (451–553)* (Leiden 1979). —A.P.

CHALDEAN ORACLES (Χαλδαϊκά λόγια), a work that has been lost and is now known only in fragments, written in bad hexameters. The oracles purport to be revelations from the gods. The *Souda* ascribes the authorship of the oracles to two Julians—the father, surnamed the Chaldean, and his son "the Theurge," who allegedly were active at the end of the 2nd C. The philosophical system of the Chaldean Oracles is dualistic, contrasting the world of the Intelligibles with evil Matter. The Chaldean deity is triune: it comprises the Paternal Intellect, an impenetrable monad; the Second Intellect, dyadic, since it unites the physical world created by it with the intelligible monad; and the Cosmic Soul that is identified as HEKATE of Greek mythology. The human mind, a spark of the divine Intellect, must "empty" itself, that is, purge itself of evil Matter, in order to ascend to the god.

The Chaldean Oracles became popular with the late Neoplatonists (esp. PORPHYRY). Emp. Julian wrote a treatise on the Chaldean Oracles (ed. R. Majercik [Leiden–New York 1989]). IAMBlichos used them to develop the concept of theurgy, magical influence upon the supernatural world. Later Psellos and Plethon referred to the Chaldean Oracles.

ED. *Oracles chaldaïques*, ed. E. des Places (Paris 1971).

LIT. H. Lewy, *Chaldaean Oracles and Theurgy*² (Paris 1978); rev. of 1st ed. by E.R. Dodds, *HThR* 54 (1961) 263–73. —A.K.

CHALDIA (Χαλδία), a THEME of northeastern Asia Minor. It appears as a TOURMA of the ARMENIAKON ca.800, then as a separate *ducatus* in 824 and as a theme by ca.840. Its status at that time is unclear: *strategoi* are known from the 9th–11th C., and *doukes* from the 8th to 10th (Oikonomides, *Listes* 349, 354). According to Arab geographers, Chaldia had an army of 10,000 and

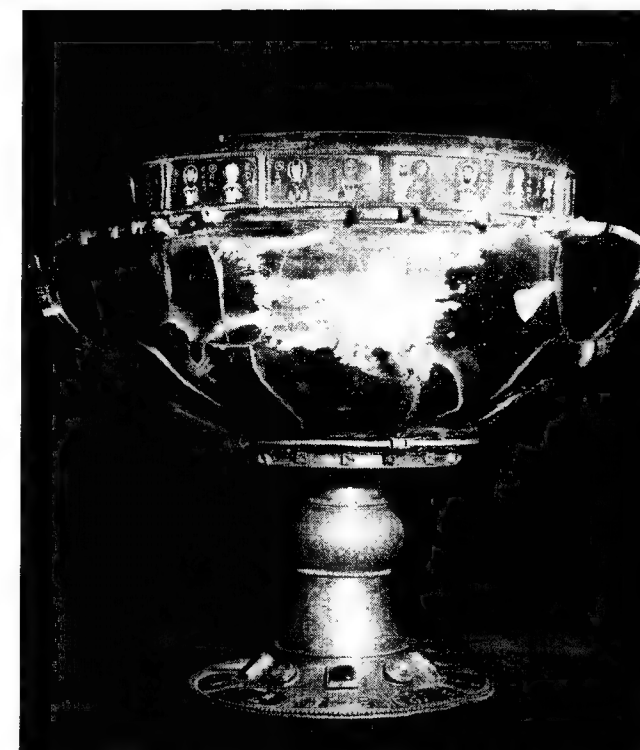
six fortresses; its *strategos* had a salary of 10 pounds of gold and an equivalent amount from the local KOMMERKION. Chaldia comprised the eastern part of PONTOS with the interior valleys; its capital was TREBIZOND. Its strategic but remote location gave it importance for trade and the military—it was a base of support for THOMAS THE SLAV, but was virtually independent under the Gabrades in 1075–1140. As part of the empire of Trebizond, Chaldia denoted a more restricted area south of the watershed of the Pontic mountains, astride the major routes to the interior. Chaldia was dominated by local families and only loosely controlled by Trebizond. Its defensible location enabled Chaldia to maintain its independence until 1479. The area is rich in remains of Byz. churches and fortresses, among them the oldest church in the Pontos, at Leri (probably 6th C.).

LIT. Bryer-Winfield, *Pontos* 299–318.

—C.F.

CHALICE (ποτήριον), a LITURGICAL VESSEL for holding the wine of the EUCHARIST, which in the so-called church history ascribed to Patr. Germanos I (ed. N. Borgia ch.39, p.31.17–29) is compared with the vessel used to collect Christ's blood at the Crucifixion and the crater used at the Last Supper. Attested from at least the 4th C., the earliest form of the chalice is uncertain: the 4th-C. Durobrivae Treasure has two types of cup: one with two handles and resting on a foot and two others without feet. Silver chalices surviving from the 6th C. onward have a large cup on a flared foot usually with a knob; occasionally they have two handles. The cup usually has a dedicatory inscription around the rim and sometimes figural decoration below. Although elaborate chalices of gold, or studded with or carved from precious stones, are known from literary sources of the 4th–7th C., none survives. The chalice often forms a set with the PATEN (*diskopoterion*) in written sources.

Many important post-9th-C. chalices continue to have a tall, flared foot with a knob; others are made with a low foot and a pair of handles (*krateres*). Elaborate examples incorporate cups of semiprecious stone, rock crystal, or glass, mounted in gilded silver, ornamented with enamels, pearls, and other materials. Eucharistic inscriptions sometimes appear around the lip, while dedicatory inscriptions are limited to the foot. Medieval church INVENTORIES mostly refer to chalices of



CHALICE. Chalice of Emp. Romanos (II?). Treasury of San Marco, Venice. The sardonix body of the chalice is an antique bowl dating from the 1st C. BC to 1st C. AD. The enamel panels and metal base were added to the bowl in the 10th C. Visible are the enamel busts of saints and patriarchs.

gilded silver, occasionally with repoussé decoration (MM 2:566.19). Some display a DEESIS composition (*Pantel.*, no.7.13), others crosses and stars (P. Gautier, *REB* 39 [1981] 91.1209; *REB* 43 [1985] 155.103). Ordinary chalices were of beaten bronze, usually tinned. A 14th-C. chalice with monograms of MANUEL KANTAKOUZENOS consists of a cup of jasper mounted in gilded silver but lacks the enamels, stones, and pearls of earlier examples (Bréhier, *Sculpture*, pl.LXXI).

LIT. Mango, *Silver* 68–77, 251–53. A. Grabar in H.R. Hahnloser, *Il Tesoro di San Marco* (Florence 1971), nos. 40–66. *Treasury S. Marco* 110f, 129–40, 156–67.

—M.M.M., L.Ph.B.

CHALKE (Χαλκή), main entrance vestibule of the GREAT PALACE of Constantinople, so named either for the gilded bronze tiles of its roof or for its bronze portals. The earliest attested building was put up by the architect Aithérios under Anastasios I (*AnthGr* 9:656). Burned down in the

NIKA REVOLT, it was rebuilt by Justinian I as a rectangular structure with four engaged piers supporting a central dome. The ceiling was decorated with mosaics representing the emperor's victories over the Goths and Vandals, with the imperial couple surrounded by a cortège of senators placed in the center (Prokopios, *Buildings* 1.10.12–19). The Chalke or its dependencies became a PRISON in the 7th–8th C. Basil I repaired the building and turned it into a law court (*TheophCont* 259f).

On the façade of the Chalke, above the main door, was an icon of CHRIST CHALKITES, shown standing full-length on a footstool. Its origins are obscure. Its removal by Leo III in 726 or 730 was the first public act of imperial ICONOCLASM. Restored by Irene ca.787, it was once again removed by Leo V and replaced by a cross. Soon after 843 the icon, in mosaic, was set up again by the painter LAZAROS.

When the palace was enclosed by a less extensive circuit wall by Nikephoros II Phokas, the Chalke lost its importance as a vestibule. A small chapel dedicated to Christ Chalkites, built next to it by Romanos I, was reconstructed on a larger scale by John I Tzimiskes, who endowed it with relics and was himself buried there. The chapel, situated on an elevated platform, survived until 1804. Drawings and plans of the 18th C. help to place the chapel about 100 m south of the southeast corner of Hagia Sophia. The Chalke itself, robbed of its bronze doors by Isaac II, is not mentioned after 1200.

LIT. C. Mango, *The Brazen House: A Study of the Vestibule of the Imperial Palace of Constantinople* (Copenhagen 1959). Guiland, *Topographie* 1:7–33. —C.M.

CHALKE, ISLAND OF. See PRINCES' ISLANDS.

CHALKIDIKE (Χαλκιδική), peninsula in the northwestern Aegean, terminating to the south with the three promontories of (west to east) Kassandra (Pallene), Longos, and ATHOS. The area is among the best known from the Byz. world because of the surviving documents from the monasteries of Mt. Athos (see ATHOS, ACTS OF), which owned many of the villages in the peninsula. The territory is hilly and wooded with a moderate climate suitable for growing grapes, grain, and

fruit trees. Excavation at various sites has revealed a period of prosperity during late antiquity, followed by violent destruction in the 7th C. (e.g., O. Alexandre, *ArchDelt* 29.2 [1973–74] 674–77). Part of the theme of THESSALONIKE, the Chalkidike was divided into several katepanates; there were cities at OLYNTHOS, KASSANDREIA, and HIERISSOS. The CATALAN GRAND COMPANY ravaged the Chalkidike in 1307–09; excavation near Torone may show destruction from this period (N. Nikonanos, *ArchDelt* 29.2 [1973–74] 770f, 776).

LIT. J. Lefort, *Villages de Macédoine: 1. La Chalcidique occidentale* (Paris 1982). G.I. Theocharides, "Kalamaria (Apo ten historian tes Byzantines Chalkidikes)," *Makedonika* 17 (1977) 259–97. —T.E.G.

CHALKIS (Χαλκίς). Several cities in the ancient and medieval Mediterranean world bore this name, most notably two cities in Syria and Greece.

CHALKIS AD BELUM (Syr. Qenneshrin, Ar. Qinnasrīn), a city in northern SYRIA I, lying in a fertile plain surrounded by the limestone massif of Belus. It should be distinguished from the monastery of Qenneshre at EUROPOS. A caravan stop on roads from ANTIOCH and BERROIA, Chalkis was also strategically situated as part of the LIMES to which it gave its name. After Chosroes I extorted 200 pounds of gold from Chalkis in 540 (Prokopios, *Wars* 2.12.1–5), Justinian I had its city walls rebuilt (Prokopios, *Buildings* 2.11.8–9) in 550 by ISIDORE THE YOUNGER, as confirmed by two extant inscriptions (*IGLSyr* 2, nos. 348–49). Nearby, in 554, the Ghassānids won a decisive victory over the Lakhmid ALAMUNDARUS. Chalkis was under Persian rule ca.608/9–28 and taken by the Arabs in 636–37 after an unsuccessful resistance (Donner, *Conquests* 149f). The Umayyads made Chalkis a military headquarters and capital of the district (*jund*) of Qinnasrīn. Chalkis was attacked and sacked by the Byz. in 966, 998, and 1030. It never recovered from Seljuk destruction at the end of the 11th C., after which it served merely as an arsenal and caravansary. Today Chalkis is in ruins. Chalkis ad Belum should be distinguished from Chalkis under Lebanon (now Anjar in Lebanon), a Hellenistic settlement that did not become a Roman or Byz. city.

LIT. R. Mousterde, A. Poidebard, *Le "Limes" de Chalcis: Organisation de la steppe en haute Syrie romaine* (Paris 1945) 4–9. N. Elisséef, *EI* 2 5:124f. —M.M.M.

CHALKIS IN GREECE, city founded in antiquity on the west coast of Euboea, where the island comes closest to the mainland. In the 6th C. a movable bridge (*zeugma*) linked the shores of the strait of Euripos (Prokopios, *Buildings* 4.3.18–19). Termed a city in the *Synekdemos* of Hierokles (Hierokl. 645.6), it reappears in Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos (*De them.* 5.13–14, ed. Pertusi 90) as an island, and as an alternative name for Euboea. The name *Chalkis*, however, was preserved in the ecclesiastical hierarchy at least to the 9th C.; a seal of a *droungarios* of Chalkis also survives (Zacos, *Seals* 1, no.2587). It was assumed (e.g., by J. Koder in *TIB*) that the name of Chalkis was replaced by that of Euripos and of Chripes/Chrepos; the latter identification was rejected by Svoronos (*Cadastre* 72, n.2); the bishop of Euripos appears in notitiae along with the bishop of Chalkis. It is not impossible that the settlement of Euripos was founded in the 9th C., after Chalkis had lost its urban character.

The *kastron* of Euripos was attacked by the Arabs in the 870s (*TheophCont* 298.8–12); when Skylitzes relates this episode he calls Euripos a *polis* (Skyl. 151.32). A bishop of Euripos participated in the council of 869/70. An inscription of the *protospatharios* Theophylaktos of the end of the 9th C. mentions the restoration of a road from Chalkis (E. Oberhammer, *RE* 3 [1899] 2086). In the 12th C. Euripos had a Venetian trading colony and a large Jewish population. At the beginning of the 13th C. a *phrourion* was built there to defend the straits (Nik.Chon. 610.92). Euripos was attacked by a Venetian fleet in 1171 and seized by Venice in 1209. In the 13th–14th C. the city of Chalkis, which was called NEGROPONTE by the Westerners, was the object of various attacks: by knights from Achaia in 1257/8, by Catalans in 1317, by Turks in 1350/1. The Turks took the city in 1470.

A figural floor mosaic found in the city is dated to the 5th C. The Church of St. Paraskeve, originally dedicated to the Virgin, is a wooden-roofed three-aisled basilica. Probably constructed in the 5th C., it was rebuilt in the 12th C. and connected with a monastery of the Virgin (Th. Theochares, *Archeion Euboikon Meleton* 7 [1960] 1–23; D. Triantaphyllopoulos, *ibid.* 16 [1970] 186–91). It was one of the major churches of the Frankish period. The surviving fortifications of the city and the bridge-fortress are Venetian in date; although

they presumably have Byz. antecedents, all trace of these has vanished.

LIT. *TIB* 1:156–58. J. Koder, *Negroponte* (Vienna 1973) 43–95, 133–38. —T.E.G.

CHALKOKONDYLES, LAONIKOS, historian; born Athens ca.1423 or 1430, died ca.1490. Little is known of the life of Chalkokondyles (Χαλκοκονδύλης); his father George fled to the Morea in 1435 after an unsuccessful coup attempt against the ACCIAJUOLI. In 1447 Chalkokondyles was a student of PLETHON at the court of Mistra. He evidently spent his life somewhere in the Aegean region.

His history in ten books was written in the 1480s and covers the period 1298–1463. His purpose was to show "the downfall of the great empire of the Hellenes" and the growing power of the Turks; his emphasis on the rise of the Ottoman Empire is unusual for a Byz. historian. He had direct access to Turkish sources (e.g., the secretaries of the sultan) and provides some important information on early Ottoman institutions (S. Vryonis, *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 7 [1976] 423–32). For Chalkokondyles the *basileus* is the Turkish sultan; the Byz. emperor is designated as "basileus Hellenon." His account of the Byz.-Ottoman conflict is clearly modeled on the confrontation of Greeks and Persians described by Herodotus. The work also owes much to Thucydides in its use of direct speeches and Attic vocabulary. Chalkokondyles inserted lengthy excursions on various peoples and countries, notably the Muslims, Germans, Russians, South Slavs, and Spaniards. Chalkokondyles had a superstitious belief in omens and oracles and recognized TYCHE as a force affecting historical events (C.J.G. Turner, *BZ* 57 [1964] 358–61). The weakest aspect of his history is the relative lack of chronological data.

ED. *Laonici Chalcocondylae Historiarum Demonstrationes*, ed. E. Darkó, 2 vols. (Budapest 1922–23).

LIT. A. Wifstrand, *Laonikos Chalkokondyles, der letzte Athener. Ein Vortrag* (Lund 1972). E.B. Veselago, "Istoricheskoe sochinenie Laonika Chalkokondila," *VizVrem* 12 (1957) 203–17. H. Ditten, *Der Russland-Exkurs des Laonikos Chalkokondyles* (Berlin 1968). Hunger, *Lit.* 1:485–90. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* 1:391–97. —A.M.T.

CHALKOPRATEIA (Χαλκοπρατεία, lit. "Copper Market"), quarter of Constantinople, west of

HAGIA SOPHIA. It is said to have been originally inhabited by Jews, who had a synagogue there; these were allegedly expelled by Theodosios II and the synagogue replaced by a Church of the Theotokos, which is variously attributed to Empress Pulcheria or to Verina. The church, of basilical form, was repaired by Justin II and Basil I. Among its relics were the Virgin's girdle (*zone*), housed in a special chapel (*Soros*), and a miraculous image of CHRIST ANTIPHONETES. The apse and parts of the north and south walls of the church are preserved, as is the undercroft of an octagonal structure north of the atrium.

LIT. Janin, *Églises CP* 237–42. W. Kleiss, "Neue Befunde zur Chalkopratenkirche in Istanbul," *IstMitt* 15 (1965) 149–67. Idem, "Grabungen im Bereich der Chalkopratenkirche in Istanbul," *IstMitt* 16 (1966) 217–40. C. Mango, "Notes on Byzantine Monuments," *DOP* 23–24 (1969–70) 369–72. —C.M.

CHANCEL BARRIER. See **TEMPLON**.

CHANCERY. Officials in Byz. corresponded either personally or by using an official scribe (*notarios* and, after the 12th C., *grammatikos*). One can speak of organized chanceries—i.e., bodies of secretaries, scribes, and other officials responsible for correspondence—only when dealing with the large central administrations of the emperor and the patriarch, and, possibly, the semi-independent *despotai* (which are very poorly known). Private deeds could be made legally by anyone who could write. There were also the specialized NOTARIES, laymen or ecclesiastics. FORMULARIES were often used for drafting all kinds of documents.

Imperial Chancery. Constantine I the Great created the corps of secretaries (*schola notariorum*) under the command of a *primikérios*. Some *notarii*, called REFERENDARII, were attached to the emperor's private service; in the 5th C. appeared the upper category of confidential *notarii*, the ASEKRETIS, who replaced the *referendarii* before the end of the 6th C. The role of the QUAESTOR was important. Reports of individuals were examined and eventually answered by the four *scrinia* (*memoriae*, *epistolarum*, *epistolarum graecarum*, *libellorum*).

From the 8th C. onward, the chancery was directed by the PROTASEKRETIS. Assisted by the *asekretis*, some imperial *notarioi*, and the DEKANOS

(?), he was responsible for the final drafting and preparation of original imperial ACTS (the draft was undoubtedly prepared by the office competent in the matter). The verification of the contents (*recognitio*) of the documents seems to have been the work of the KANIKLEIOS, who also probably added in some documents the words traditionally written in purple (except for the emperor's autograph subscription). Drafting imperial documents also required the help of other officials, esp. those with judicial competence: the quaestor (laws), the EPI TON DEESEON, the MYSTIKOS, the *mystographos*.

Some time after 1106 the *protasekretis* abandoned the chancery. It was then manned by *grammatikoi* and later (13th C.) by imperial *notarioi* (who sometimes also acted as *taboullarioi*) and translators (*diermeneutai*), mostly of Latin. The direction of the chancery, esp. as far as foreign relations were concerned, fell to the LOGOTHETES TOU DROMOU and his PROTONOTARIOS, and, in the 13th C., to the *megas logothetes*, while the *protonotarios* remained at the head of the *notarioi* or *grammatikoi* and controlled the everyday functions of the chancery. The real chancellor, with extended powers, was now and until 1453 the MESAZON, the "intermediary" between the emperor and all the others.

Patriarchal Chancery. Initially placed under the guidance of the *primikérios* of the *notarioi*, who was an archdeacon, this chancery and its activities in time were related to the office of the CHARTOPHYLAX, who was seen as the *mesazon* of the patriarch. The *primikérios* would draft the documents, register and authenticate outgoing acts as well as the minutes of the synod, issue certified copies or duplicate originals, and cancel previous documents. In his secretarial functions, he was in competition with the *protonotarios*, who became the head of the chancery. Also having direct access to the patriarch, the *protonotarios*, among others, added to outgoing patriarchal acts some secret authenticity marks. The *primikérios* remained the simple dean of the patriarchal *notarioi*. Other important personnel, attested from the 10th C. onward, included the *hypomnematographos*, who assisted the *chartophylax*, and the *hieromnemon*, responsible for ordinations. Some secrets and procedures of the 14th-C. patriarchal chancery are described in the EKTESIS NEA. Certain patriarchal documents were approved by the synod and

were thus qualified as *synodikon* (*gramma*, *SEMEIOMA*, etc.).

LIT. Dölger-Karayannopoulos, *Urkundenlehre* 57–67. Oikonomides, "Chancellerie" 168–73. Oikonomides, "Chancery" 310–13. Darrouzès, *Offikia* 296–525. Falkenhausen-Amelotti, "Notariato & documento," 29–39. —N.O.

CHANDAX (Χάνδαξ, from Arabic al-Khandaq "moat," via Candica to Candia, which became the name of the whole island of Crete), mod. Herakleion on the north central coast of CRETE. Founded by Andalusian Muslims under Abū Ḥafṣ ca.827 on a site identified for the conquerors by a Christian monk (Genes. 33.11–17), Chandax replaced the nearby ancient settlement at Knossos, which had prospered through the 7th C. It was the base from which the Arabs completed their conquest of Crete; its walls were famous for their size and strength (e.g., Leo Diac. 11.4–10). Nikephoros II Phokas besieged the city (shown in the Madrid Skylitzes), which capitulated on 7 Mar. 961; thereafter the Byz. recovered all of Crete. The emperor built a new fortress called Temenos near the Arab citadel, although the Arab walls continued in use (N. Platon, *KretChron* 6 [1952] 439–59). After the Fourth Crusade Chandax was first assigned to Boniface of Montferrat, but it quickly passed to Venice, which held it until 1669.

The bishop of Knossos continued to be recorded in the episcopal lists instead of Chandax (e.g., *Notitiae CP* 3.241, 10.467); the bishop of Chandax, separate from that of Knossos, is attested only in the 12th C. (13.484). In an act of 1206 (MM 6:151.17) the bishopric bears the double name "Knossos or Chandax."

Aside from the fortifications, there are no Byz. remains at Chandax. The Church of St. Titos, originally of Byz. date, was destroyed in an earthquake.

LIT. V. Christides, *The Conquest of Crete by the Arabs* (Athens 1984) 91f, 107f, 110. N. Panayotakes, "Zetemata tina peri tes katakseos tes Kretes hypo ton Arabon," *KretChron* 15–16 (1961–62) 9–38. Laurent, *Corpus* 5.1:468–70. —T.E.G.

CHANSON D'ANTIOCHE, Old French Crusader epic on the conquest and defense of Antioch (1098). It is generally believed to have been composed by Richard le Pèlerin, a participant in the First Crusade, but has survived only in the extensively revised form established before ca.1177–81

by one Graindor d'Arras as part of a larger Crusader epic cycle. A few scholars maintain that Richard, Graindor, and the early version are merely literary fictions, or that Graindor was patron, not author of the work. Others have detected apparent traces of its use in contemporary Latin historians, for example, ALBERT OF AACHEN, RAYMOND OF AGUILERS, or FULCHER OF CHARTRES. The *Chanson* treats Byz. directly and in some detail only during the Crusaders' stay at Constantinople (vol. 1, pp. 56–67) and the siege of Nicaea (vol. 1, pp. 67–112).

ED. *La chanson d'Antioche*, ed. S. Duparc-Quioc, 2 vols. (Paris 1976–78).

LIT. C. Cahen, "Le premier cycle de la croisade (Antioche-Jérusalem-Chétifs)," *Le moyen âge* 63 (1957) 311–28. *Les épopées de la Croisade*, ed. K.-H. Bender (Stuttgart 1987). K.-H. Bender, H. Kleber, *Le premier cycle de la croisade* (Heidelberg 1987). —M.McC.

CHANT (ψαλμωδία), the general term for liturgical music similar to plainsong, that is, monophonic, unaccompanied, and in free rhythm. Although the language of the Byz. church was Greek, Byz. chant was not a continuation of ancient Greek music, but constituted a new departure based to some extent on Eastern models. The Byz. system of *MODES* differs sharply from that of the ancient *tonoi*, but is quite similar to that of the medieval Western church.

Byz. chant differs from Western, however, in its textual basis. Whereas psalmic and other scriptural texts prevail in Latin chant, the texts of Byz. chant are mostly nonscriptural, although often modeled after the psalms or canticles. Most are hymns, written in metrical arrangements that often employ an isosyllabic principle. Furthermore, in the Byz. tradition, unlike the Western, music for the liturgical hours is more important than that for the Eucharistic liturgy.

Chants in the early period were largely syllabic and were meant to be sung by the entire congregation. After ca.850 the repertory was enriched by florid, melismatic chants (having more than one note per syllable) written for professional choirs.

LIT. Wellesz, *Music*. Strunk, *Essays* 297–330. —D.E.C.

CHAPEL, in Byz. terminology usually EUKTERION, any space equipped with a consecrated altar table

and used for the celebration of the mass. A chapel is normally located within a larger complex to which it is related functionally, that is, as a PALACE CHURCH or a PAREKKLESION (generally within a monastic compound). Chapels are usually small-scale, though this is not always a distinguishing criterion. Chapels accompanying larger churches appear in the earliest Christian monumental architecture and remain a common ingredient throughout Byz. church architecture. Chapels vary considerably according to their function (burial, commemoration, private worship), their relative position (ground-level or elevated; accessible from the narthex, naos, or sanctuary), their plans (rectangular, polygonal, trefoil, quatrefoil, cruciform, cross-in-square), and their structural makeup (roofed in wood, barrel- or groin-vaulted, domed). When physically connected to a larger church, chapels become important ingredients in articulating new CHURCH PLAN TYPES.

LIT. G. Babić, *Les chapelles annexes des églises byzantines: Fonction liturgique et programmes iconographiques* (Paris 1969). S. Čurčić, "Architectural Significance of Subsidiary Chapels in Middle Byzantine Churches," *JSAH* 36 (1977) 94–110. T. Mathews, "'Private' Liturgy in Byzantine Architecture," *CahArch* 30 (1982) 125–38. B. Schellewald, "Zur Typologie, Entwicklung und Funktion von Oberräumen in Syrien, Armenien und Byzanz," *JbAChr* 27–28 (1984–85) 171–218. —S.C., W.L.

CHAPTERS (κεφάλαια), collections of sayings (aphorisms), usually combined in *centuria* that contained about 100 aphorisms each, although collections of 150 chapters are also known (as in Palamas). The genre of chapters existed throughout the entire Byz. period, the last example being compiled by a certain Kallistos Kataphrygiotes ca. 1400. Some *centuria* were written by well-known theologians such as Maximos the Confessor, Symeon the Theologian, Niketas Stethatos, and Gregory Palamas; other authors of chapters (John of Karpathos, Elias Ekdikos) are less famous. Unlike FLORILEGIA, chapters are the works of individuals; they often reflect not only traditional wisdom but also personal views. We do not know how they were created—whether as a spiritual testament or as part of an educational process. The aphorisms are assembled thematically, the topics being sometimes more general as, for example, the theological, "gnostic," and practical chapters of Symeon the Theologian, or more or less specific, such as *On Being Unborn* by John of Karpathos or

On the Unity with God and On Contemplative Life by Kataphrygiotes. —A.K.

CHARAGE (χαράγη), term designating minting, in both narrative texts (Theoph. 365.15–16; An.Komn. 3:136.22, 137.9) and documents (*Pantel.*, no.2.12–13, a. 1033/4). This meaning was preserved in Trebizond in the 14th–15th C. (*Dionys.*, nos. 4.53, 27.20), as well as in a forged chrysobull of Romanos I (*Xerop.*, no.B42); a post-Byz. charter of donation of 1471 applies the term to "florins" (*Lavra* 3, no.173.21). A more complicated case is Manuel I's chrysobull of 1153 (*Reg.* 2, no.1390) in which *charagai* (pl.) are not "minting" but rather a sort of obligation: the legislator speaks of various tax alleviations—KLASMATA, SYMPATHEIAI, "humble" STICHOI, and "stichoi liable to *charagai*." Svoronos (*Cadastre* 111) identifies *charage* with CHARAGMA and thinks that the tax in this case was calculated in gold coins. The *archon tes charages* is mentioned in the *Kletorologion* of Philotheos as a functionary of the VESTIARION, which led Dölger (*Beiträge* 28) to conclude that the *vestiarion* dealt not only with goods but also with minting money. The precise duties of the *archon tes charages* are not defined.

LIT. Bury, *Adm. System* 96. D. Zakythinos, *Le chrysobulle d'Alexis III Comnène* (Paris 1932) 62–64. —A.K.

CHARAGMA (χάραγμα) initially meant the operation of a mint, then the coined money, then the gold NOMISMA seen as a real coin and not as an accounting unit. In fiscal context, the term was used to specify that whenever the tax (KANON plus some PARAKOLOUTHEMATA) owed by a taxpayer amounted to a fraction of a nomisma (2/3 or more), he was obliged to give a (hard to come by) gold coin and receive his due change in silver or copper. In the early 12th C. and in a context of monetary instability, Alexios I's fiscal reform transformed the *charagma* into a means of establishing the real amount of the tax, calculated on the basis of the *kanon*. The word survives in documents until the end of the empire with a less clear meaning, indicating perhaps a secondary tax, or a tax on a special category of lands, or a term indicating the coinage in which part of the tax was paid.

LIT. Svoronos, *Cadastre* 77–89, 110–18. Idem in *Lavra* 4:159f. —N.O.

CHARIDEMOS (Χαρίδημος), also called *Peri kalous* (On Beauty), a dialogue preserved under the name of LUCIAN in several MSS of the 14th–15th C. It consists of a conversation between two friends taking a stroll in the suburbs of Athens, during which Charidemos reports on three speeches praising beauty; the first two were delivered by men whose names are reminiscent of earlier philosophers, PHILO and Aristippos (a companion of Socrates), the third by Charidemos. The work borrows extensively from the *Helena* of Isocrates, but the material is rearranged. Unlike pseudo-Lucian's TIMARION and PHILOPATRIS, the *Charidemos* does not contain contemporary allusions and polemics, unless we read in this way Aristippos's emphasis on the dangers caused by the beauty of Helena and Hippodameia; the themes are primarily mythological and philosophical.

The date of composition is impossible to establish. Although the dialogue was traditionally dated to the 3rd C., Anastasi (*infra*, p.11) relocates it to "a much later time" on the very shaky basis of the similarity between the mythological tradition in the *Charidemos* and in TZETZES. Anastasi evidently intended thereby to propose a date in the Komnenian or Palaiologan period, but Hunger (*Lit.* 2:149 and n.178) erroneously inferred that the editor dated *Charidemos* to the period of the "Macedonian Renaissance."

ED. Lucian, ed. M.D. Macleod, vol. 8 (Cambridge, Mass.—London 1967) 467–503, with Eng. tr. *Incerti auctoris Charidemus*, ed. R. Anastasi (Bologna 1971), with Ital. tr.

LIT. R. Anastasi, "Appunti sul Charidemus," *SicGymn* 18 (1965) 259–83. —A.M.T., A.K.

CHARIOTEERS (sing. *auriga*, ἡνίοχος; later φακτιονάριος, μικροπανίτης), popular professional racing drivers who competed in CHARIOT RACES for the victory of their FACTIONS, usually in light, four-horse chariots. Charioteers enjoyed geographic mobility, sometimes changed factional loyalties, and bore frequently recurring stage names that are well attested in circus curse tablets (*defixiones*) intended to jinx opponents. Their career began in their teens and sometimes lasted 30 years or more. In the 6th C., the heyday of the circus, statues to champions were raised in the HIPPODROME and their portraits adorned the KATHISMA; in the provinces their renown is recorded in floor mosaics sometimes bearing a driver's name (K.M.D. Dunbabin, *AJA* 86 [1982] 65–89). Epigrams con-

cerning these monuments survive in the GREEK ANTHOLOGY.

Despite their popularity, early charioteers had a low social status. After the 7th C., charioteering seems to have been confined to Constantinople and its environs. *Phaktionarioi* (usually interpreted as charioteers of the Blues or Greens), *heniochoi*, and *mikropanitai* (those of the Reds or Whites) were integrated into the imperial precedence hierarchy, since they appear in the *Kletorologion* of Philotheos (Oikonomides, *Listes*, p.161.3, 8, 14; cf. p.125.5) and this presumably denotes an enhanced social status. DE CEREMONIIS (bk.1, ch.69, ed. Vogt 2:131–42) describes several circus ceremonies and procedures involving charioteers. Theophilos and Michael III as well as ranking members of their courts are themselves reported to have raced as charioteers.

LIT. Koukoules, *Bios* 3:32–40. Al. Cameron, *Porphyrius the Charioteer* (Oxford 1973). —M.McC., A.C.

CHARIOT MOUNTS AND HORSE FITTINGS.

Bronze chariot mounts, formed of an ornamented double ring mounted on a socket, have been described as rein guides or "shock absorber" supports; several examples attributed to the 4th C. have been found in Thrace, Pannonia, and Spain (*Age of Spirit.*, no.331). Some chariot ornaments of 6th-C. provincial governors (Theoph. 244.28–29) were covered with gold leaf.

HORSE fittings, known from Byz. representations in various media (e.g., 4th–8th C.—*Age of Spirit.*, nos. 28, 41, 44, 80–81; 8th–11th C.—J. Beckwith, *The Art of Constantinople* [London 1961] figs. 73, 126; 14th C.—Lazarev, *Storia*, fig.494), include bridle, collar, saddle, and STIRRUPS as well as decorative pendants in the form of small BELLS and *phalera* (medallions and crescents, originally indicating military distinction), attached to leather straps or to a wood or leather saddle. Imported Byz. silver horse fittings (4th–5th C.) found with skeletons of horses in tombs at Qustul in Nubia include three complete bridles featuring lion-headed medallions, saddle pommels, and trappings composed of disks and pendants (Emery, *infra*, pls. 26–31). Similar trappings are in the 4th-C. Esquiline Treasure from Rome (Shelton, *Esquiline* 89–91). Other horse fittings, esp. in bronze, have been found, for example, in the CONCEŢI TREASURE, and three 4th-C. nosepieces,

incised with various scenes, originate from Italy (*Age of Spirit.*, nos. 195, 215; *Byzantinische Kostbarkeiten aus Museen, Kirchenschätzen und Bibliotheken der DDR* [Berlin 1977], no.92).

LIT. W.B. Emery, *Nubian Treasure* (London 1948) 44–56. W.B. Emery, L.P. Kirwan, *The Royal Tombs of Ballana and Qustul* (Cairo 1938) 251–71, pls. 55–59, 61–63.
—M.M.M.

CHARIOT RACES (ἵπποδρομῖαι, θεωρίαι ἵππικαί, τὰ ἵππικά). Roman-style chariot racing was Byz.'s most popular spectator sport from the 4th to the 7th C. Held at HIPPODROMES, races were divided into morning and afternoon sessions. Four teams of four horses competed. A CHARIOTEER, sporting the color of his FACTION (Blue, Green, White, or Red), drove each team. Women and religious were discouraged from attending.

The considerable expense of mounting chariot races may have been borne by the city in the 4th C. As circuses spread through the empire, perhaps along with Roman municipal institutions, the imperial treasury seems to have provided increasing support; this reflected general economic conditions and growing connections between the emperor and the circus, as the ideology of military victory came to pervade and fuse with the notion of sporting victory. Annual races commemorated imperial accessions, visits, and victories. Special races attracted large audiences for ceremonies connected with emperors' CORONATIONS, marriages, and TRIUMPHS. The races sometimes exploded into riots, such as the NIKA REVOLT of 532 and others that shook Byz. cities and the throne into the 7th C.

After the 7th C., chariot races disappeared except in Constantinople; they survived there in diminished form as a traditional and indispensable prop of the monarchy, which continued to use them to celebrate important political events. Whereas the 4th- and 5th-C. state calendars of Philocalus (see CALENDAR OF 354) and POLEMIUS SILVIUS reveal as many as 66 annual racing holidays, each often comprising 24 daily races, *De ceremoniis* records fewer than a dozen annual racing holidays and only eight daily races in the 10th C. Though the popularity of chariot races in the 11th C. is reflected in a poetic account of a day spent watching them (CHRISTOPHER OF MYTILENE, poem 90, ed. Kurtz, 56–60), by the 12th C. they were losing ground to the new Western spectacles

of jousts and tournaments (see SPORTS); chariot races disappeared entirely after 1204.

The church was hostile to chariot races, which had once had pagan religious overtones; gambling connected with the races and their unpredictable result stood in sharp contradiction to the concept of Providence (see PRONOIA). Preachers like John Chrysostom inveighed against the sport as a powerful rival that lured audiences away from church services. Nonetheless, ecclesiastical rhetoricians and hagiographers often employed literary imagery drawn from the hippodrome and its races.

LIT. Koukoules, *Bios* 3:7–80. R. Guiland, "Études sur l'Hippodrome de Byzance: Les courses de l'Hippodrome," *BS* 27 (1966) 26–40. Al. Cameron, *Circus Factions* (Oxford 1976).
—M.McC., A.K.

CHARISTIKION (χαριστική <δωρεά>, lit. "gift of grace"), a system of giving monasteries to private persons or institutions on a conditional basis for a restricted period, usually a lifetime or three generations. The origin of *charistikion* is unclear. P. Charanis (*DOP* 4 [1948] 74f) found its roots in the 49th canon of the Council in Trullo; M. Sjuzumov (*Učenyje zapiski Sverdlovskogo pedagogičeskogo instituta* 4 [1948] 90f) traced it to the leasing of temple allotments in antiquity; Beck (*Kirche* 136) said it originated with Iconoclasm. The earliest mention of the *charistikes typos* is in an act of Leo VI of 908 (*Prot.*, no.2.12); the main evidence comes from the 11th and 12th C.

The beneficiary was called *charistikarios* as well as PRONOETES, PROSTATES, and EPHOROS, all terms emphasizing his function as supervisor and not as full proprietor. The beneficiary was supposed to wield administrative power over the monastic lands without interfering in ecclesiastical affairs. The right of granting *charistikia* belonged to emperors, patriarchs, metropolitans, founders of monasteries (including peasants), and high-ranking state officials. While some scholars suggest that during the 11th C. and earlier *charistikion* and PRONOIA were synonymous, others distinguish the two types of grants by the obligation the grantee bore (with the *charistikion*, toward the object granted; with the *pronoia*, toward the grantor). Grants of *charistikion* provoked a serious controversy; JOHN IV (V) OXEITES censured the practice of giving monasteries to lay persons, while EUSTATHIOS OF THESSALONIKE argued that it freed monks from temporal concerns and troubles. *Charistikion* be-

came rare after 1204, though a synodal decision of 1317/18 deals with donations of monasteries *kata skopon tou epimeleias axiousthai* to clerics of the diocese of Attaleia (Hunger-Kresten, *PatrKP* 1, no.53.8).

LIT. S. Barnalides, *Ho thesmos tes charistikes (doreas) ton monasterion eis tous Byzantinous* (Thessalonike 1985). J.P. Thomas, "A Byzantine Ecclesiastical Reform Movement," *MedHum* n.s. 12 (1984) 1–16. Ahrweiler, *Structures*, pt.VII (1967), 1–27. P. Gautier, "Réquisitoire du patriarche Jean d'Antioche contre le charisticariat," *REB* 33 (1975) 77–132.
—M.B.

CHARITON (Χαρίτων), born in Aphrodisias; author of *Chaïreas and Kallirrhoe*, a ROMANCE in eight books written probably in the 2nd C. Chariton is thus the earliest of the extant Greek novelists, rather than the latest as was once thought. The novel is given an ostensibly historical background at the end of the Peloponnesian War (Kallirrhoe's father is the Sicilian general Hermokrates). Written in a clear straightforward style, it describes the meeting and marriage of the hero and heroine and the trials (false death, capture by tomb robbers, shipwrecks, etc.) that befall them after their separation and before they can be reunited. There is little evidence that the novel was widely read in the Greek Middle Ages, but the novelists of the 12th C. were clearly aware of Chariton's work, which influenced their choice of plot motifs.

ED. *Le Roman de Chairéas et Callirhoé*, ed. G. Molinié (Paris 1979), with Fr. tr. *Chariton's Chaïreas and Callirrhoe*, tr. W.E. Blake (Ann Arbor, Mich.—London 1939).

LIT. B.P. Reardon, "Theme, Structure and Narrative in Chariton," *YCS* 27 (1982) 1–27. Hunger, *Lit.* 2:123–25.
—E.M.J., M.J.J.

CHARITY. See ALMSGIVING; PHILANTHROPY.

CHARLEMAGNE (Κάρολος), Frankish ruler (768–814); born 742, died Aachen 28 Jan. 814. The son of Pippin III, Charlemagne became sole king of the Franks in 771. After conquering the LOMBARDS in 774 he came into direct conflict with Byz. interests in Italy. Ohnsorge (*Konstantinopel und der Okzident* [Darmstadt 1966] 1–28) interprets his assumption of the title PATRIKIOS in 775 as a statement of anti-Byz. intentions. Perhaps to counter the revolt of ELPIDIOS, in 781 Charlemagne sealed an alliance with Empress IRENE by engaging his daughter Rotrud to Irene's son CON-

STANTINE VI and inviting the *notarios* Elissaios to come to Aachen to teach her Byz. customs and Greek. The engagement ended in 787 after Charlemagne invaded Italy as far as Capua and apparently refused to send Rotrud to Constantinople, although Theophanes the Confessor (Theoph. 463.21–22) accuses Irene of breaking the engagement. The Frankish ruler further strained relations with Byz. by refusing to endorse the acts of the Second Council of NICAIA in 788 and later by adding his name to the LIBRI CAROLINI.

Charlemagne's destruction of the AVARS in 796 extended his territory into central Europe. In 797 he negotiated a treaty with Irene that affirmed his sway in ISTRIA and BENEVENTO and recognized Byz. rights in CROATIA. Relations were aggravated again by Pope Leo III's coronation of Charlemagne as *imperator Romanorum* on 25 Dec. 800, an act that reflected increasing Frankish appropriation of Byz. imperial language, symbols, and notions. Despite the coronation's long-term significance, Charlemagne did not intend to create a Western Roman Empire: the Frankish court argued that Irene's dethronement of Constantine VI had left the throne vacant and a woman in charge. The Byz. court considered the coronation an affront but not a threat to imperial unity (J. Arvites, *GOrThR* 20 [1975] 53–70; C. Tsirpanlis, *Byzantina* 6 [1974] 345–60). Charlemagne sought to eliminate the awkward situation by marrying Irene, but negotiations in Constantinople in late 802 were thwarted by AETIOS and the coup of Nikephoros I. In 810 Nikephoros sent an embassy to the Franks requesting naval help against Dalmatia; Charlemagne apparently agreed to return Byz. possessions along the Adriatic coast in exchange for recognition as emperor (ed. MGH, *Epist. Karolini aevi* 2:546–48). The treaty was finalized in 812 by Michael I: Byz. ambassadors in Aachen acclaimed Charlemagne *basileus* and began negotiations for a marriage between Michael's son Theophylaktos and a Frankish princess. The Byz. evidently considered Charlemagne as emperor solely of the Franks and after 812 emphasized the point by designating their ruler *basileus* of the RHOMAIOT.

LIT. P. Classen, *Karl der Grosse, das Papsttum und Byzanz* (Sigmaringen 1985). W. Ohnsorge, "Das Kaisertum der Eirene und die Kaiserkrönung Karls des Grossen," *Saeculum* 14 (1963) 221–47. G. Musca, "Le trattative matrimoniali fra Carlo Magno ed Irene di Bisanzio," *Annali della Facoltà*

di Lettere e Filosofia dell'Università di Bari 7 (1961) 83-127. A. Ostermann, *Karl der Grosse und das byzantinische Reich* (Luckau 1895). —P.A.H.

CHARLES I OF ANJOU, king of Naples and Sicily (1265-85); born Mar. 1226, died Foggia, Italy, 7 Jan. 1285. Brother of Louis IX of France, Charles was an ambitious ruler who sought to create a Mediterranean empire and restore Latin domination over Byz. territory. With papal support he defeated MANFRED of Sicily in 1266 at Benevento and gained control of Hohenstaufen possessions in southern Italy and Sicily. In 1267, by the Treaty of Viterbo, he joined BALDWIN II, WILLIAM II VILLEHARDOUIN of Achaia, and Pope Clement IV (1265-68) in an anti-Byz. coalition. In 1273 Charles married his daughter to Baldwin's son, Philip of Courtenay, titular Latin emperor of Constantinople. His plans for a Crusade against the Byz. capital were thwarted in 1274, however, by Michael VIII's agreement to the Union of Churches at the Council of Lyons (I. Dujčev, *Studi in memoria di p. Adiuto Putignani* [Taranto 1975] 111-25). After the accession of the pro-Angevin Pope Martin IV (1281-85), who excommunicated Michael, Charles again prepared for an expedition against Constantinople. In 1281 he cemented his alliance with Venice and Philip of Courtenay at Orvieto. Again his plans were foiled by the diplomacy of Michael, who helped instigate the rebellion of the SICILIAN VESPERS in 1282. Michael's ally, Peter III of Aragon (1276-85), drove Charles from Sicily. The final three years of the French ruler's life were absorbed in the attempt to regain his Sicilian kingdom, and he had to renounce his projected attack on Constantinople.

LIT. Geanakoplos, *Michael Pal.* 189-371. S. Runciman, *The Sicilian Vespers* (Cambridge 1958) 65-256, 282-86. E.G. Léonard, *Les Angevins de Naples* (Paris 1954) 13-160. *PLP*, no. 11232. —A.M.T.

CHARLES OF VALOIS, titular Latin emperor of Constantinople (1301-13); born 12 Mar. 1270, died 16 Dec. 1325. Son of Philip III of France and Isabelle of Aragon, Charles acquired titular rights to the LATIN EMPIRE of Constantinople through his marriage to Catherine of Courtenay in 1301. After serving as mediator in the Angevin-Sicilian war and bringing about the peace of Cal-

tabellotta (1302), Charles was free to pursue his ambitions for conquest of the Byz. Empire. Between 1306 and 1308, he negotiated alliances with the Venetians, Serbs, and Catalans and secured papal support for his "crusade." He was in a position to mount a formidable expedition against Constantinople. His plans were frustrated, however, by the need to remain in France to help his brother, Philip IV, and by the Catalans' neglect of their oath of fealty. After his wife's death (1307 or 1308) and the marriage of his daughter Catherine to PHILIP I OF TARANTO, prince of Achaia, in 1313, Charles renounced his ambitions in the East, allowing his son-in-law to press the family's imperial claims. Despite the significant threat that Charles posed for Byz., contemporary Byz. sources scarcely mention his plans for conquest.

LIT. Laiou, *CP & the Latins* 200-20, 233-42. E. Dade, *Versuche zur Wiedererrichtung der lateinischen Herrschaft in Konstantinopel* (Jena 1938) 72-78, 111-18, 136-58. J. Petit, *Charles de Valois (1270-1325)* (Paris 1900). —A.M.T.

CHARON (also Charos and Charontas), ancient ferryman of the dead across the River Styx or Acheron. He emerges in Byz. texts from the 10th C. onward as "night-thief of souls" (John Geometres, PG 106:949A; ACHILLEIS, ed. D.C. Hesselung, 85-87), an idea that may be biblical in origin (Mt 24:43, 1 Th 5:2, 2 Pet 3:10). He is also described as black and fierce, holding the cup of death and a long, curved sword with which to sever the thread of life, a motif that connects him with Moira, or Fate (G. Moravcsik, *SBN* 3 [1931] 45-68). From the 12th C. onward Charon is addressed directly, sometimes engaging in dialogue with the bereaved; as violent bridegroom of young girls, despoiling their beauty; as premature culler of grapes or reaper of corn, esp. in the learned romances of the 12th C. (Niketas EUGENEIANOS, *Drosilla and Charikles* 2.173-85). Thus he is not merely a continuation of the ancient ferryman but an active agent of death, more concretely personified in later Byz. texts than HADES or Thanatos, with clear delineation of attributes: black looks, cruelty, use of sword, premature reaper of marriage in death.

LIT. M.B. Alexiou, "Modern Greek Folklore and its Relation to the Past: The Evolution of Charos in Greek Tradition," in Vryonis, *Past* 221-36. D.C. Hesselung, *Charos* (Leiden-Leipzig 1897). Idem, "Charos Rediens," *BZ* 30 (1929/30) 186-91. R.H. Terpening, *Charon and the Crossing* (Lewisburg 1985). —M.B.A.

CHARPETE (Χάρπετε, now Harput), a major fortress of the Byz. frontier situated above the Arsianias River (Murad Su), east of the Euphrates. Under its ancient name Ziata, Charpete formed part of the territory conquered by Diocletian from the Persians in 297. It was briefly recaptured by the Persians in 359. At that time it was a *castellum* of sufficient size to serve as a refuge for the country population (Amm.Marc. 19:6.1). It became a major fortress (called Ziyād) under the Arabs, who controlled it from the 640s until 937, when Romanos I Lekapenos conquered the area and incorporated it into MESOPOTAMIA. Charpete was the base of the revolt of Bardas SKLEROS in 976 and remained Byz. until the battle of Mantzikert (1071). It had great strategic importance as the main stronghold of the district of ANZITENE; it was apparently never a bishopric. The site contains a powerful fortress that represents the reduction of the late antique settlement. Enlarged after the Byz. reconquest, it shows seven undated phases of construction.

LIT. J. Howard-Johnston, "Byzantine Anzitenne," in *Armies and Frontiers in Roman and Byzantine Anatolia*, ed. S. Mitchell (Oxford 1983) 249f, 260f. —C.F.

CHARPEZIKION (Χαρπεζίκιον), probably to be identified with Çarpizek Kalesi (*TIB* 2:86, n.260), center of a dwarf theme east of the Euphrates, first mentioned in 949 (Oikonomides, *Listes* 241f). It had an army of only 905 men and probably ceased to exist soon after the compilation of the *Taktikon of Escorial* (971-75), which lists the *strategos* of Charpezikion between those of Tephrike and Romanoupolis.

LIT. N. Oikonomides, "L'organisation de la frontière orientale de Byzance aux Xe et XIe siècles et le Taktikon de l'Escorial," 14 *CEB*, vol. 1 (Bucharest 1974) 285-302. —C.F.

CHARSIANEITES MONASTERY, founded in Constantinople in the mid-14th C. by John (monastic name: Job) Charsianeites (Χαρσιανεύτης), a supporter of JOHN VI KANTAKOUZENOS. It was dedicated to the Virgin Nea Peribleptos. Its precise location is unknown but was probably within the city walls. The monastery had close ties to Kantakouzenos, who granted it a chrysobull, and spent part of his retirement there as the monk Ioasaph. Two of the monastery's superiors be-

came patriarchs (NEILOS KERAMEUS and MATTHEW I); a third patriarch, GENNADIOS II SCHOLARIOS, took the habit there. Patr. Matthew composed a testament in 1407 that describes the origins of the monastery and includes a *typikon* as well as a *hypotyposis* drafted by his two predecessors as *hegoumenos*, Mark and Neilos. Makarios MAKRES wrote a description of an icon of the Nativity in the monastic church (H. Hunger, *JÖB* 7 [1958] 125-40).

SOURCES. H. Hunger, "Das Testament des Patriarchen Matthaios I. (1397-1410)," *BZ* 51 (1958) 288-309. I.M. Konidares, K.A. Manaphes, "Επίτελειος βουλης και διδασκαλία του οικουμενικού patriarchou Matthaiou A' (1397-1410)," *EEBS* 45 (1981-82) 462-515. Janin, *Eglises CP* 501f. —A.M.T.

CHARSIANON (Χαρσιανόν), fortress of Capadocia between Caesarea and the Halys, supposedly named for a general Charsios who fought the Persians under Justinian I. Its site has not been located. First mentioned in 638, it was captured by the Arabs in 730 and was the scene of considerable fighting during the next two centuries. The fortress was the center of a district of the same name that became a KLEISOURA in the early 9th C. and a separate theme, created from parts of BOUKELLARION, ARMENIAKON, and CAPADOCIA, after 863. According to Arab geographers, Charsianon had four fortresses and an army of 4,000 men; the salary of the *strategos* was 20 pounds of gold. Charsianon was a base of the landed aristocracy in the 10th C.; the Argyroi had their homes there and the MALEINOI their vast estates. In 1057, Charsianon supported the revolt of Isaac (I) Komnenos. The resettlement of GAGIK II there in 1045 and influx of Armenians led to conflicts with the local Greek nobility. Charsianon was lost to the Turks after the battle of Mantzikert in 1071.

LIT. D. Potache, "Le thème et la forteresse de Charsianon," in *Geographica Byzantina*, ed. H. Ahrweiler (Paris 1981) 107-17. I. Beldiceanu-Steinherr, "Charsianon Kastron/Qal'e-i Harsanös," *Byzantion* 51 (1981) 410-29. —C.F.

CHARTOPHYLAX (χαρτοφύλαξ), an ecclesiastical official of Constantinople and the provinces, usually a DEACON, attested from the 6th C., with archival and notarial duties that grew in extent and significance with the growth of synodal trans-

actions. By the 10th C. the *chartophylax* was head of the SEKRETON of the *chartophylakeion* and principal assistant to the patriarch. The importance of his functions far exceeded his rank in the hierarchy which, by the 11th C., was fourth among the EXOKATAKOILOI. In addition to archival and chancery-related duties he acted as intermediary between the patriarch and clergy, introducing clerics before the patriarch and conciliar gatherings, and receiving letters sent to the patriarch. He examined candidates to the priesthood and prepared testimonials for them (Rhalles-Potles, *Syntagma* 3:440–44; 2:587). The *chartophylax* also wrote EROTAPOKRISEIS on canonical matters and released them in his own name. He represented the patriarch and, in his absence, presided over the synod. A *prostagma* (1094) of Alexios I Komnenos, confirming the *chartophylax*'s right to this position, indicates that it was not a new privilege but a controversial one disputed by the bishops of the synod (Zepos, *Jus* 1:649f). Theodore BALSAMON asserted, in his treatise on the functions and rights of the PROTEKDIKOS and *chartophylax*, that the latter had judicial competence and presided over a court (Rhalles-Potles, *Syntagma* 4:530–41); this claim appears to have more to do with Balsamon's need to bolster the office that he held than with the actual functions of the *chartophylax*. From the reign of Andronikos I, *megas* was added to the title of *chartophylax*.

Some monasteries included among their officials a *chartophylax* or *chartophylakissa*, a monk or nun responsible for the security and conservation of monastic records, and keeping track of borrowed documents.

LIT. Darrouzès, *Offikia* 334–53, 508–25. Meester, *De monachico statu* 284f. —R.J.M.

CHARTOULARIOS (χαρτουλάριος, from *χάρτης*, official document), a generic term designating subaltern officials in various bureaus. Late Roman *chartoularioi* were known from 326 in the chanceries of the PRAETORIAN PREFECT, MAGISTER MILITUM, etc. (O. Seeck, *RE* 3 [1899] 2193). The first known *chartoularios* of the “divine *logothesion*” was mentioned in the 7th-C. *Miracula* of St. ARTEMIOS (ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, 23.29). In the 9th–10th C. *chartoularioi* were functionaries with fiscal and archival duties in both central and provincial administration, such as the *chartoularioi* of the

GENIKON, STRATIOTIKON, and DROMOS. Similar functions in the ecclesiastical hierarchy were performed by the CHARTOPHYLAX, and the two terms could be confused (Darrouzès, *Offikia* 20); the seal of a *chartophylax* of the *genikon* (Laurent, *Corpus* 2, no.358) is also known. A *chartoularios* could be the head of an entire *sekreton*, such as *chartoularios* of the *sakella* (see SAKELLION) or VESTIARION. According to seals, the *chartoularioi* of the *genikon* and *stratitikon* acquired the epithet *megas* from the end of the 10th C. *Chartoularioi* could be commanders on the battlefield (Dennis, *Military Treatises* 252.138); Theophanes (Theoph. 398.13–14) relates that Leo III appointed “his personal *chartoularios*” Paul as *strategos* of Sicily. In the 12th C. some *chartoularioi* (e.g., Theodore Choumnos) exercised military functions. From the 13th C. onward, the *megas chartoularios* was a high-ranking courtier whose duty, like that of the PROTOSTRATOR, was to lead the horse of the emperor. I. Medvedev (*PSb* 23 [1971] 63–67) rejected B. Pančenko's hypothesis concerning the existence of a guild of *chartoularioi*.

LIT. Guiland, *Titres*, pt.XVIII (1971), 405–26. Bury, *Adm. System* 83. —A.K.

CHARTRES NOTATION. See NEUMATA.

CHEESE (τυρός), an important food source, mentioned along with wine, olive oil, beans, and bread as a major component of the DIET (*Lavra* 1, no.27.19–21); it was commonly added as a relish (*prosphagion*) to bread. The GEOPONIKA (bk.18:19) gives a recipe for making cheese and says that the best type was made from GOAT milk. The DIEGESIS TON TETRAPODON ZOON praises cheese made from the milk of water buffalo. Some cheeses were pungent and used as appetizers with wine. The Vlachs were famous as cheese makers, providing the monks of Mt. Athos with their product. Cheese could be used for payment of rent in kind: thus, in 1382, the monastery of Nea Petra on Mt. Athos received from revenues in Lemnos 16 *modia politika* of grain, 4 *modia politika* of legumes, and 3 *kantaria* (a measure of approximately 40–48 kg) of cheese (*Dionys.* no.5.11–12). Imperial privileges exempted various monasteries from mandatory sales of grain, wine, meat, cheese, “and all other kinds of food” (e.g., *Patmou Engrapha* 1, no. 6.53–

54), thus enumerating cheese among the most basic foodstuffs.

LIT. Koukoules, *Bios* 5:31–35.

—A.K., J.W.N.

CHEILAS (Χειλάς), also Prinkips Cheilas, a family of Peloponnesian origin, known from the 13th–15th C. The Cheilades produced several ecclesiastical leaders and intellectuals: Theodosios Prinkips Cheilas was sent by Michael VIII as envoy to the Mongol khan Hülegü; ca.1278–83 he was patriarch of Antioch. His contemporary John Cheilas, metropolitan of Ephesus, wrote against the ARSENITES and Patr. GREGORY II OF CYPRUS; the collection of letters in Paris, B.N. gr. 2022, was erroneously ascribed to John. John's brother Constantine was a military judge (*krites tou phos-satou*) in 1293–94; two of his seals have survived (Laurent, *Corpus* 2, nos. 1193–94). Nikephoros Prinkips Cheilas, a rhetorician of the first half of the 15th C., wrote a monody on the death of Kleope Malatesta (died 1433), spouse of the *despotes* THEODORE II PALAIOLOGOS, and was closely connected with many intellectuals of his time, such as John EUGENIKOS, BESSARION, PLETHON, and GENNADIOS II SCHOLARIOS.

LIT. I. Bogiatzides, “Hai prinkipes Cheilades tes Lak-daimonos,” *NE* 19 (1925) 192–209. J. Gouillard, “Après le schisme arsénite: La correspondance inédite du Pseudo-Jean Chilas,” *BSHAcRoum* 25 (1944) 174–211. —A.K.

CHEIROTHESIA (χειροθεσία), “the laying on of hands,” esp. by the bishop in the rite of ordination. Initially it referred specifically to the central part of the ordination process—the imposition of hands—rather than to the sacrament of ordination proper and the conferring of ecclesiastical dignity. Still, this distinction was not always maintained. Indeed the term became interchangeable with CHEIROTONIA and the whole liturgical act of ordination (cf. NICAEA I, canon 19; Council of CHALCEDON, canon 15). By the 8th C., however, *cheirothesia* came to be used for the ecclesiastical ceremony conferring minor orders of SUBDEACON, ANAGNOSTES, etc., through the sign of the Cross (*sphragis*), while *cheirotomia* was reserved for the ordination of the major orders of DEACON, PRIEST, and BISHOP. According to SYMEON of Thessalonike (PG 155:361D), the first took place “away from the altar” (*exo tou bematos*), whereas the second was performed “at the altar” (*entos tou bema-*

tos). In general, of course, *cheirothesia* was also a common element in a number of other rites, such as baptism, in which the laying on of the hands in benediction took place. —A.P.

CHEIROTONIA (χειροτονία). In its primitive etymological sense the term, meaning “stretching forth the hands,” signified primarily appointment or election to office. In Christian canonical and sacramental usage, the word came to designate the liturgical rite by which a candidate was ordained into one of the three major orders of the Christian CLERGY. Specifically, the sacrament included both the appointment and the laying on of the bishop's hands on the ordinand in the rite of CHEIROTHESIA. Zonaras described *cheirotomia* as the liturgical act in which the invocation of the Holy Spirit by the bishop is accompanied by the laying on of hands on the candidate for ordination (PG 137:37A; cf. John Chrysostom, PG 60:116.15–20). The same canonist was nevertheless aware of the ancient distinction between simple nomination and the actual rite of consecration, for he observes that the election (*psephos*) eventually came to be called ordination (*cheirotomia*) by the church fathers (cf. C. Vogel, *Irénikon* 45 [1972] 7). The bishop alone had the right to perform the ceremony.

LIT. C.H. Turner, “Cheirotomia, Cheirothesia. Epithesis Cheiron (and the Accompanying Verbs),” *JThSt* 24 (1923) 496–504. J. Coppens, *L'imposition des mains et les rites connexes dans le Nouveau Testament et dans l'église ancienne: Étude de théologie positive* (Paris 1925). M.A. Siotis, *Die klassische und die christliche Cheirotomie in ihrem Verhältnis* (Athens 1951). —A.P.

CHELANDION (χελάνδιον) was sometimes used synonymously with DROMON to refer to oar- and sail-powered warships of varying sizes and speeds (A. Dain, *Naumachica* [Paris 1943] 66), but other sources indicate that *chelandion* generally meant a transport ship, such as the type used by Constantine V to ferry horses to Bulgaria in 762 (Theoph. 432.29–433.1) or by Basil II to transport men and supplies during his siege of Tripolis in 999 (Yahyā of Antioch, PO 23 [1932] 459). Another term, *pamphylos*, refers to round-hulled vessels that served to carry war machines and horses; smaller transport ships were called *sagenai*, *sak-tourai*, and *katenai*, names that indicate an Arabic origin.

LIT. Ahrweiler, *Mer* 410–14. R.H. Dolley, "The Warships of the Later Roman Empire," *JRS* 38 (1948) 47–53. —E.M., A.K.

CHEMISTRY. See **ALCHEMY**.

CHENOLAKKOS MONASTERY, a Bithynian monastery of uncertain location. Chenolakkos (Χηνόλακκος, "Goose Pond") was founded in the early 8th C. by a St. Stephen, who is known only from his liturgical notice in the *Synaxarion of Constantinople* for 14 Jan. (*Synax.CP*, 392–94). He established the monastery at Chenolakkos, on land given him by Patr. GERMANOS I. The monks of Chenolakkos supported the restoration of images by the Second Council of NICAIA in 787; the monk Thomas signed the *Horos* (decree) as a delegate of the *hegoumenos* John.

In the 9th C. Chenolakkos is known as the monastery where the iconodule METHODIOS, the future patriarch, first adopted the habit and worked as a scribe. The monastery disappears from the sources between the 10th and 12th C.; it reappears in the second half of the 13th C. as an insignificant *metochion* of the Constantinopolitan monastery of St. Demetrios of the Palaiologoi, housing only two monks.

LIT. Janin, *Églises centres* 189f.

—A.M.T.

CHERNIBOXESTON (χερνιβόξεστον, from χερνιβεῖον + ἔξεστης "wash basin [and] ewer"), term attested from the 6th C. in papyri and in an inscription of 582–602 on a silver vessel, for a washing set, either domestic or liturgical. The basin often took the form of a long-handled TRULLA, while the ewer was a handled jug. In a series of long-handled pans with dated SILVER STAMPS, the three latest (of 582–651) apparently still have matching ewers (Dodd, *Byz. Silver Stamps*, nos. 30–31, 48–49, 75, 77). While none of the complete sets displays Christian motifs, other ewers with a church dedication (KAPER KORAON TREASURE) or New Testament iconography may bear witness to the early ecclesiastical use of washing sets mentioned in the EUCHOLOGION and described in the LIBER PONTIFICALIS by the Latin terms *urceus* and *agmanile*. In the 10th C. Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos described the use

of *cherniboxesta* decorated in low relief and of "precious towels" for the washing of hands during palace ceremonies (*De cer.* 586.3–5).

LIT. Mango, *Silver* 106f.

—M.M.M.

CHEROUBIKON (χερουβικόν), the Cherubic Hymn, important TROPARION that accompanies the transfer of gifts in the GREAT ENTRANCE and introduces the eucharistic half of the LITURGY with its references to the preanaphoral dialogue ("let us lay aside all worldly care"), TRISAGION ("sing the thrice-holy hymn"), and COMMUNION ("to receive the King of All"). Its name derives from its opening words, in which the singers are assimilated to the CHERUBIM around the throne of God. The other Great Entrance hymns that replace this hymn in the Liturgy of Basil on Holy Thursday (*Tou deipnou*), Holy Saturday (*Sigesato pasa sarx*), and at PRESANCTIFIED (*Nun hai dynameis*) are by extension also called *cheroubika*. The *cheroubikon* and *Tou deipnou* were introduced under Justin II in 573–74 (Cedr. 1:685.3–4), perhaps replacing earlier psalmody (Ps 23 with alleluia). The Holy Saturday chant comes from the Jerusalem Liturgy of James; it appears in Constantinople by the 11th–12th C. but is only an optional replacement for the *cheroubikon* until the end of Byz.

LIT. Taft, *Great Entrance* 53–118.

—R.F.T.

CHERSON (Χερσών), a Greek colony in the immediate vicinity of modern Sebastopol on the Crimean peninsula, was from the 2nd C. a part of Roman Lower MOESIA. Christianity was firmly established there by the beginning of the 4th C. The altar of a cruciform church discovered in 1897 contained a silver reliquary, with relics intact, bearing a monogram, bust, and control stamps of Justinian I (*Iskusstvo Vizantii* 1, no. 151). Cherson was the most significant city of CRIMEA in the 5th–6th C.; excavations have shown, however, that large-scale production of salted fish and wine stopped during this period. The economic situation in Cherson in the 7th–8th C. is still disputed: Jakobson (*infra*) stresses decline and desertion, whereas A. Romančuk (in *From Late Antiquity to Early Byzantium* [Prague 1985] 123–35) emphasizes the continuity of urban life. At this time Cherson was a place of exile for Pope MARTIN I and Emp. Justinian II. In the 8th C. it was under

the rule of a Khazar governor (*tudun*). According to a later legend, it offered shelter to Iconodule refugees from Byz.

Byz. rule was reestablished by Emp. Theophilos who, ca. 832, created the theme of Klimata (see KLIMA). From the 10th to the 12th C. Cherson enjoyed great prosperity. The minting of autonomous coins of municipal character was resumed by Michael III (*DOC* 3.1:91f) at this time, and abundant seals survive of Byz. officials in Cherson, primarily those of *strategoi* and *kommerkiarioi*. The colony assumed pivotal importance in relations between Byz. and the Khazars (the starting point for the missionary activity of CONSTANTINE THE PHILOSOPHER), Pechenegs, and Kievan Rus'. It played an essential role in the conversion of Kievan Rus' in 988/9: according to a legend, VLADIMIR I of Kiev was baptized in Cherson. Many inscriptions and graffiti (both Greek and Latin) have been recovered in Cherson through archaeological excavations.

After 1204 Cherson accepted the suzerainty of Trebizond. It began to lose its Greek character, mainly because of Alan impact and economic ties to the northern Caucasus and the Near East. By the end of the 14th C. it was destroyed by the armies of the Golden Horde.

LIT. A. Jakobson, *Rannesrednekovyj Chersones* (Moscow-Leningrad 1959). O. Dombrov's'kyj, "Srednekovyj Chersones," in *Archeologija Ukraïns'koj SSR* 3 (Kiev 1986) 535–48. J. Smedley, "Archaeology and the History of Cherson," *ArchPont* 35 (1978) 172–92. I. Sokolova, *Monety i pečati vizantijskogo Chersona* (Leningrad 1983). —O.P., A.C.

CHERUBIM (χερουβ(ε)ίμ), celestial beings who held an important place in the Old Testament as supporters of God; God was enthroned upon them and they moved his chariot. Pseudo-Dionysios the Areopagite describes them as the second order of the first triad of heavenly beings, between the SERAPHIM and the thrones (*thronoi*), another order of angels. In contrast, Gregory of Nyssa (PG 45:348A) eliminates the distinction between cherubim and *thronoi*, since God was enthroned upon the cherubim. Greek authors represented the cherubim as fiery, with four faces and many eyes (*polyommata*), although Origen warned against literal interpretation of these features. Their usual functions included driving the heavenly chariot, praising God, defending the church, and assisting at the Last Judgment, but

pseudo-Dionysios emphasized the spiritual qualities of the cherubim—their ability to receive the gift of light, to contemplate the primordial might of thearchic splendor, and to see and comprehend God (*Celestial Hierarchy* 7.1:32–34). Accordingly, the name *cherubim* was interpreted as meaning "full knowledge" (John Chrysostom, PG 48:724.55), even though they were unable to comprehend God as he comprehended himself.

Images of two cherubim were placed on the Ark of the Covenant (Ex 25:18–22) and in the Temple of Solomon (1 Kgs 6:23–29). The *Chronicon paschale* (*Chron. Pasch.* 462.9–13) states that the latter were seized by the Roman emperor Titus and affixed by Vespasian to the gates of Antioch. These Old Testament images of cherubim were cited by John of Damascus and others in polemics against the Iconoclasts: although made by human hands, they were nonetheless the object of divine cult and could thus be used to justify the Christian veneration of icons.

The cherubim were first depicted as regular ANGELS; later, under the combined influence of Ezekiel's visions (Ez 1:4–25, 10:1–22) and of Revelations 4:6–9, they took the form of composite creatures having at least four "many-eyed" wings, the top pair usually crossed, with a human face in the very center of the wings, and the heads of the four apocalyptic beasts at the sides (man and ox to the left, lion and eagle to the right; see EVANGELIST SYMBOLS). Their feet are human but winged, and they may have a pair of hands coming out the sides, to hold a sword or spear. The fiery wheels of Ezekiel's vision are often included either directly below them or nearby. The cherubim were sometimes given six wings, a feature borrowed from Revelations or from the closely related seraphim.

Cherubim appear in the pendentives of churches to support visually the image of the cross or of Christ Pantokrator in the dome (e.g., 9th-C. mosaics in Hagia Sophia, Constantinople); they also guard the gates of Paradise (e.g., in OCTATEUCH illustration [Gen 3:24] or in scenes of the LAST JUDGMENT). On the LIMBURG AN-DER-LAHN RELIQUARY they are labeled *archai*. Their liturgical connection (the CHEROUBIKON hymn describes how they support the throne of God) led to their being depicted on RHIPIDIA.

LIT. O. Wulff, *Cherubim, Throne und Seraphim* (Leipzig 1894). D. Pallas, "Eine Differenzierung unter den

himmlischen Ordnungen," *BZ* 64 (1971) 55–60. Idem, *RBK* 3:56–78. —A.K., N.P.Š.

CHESS (ζατρίκιον), a game of Eastern origin, unknown in the later Roman Empire. The date of its penetration into Byz. is not established. When Anna Komnene (An.Komn. 3:71.11–16) described Alexios I playing chess with some of his relatives, she added that the game "came to us from the Assyrians." A 15th-C. historian (Douk. 99.17–18) depicts TIMUR as playing *zatrikion* with his son; by that time, the game was also known among the Latins, under the name of *skakon*. The DIEGESIS TON TETRAPODON ZOON (vv. 918–27) distinguishes between *skakoi*, *zatrikia*, and *tablia*, and states that bishops, *archontes*, and merchants played these games using pieces of gold and silver; *skakoi* and *tablia*, according to the same text (vv. 615–21), were made also of bull's horn. Wood and bone pieces were used as well. The game of chess was interpreted in the so-called ONEIROKRITIKON of Patr. Germanos I (F. Drexl, *Laographia* 7 [1923] 437.70) as foretelling a fight. More explicit is the *Oneirokritikon* of ACHMET BEN SIRIN (pp. 192.3–193.9): victory at *zatrikion* foreshadowed profit, good luck, or military success.

LIT. Koukoules, *Bios* 1:220f. B. Janovski, "Kūm rannata istorija na šachmata u nas," *IstPreg* 20 (1964) no.5, 92–101. —Ap.K., A.K.

CHILANDAR. See HILANDAR MONASTERY.

CHILDHOOD. The Greek terms for child, *teknon* (τὸ τέκνον) and *pais* (ὁ or ἡ παῖς), were applied to boys and girls alike, while *pais* could also designate a slave, and *teknon* had a connotation of spiritual relationship. Even though some Byz. practiced ABORTION and CONTRACEPTION, procreation was considered the primary goal of a married couple and INFERTILITY was viewed as a disaster; the birth of a child, esp. a boy (Prodromos, *Historische Gedichte*, ed. W. Hörandner, no.44.1–7), was a cause for rejoicing and celebration. The number of children varied considerably; Laiou (*Peasantry* 310) calculates that the household coefficient in the domain of Iveron in the first half of the 14th C. was 2.9 to 4.9 and in that of Lavra 4.1 to 4.9.

The infant (*brepheos*, in *praktika* also called *pais hypomazios*—*Esphig.*, no.7.3–4) was weaned at about

two or three years of age. Babies were swaddled at birth and nursed either by their mother or a wet-nurse; the attitude of Byz. society toward wet-nursing was equivocal (J. Beaucamp, *JÖB* 32.2 [1982] 546–59). Breastfeeding was depicted in the image of the Virgin Galaktotrophousa and of some saintly children shown suckling; hagiography tells of some future saints who as infants refused to suckle on fastdays. Infant mortality was high, the case of Maria the Younger probably being typical: she bore four children of whom two died in infancy. Children were esp. susceptible to disease after weaning (D. and P. Brothwell, *Food in Antiquity* [London 1969] 186–89).

Formal EDUCATION began at age six or seven, either at SCHOOL (for boys) or with a tutor or literate parents; rote memorization, esp. of the Psalms, was emphasized. Only a small number of children went on to secondary schooling. Despite John Chrysostom's warnings against indulgence (*Sur la vaine gloire*, ed. A.-M. Malingrey [Paris 1972] 96.239–100.266, 196.1058–1064), children, even boys, wore gold JEWELRY and gems (e.g., the gold belt, bracelet, and necklace renounced by THEODORE OF SYKEON, *Vita*, ch.12). Children played with TOYS AND GAMES and pets.

Parents were prohibited from selling or abandoning their children, although Constantine I, in a law of 329, permitted the sale of children "in the case of extreme poverty" (*Cod. Just.* IV 34.2) with the right of a later repurchase. Some children were abandoned, often at the thresholds of churches or houses of the wealthy. Some orphans, even of substance, faced problems: the vita of LAZAROS OF MT. GALESIOS (AASS, Nov. 3:529D) describes how their neighbors expelled orphans from their father's house and seized their belongings. ORPHANAGES directed by the state and church tried to alleviate the problems of orphans and abandoned children.

Even though the concept of *patria potestas* (the father's rights over his children) diminished during the Roman Empire, Byz. parents retained substantial rights (often customary) with regard to their sons and daughters: parents could inflict corporal punishment on their children, albeit some moralists (like Kekaumenos) criticized whipping; they could castrate boys to make them EUNUCHS (Rudakov, *Kul'tura* 187); they used children's labor in the household (esp. as shepherds and swineherds), and sent them out to work as ap-

prentices, servants, and prostitutes, retaining their earnings. Parents controlled their children's future by arranging their BETROTHAL and MARRIAGE. After reaching adulthood children usually resided outside the parents' household, but sometimes (at least, in the case of peasant families) remained in their parents' homes after their own marriage and the birth of first grandchildren. Conflicts between fathers and sons as described in hagiography (A. Kazhdan, *Byzantion* 54 [1984] 188–90) refer primarily to the attempts of children to leave the family and take monastic vows. Despite the parental authority over children, Byz. literature reveals the affection of both parents and grandparents for their offspring and of children for their mothers and fathers. Thus Psellos was very fond of both his mother and of his daughter who died in childhood (G. Vergari, *Studi di filologia bizantina*, vol. 3 [Catania 1985] 69–76), and Anna Komnene remained devoted to her parents, although secretly critical of her nephew, Manuel I.

The principle of Roman law that considered children as legally subordinate to the father (*personae alieni iuris*, Gr. *hypexousioi*) was accepted by the law of Justinian, albeit with some modification, and preserved in the terminology of the *Ecloga*. The *Procheiron* still required the formal emancipation of the son from his father's power (Zachariä, *Geschichte* 113, n.327), but Leo VI, in novel 25 (ed. P. Noailles, A. Dain, pp. 99.26–101.5), ruled that the son who established an independent household should be granted legal independence (*autexousion*) regardless of any formal procedure of emancipation; the child also had full rights to objects received from his/her mother or a third person. Byz. law retained the Roman principle of equal division of inheritance between the children.

There was no transitional period from childhood to maturity corresponding to the *ephebeia* (youth) of antiquity, even though the term, in a nontechnical meaning, appears in some authors (e.g., SYNESIOS, ed. N. Terzaghi, 2:289.20). Legally adulthood began at 25, but in fact the borderline between childhood and maturity was not sharply defined: marriage, taking monastic vows (after the 7th C. the minimum age for entry into a monastery was ten years), entering military or civil service, the opening of one's own workshop meant the end of childhood. In reality it occurred about the age of 16 or 18, although precocious

cases are known, mostly in a legendary form, as in the epic of DIGENES AKRITAS or in saints' Lives.

Images of the PRESENTATION OF THE VIRGIN and cycles depicting her infancy invariably show the child as a miniature adult; the emphasis on the youthfulness of CHRIST Emmanuel is almost unique in iconography.

LIT. Koukoules, *Bios* 1.1:1–184. Patlagean, *Structure*, pt.X (1973), 85–93. H. Antoniadis-Bibicou, "Quelques notes sur l'enfant de la moyenne époque byzantine (du VI^e au XII^e siècle)," *Annales DH* (1973) 77–84. A. Moffatt, "The Byzantine Child," *Social Research* 53 (1986) 705–23. P. Leloir, "Attitudes des pères du désert vis-à-vis des jeunes," *L'enfant dans les civilisations orientales* (Leuven 1980) 145–52. P. Schreiner, "Eine Obituarnotiz über eine Frühgeburt," *JÖB* 39 (1989) 209–16. —J.H., A.K., A.C.

CHILIA (Κελλία, Κελλίων, mod. Kiliya), city and port at the northernmost mouth of the Danube 50 km northeast of Ismail. Probably ceded, with nearby Vicina, to Michael VIII by the Mongols after 1261, it returned to Mongol control later in the century. In the early 14th C. it belonged to the Second Bulgarian Empire and was a port of call for Venetian ships trading with Bulgaria. Later in the century, as Vicina declined and Genoa ousted Venice from the Black Sea trade, Genoese influence grew, and a Genoese colony and garrison were established in Chilia. After 1370 it seems to have passed to the control of the princes of Moldavia; in the 15th C. the Wallachian port of Braila eclipsed Chilia, and in 1484 the Ottoman Turks captured it. Its principal exports were grain, wax, honey, and slaves. Emp. JOHN VIII PALAIOLOGOS passed through Chilia on his return journey from Italy and Hungary in 1428. It is doubtful whether the Byzantine toponym *Chele* ever referred to Chilia. Some scholars identify Chilia with LYKOSTOMION.

LIT. N. Iorga, *Studii istorice asupra Chilie și Cetății-Albe* (Bucharest 1899). N. Bănescu, "Chilia (Licostomo) und das bithynische *Chele*," *BZ* 28 (1928) 68–72. Balard, *Romanie génoise* 1:143–50. S. Baraschi, "Les sources byzantines et la localisation de la cité de Kilia (XII^e–XIII^e siècles)," *RESEE* 19 (1981) 473–84. —R.B.

CHILIAS (χιλιάς, pl. χιλιάδες), a measure of calculation, indicating a quantity of one thousand units.

1. In agriculture, a *chilias* is a measure of vineyards indicating 1,000 vines. Depending on the quality of the soil, the region, and the customs of

viticulture, the area of 1 *chilias* ranged between 1 and nearly 4 MODIOI [= approx. 878 to 3,512 sq.m]. According to the metrological sources, in the Balkans a *chilias* could be an area of 1,000 sq. ORGYIAI.

2. As a measure of fields, 1 *chilias* is equal to 1,000 modioi.

3. When measuring the tonnage of ships, *chilias* indicates a capacity of 1,000 *thalassioi modioi*.

4. In the trade of the Levant, esp. among the Italians, the *chilias* (It. *migliaio*) is a quantity of 1,000 pounds (LITRAI, *libbre*) and differs according to the pound used. *Migliaio* can also, however, be a larger measure of calculation for oil, for example, of 646 liters in Venice or 713 liters in Negroponte.

LIT. Schilbach, *Metrologie* 83–89, 117.

—E. Sch.

CHINA. The enormous distance between Byz. and China makes direct contact between the two doubtful. Byz. coins and precious objects, however, penetrated to China. A golden necklace, part of it possibly Byz., was found in the tomb of Princess Li Jingxun (600–08; see A. Kiss, *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 38 [1984] 33–40), and Chinese archaeologists have found various Byz. coins of the 6th and the first half of the 7th C. If Shiao Nai (*VizVrem* 21 [1962] 178–82) is correct and a solidus of Justin II was found in a tomb dated between 595 and 599, then coins could move from Byz. to China in less than 20 years. The discovery of Sasanian silver dirhems in the same localities suggests that they came through the intermediary of the Persian Empire. In light of these discoveries, the romancelike legend, preserved by Prokopios of Caesarea and THEOPHANES OF BYZANTIUM, about smuggling the silkworm (see SILK) from the land of Serinda becomes less incredible, although the location of Serinda remains questionable.

Chinese reports about Da Qin and its apparent successor Fulin have been identified as referring to the Roman Empire and Byz., although some scholars consider them descriptions of a Taoist utopia (K. Shiratori, *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko* 15 [1956] 25–72). The chronicle of the Tang period (618–907) depicts the capital of Fulin as having a large gate ornamented with gold; a palace adorned with gold, fragrant wood, and ivory; and an AUTOMATON

indicating the hours. Twelve ministers administer the country, the emperor has a crown resembling a bird with wings, and the people use chariots and wear garish apparel (H. Wada, 14 *CEB* [Bucharest 1975] 2:445–50). This picture is perhaps a distorted reflection of Byz. reality.

NESTORIAN monks reached China in 635 and the Nestorian communities there were known to 13th-C. western European travelers; the history of these communities between the late 9th and the 12th C. is obscure. Nestorian monks from China occasionally visited the West. In 1278 two Nestorians, Patr. YABH ALLĀHA III and Sauma, set out from Beijing for Jerusalem. Sauma arrived at Constantinople where Andronikos II received him; in 1287 he reached Naples, then visited France and England, negotiated with Pope Nicholas IV and by 1291 returned to China (*The Monks of Kūblāi Khan, Emperor of China*, tr. E.A. Wallis Budge [London 1928]).

LIT. A.C. Moule, *Nestorians in China* (London 1940). P. Saeki, *The Nestorian Documents and Relics in China*² (Tokyo 1951). H. Wada, *Prokops Rätselwort Serinda und die Verpflanzung des Seidenbaus von China nach dem Oströmischen Reich* (Cologne 1970). H. Miyakawa, A. Kollautz, "Ein Dokument zum Fernhandel zwischen Byzanz und China zur Zeit Theophylakts," *BZ* 77 (1984) 6–19. Eidem, "Das Grab der Prinzessin Ch'ih-ti-lien, einer Enkelin des Anagaios (Anakuei der Jou-jan)," *BZ* 79 (1986) 296–301.

—D.W.J., A.K.

CHIONIADDES, GREGORY, astronomer, physician, teacher, and bishop; born Constantinople between 1240 and 1250, died Trebizond ca. 1320; baptismal name George. After becoming a monk, Chioniades (Χιονιάδης) went from Constantinople to Trebizond, where he probably composed his notes on John of Damascus's *Dialectics* and *On the Orthodox Faith*. In the early 1290s he traveled on to the court of the Īl-Khāns at Tabrīz, where he began studying ASTRONOMY under Shams Bukhārī. Between Nov. 1295 and Nov. 1296 Shams dictated to him in Persian the rules for using the 'Alā'ī Tables of al-Fahhad, which Chioniades rendered into barbaric Greek as the *Persian Astronomical Composition*. The conventionally titled *Revised Canons*, which he wrote in the spring and fall of 1296 in order to express some of these rules in a better style, indicate that he was then already becoming familiar with the shorter Arabic version of al-Khāzinī's *Sanjarī Tables* and with the Persian Īl-Khānī Tables of al-Ṭūsī, both of which he sub-

sequently translated into Greek. In this period he also translated various shorter pieces, including a treatise on the ASTROLABE written by Shams and an introduction to astronomy that is illustrated by diagrams of a Ṭūsī couple. Knowledge of the Ṭūsī couple eventually reached the West through a MS of Chioniades' works, and perhaps by other routes as well; it was employed by Copernicus in his planetary models (N. Swerdlow, O. Neugebauer, *Mathematical Astronomy in Copernicus's De revolutionibus*, pt. 1 [New York 1984] 47f).

Chioniades was back in Trebizond by Sept. 1301 and in Constantinople by Apr. 1302. In Constantinople he trained students in Persian astronomy and medicine. It was clearly in this period that he translated into Greek a short Persian treatise on antidotes and, being suspected of heresy for his long residence among the Persians and for his interest in astrology, wrote a confession of faith (ed. L.G. Westerink, *REB* 38 [1980] 233–45). He was appointed bishop of Tabrīz in 1305, at which time he changed his name to Gregory. He remained at his post in Tabrīz for at least five years and then retired as a monk to Trebizond. At his death he left part of his library to Constantine Loukites.

ED. *The Astronomical Works of Gregory Chioniades*, ed. D. Pingree, 3 vols. in 4 pts. (Amsterdam 1985–86). I.V. Papadopoulos, "Gregoriou Chioniadou tou astronomou Epistolai," *EEPhSPTh* 1 (1927) 151–205.

LIT. Pingree, "Chioniades & Astronomy." Idem, "In Defense of Gregory Chioniades," *AIHS* 35 (1985) 436–38.

—D.P.

CHIOS (Χίος), island in the eastern Aegean Sea, near the coast of Asia Minor, in late antiquity part of the province of the Islands. Excavations have revealed building activity through the 6th C. Thus, the third construction phase of the Basilica of St. Isidore is assigned to the mid-6th C. (C.I. Pennas in *Chios*, ed. J. Boardman [Oxford 1986] 332). Late Roman buildings at Pendakas were abandoned by the beginning of the 7th C. when the inhabitants probably retired to the relative security of the fortress south of the harbor (J. Boardman, *BSA* 53–54 [1958–59] 303). Emborio continued to be inhabited into the 7th C. (J. Boardman, *Greek Emborio* [London 1967]); the fortress seems to have been destroyed by fire soon after 660 (M. Hood, J. Boardman, *JHS* 75 supp. [1955] 23).

Archaeological evidence from the following centuries is obscure.

Chios was included in the theme of the AEGEAN SEA and ruled in the 9th C. by an *archon* (Laurent, *Coll. Orghidan*, no. 204); some seals indicate the role of Chios as a customs station: in 690/1 a certain George was general *kommerkiarios* of the combined *apothēke* of Asia, Chios, and Lesbos (Zacos, *Seals* 1, no. 168); in the 9th C. a *dioiketes* of Samos and Chios (no. 2216) is known. In the 11th C. Chios stood under the command of its own *strategos* distinct from that of Samos (Skyl. 373.12–13).

Chios was attacked by TZACHAS ca. 1083 and was later a Byz. base against him. The island was sacked by the Venetians in retaliation for the Latin massacre of 1171, and in 1204 it was granted to Baldwin of Flanders; it passed effectively to the Genoese in 1261 as a result of the Treaty of Nymphaion. From 1304 to 1329 Chios was occupied by the ZACCARIA, from 1329 to 1346 governed by a Greek administrator in the name of the emperor; on 15 June 1346 the Genoese fleet besieged Chios and in eight days conquered the entire island. Kantakouzenos relates that the inhabitants resisted the Genoese, and Tzybos, a former governor of the island, attacked them but was killed; a later chronicle described a plot organized by the local metropolitan who wanted to hand Chios over to the emperor but failed. In a chrysobull of 1355 (*Reg* 5, no. 3042) John V Palaiologos considered Chios a Genoese possession (the similar privilege of 1367 [*Reg* 5, no. 3117] is probably a forgery).

A Genoese record of 1395 lists 2,142 Greek households on Chios (about 10,000 people). The land belonged to secular nobles (Schilizzi, Coresi, etc.) and to the monastery of NEA MONE that in the 14th C. complained of the shortage of grain and the small number of *douloparoikoi*. The Genoese administration abolished the ANGAREIAI of peasants and replaced them with the KAPNIKON of two hyperpera; indirect taxes were also increased. Chios remained in Genoese hands until 1556, when it fell to the Turks. Chios was a suffragan bishopric of Rhodes and from the 14th C. a metropolis without suffragans.

Aside from Nea Mone, an imperial foundation of the 11th C., Chios preserves the remains of many Byz. buildings and sites. The Church of the Panagia Krina is a smaller copy of the *katholikon*

of Nea Mone with frescoes of the 13th C. and later (Ch. Bouras, *DChAE*⁴ 10 [1980–81] 165–80), while the Holy Apostles at Pyrgoi is of similar shape, with well-preserved exterior architectural detail. The general outline of the castle above the modern town is probably Byz., although it has undergone rebuilding in many periods; in the castle, the Church of St. George may originally have been built in 993.

LIT. Ph. Argenti, *The Occupation of Chios by the Genoese and their Administration of the Island, 1346–1566*, 3 vols. (Cambridge 1958). M. Balard, "Les Grecs de Chio sous la domination Génoise au XIVe siècle," *ByzF* 5 (1977) 5–15. A. Orlandos, *Monuments byzantins de Chios* (Athens 1930). D.I. Pallas, *RBK* 1:917–66. Ch. Bouras, *Chios* (Athens 1974). —T.E.G.

CHI RHO. See **CHRISTOGRAM**.

CHITON. See **TUNIC**.

CHLAMYS (χλαμύς, also χλανίς), a long cloak fastened on the right shoulder by means of a **FIBULA** so as to leave the right arm free. In antiquity, a short *chlamys* was worn by soldiers, hunters, and riders. Diocletian's Price Edict refers to various kinds of *chlamys*, including a military type, a simple and a double *chlamys*, the latter being mentioned for the first time in this document. The two pointed sections hanging down over the legs were called "Thessalian wings" by later lexicographers (Hesychios of Alexandria, Photios, *Souda*, Eustathios of Thessalonike). By about the 6th C. the *chlamys* had lost its military character and in its longer form became a crucial element of court **COSTUME**. The presence of a **TABLION** generally differentiates the civilian *chlamys* from military cloaks such as the *paludamentum* or **SAGION**. The *chlamys* was made in different colors, including white, each office being associated with a specific color. It was bordered with rows of gems or pearls, and on certain occasions it was fastened in front, under the throat. A purple *chlamys* with a gold *tablion* was the prerogative of the emperor and was laid upon his shoulders in a special section of the imperial coronation rite (*De cer.* 192.23–193.1); he wore the *chlamys* over the **DIVETESION**, but not generally over the **LOROS**. Members of his family might wear *chlamydes* adorned with eagles.

Representations of the *chlamys* abound, in im-

perial portraits and images of Old Testament kings such as David or Solomon, in portraits of courtiers, or of princely martyrs. These *chlamydes* are all evidently made of **SILK** woven with a great variety of gold floral, circular, or spade-shaped designs.

Seeing a *chlamys* in dreams had a broad range of meanings. If the *chlamys* was frayed and dirty, this meant the downfall of a regime, if new and splendid, it foretold happiness and the birth of a male heir (ACHMET BEN SIRIN, *Oneirocriticon*, ed. Drexel, p.116.1–7).

LIT. *DOC* 2.1:71–80; 3.1:117–20. K. Wessel, *RBK* 3:424–48. —A.K., N.P.S.

CHLEMOUTSI (Χλεμούτσι or Χλουμούτσι, Fr. Clermont, Ital. Castel Tornese), castle in Elis in the northwestern Peloponnesos. It was the primary fortification of the principality of **ACHAIA**, constructed on a hill with a panoramic view westward to the Ionian Sea and controlling passage into the interior of the Peloponnesos. It was built between 1220 and 1223 by **GEOFFREY I VILLEHARDOUIN** who used the wealth of the Moreot church for its construction, and was consequently excommunicated. Despite the castle's formidable size and position, it seems to have witnessed no memorable sieges or battles; it was frequently used as a prison, and the Greeks captured at the battle of Makryplage in 1264 were held there. Chlemoutsi is frequently confused with the port of Clarence (Clarentia, Clarenza, mod. Kyllene) some distance to the northwest, which was the site of the mint of the principality until its destruction in 1429. Chlemoutsi remained in Frankish hands until 1429 when it was taken by Constantine (XI) Palaiologos, then *despotes* of the Morea, and used by him as a base for his attack on Patras. The *despotes* Thomas Palaiologos kept John Asen prisoner at Chlemoutsi. It was taken by the Turks in 1460.

The surviving fortress is almost entirely Frankish. It consists of a large polygonal circuit wall and, at the summit of the hill, a powerful keep—an irregular hexagon, with sides 60–90 m long—and an interior court. The walls are in fact enormous halls, over 7 m wide with two stories, the upper supported either on vaults or with wooden beams. Living quarters were on the upper stories. Elaborate arrangements brought water from the roofs to huge cisterns under the floors.

LIT. Bon, *Morée franque* 325–28, 608–29. Andrews, *Caselles* 146–58. —T.E.G.

CHLIARA (Χλιαρά), settlement on the road from Pergamon to Philadelphia, known from the 11th C. onward. It is mentioned several times by Anna Komnene, who states that the semibarbarian Monastras controlled Pergamon, Chliara, and neighboring towns (*polichnia*) (An.Komn. 3:155.1). In the mid-12th C. Chliara was already a *polis*; it was fortified by a city wall ca. 1162–73 (Nik.Chon. 150.35–40). The bishopric of Chliara, a suffragan of Ephesus, is listed in a *notitia* (*Notitiae CP* 10.47), the date of which is variously placed between the 10th and the 13th C. The **PARTITIO ROMANIAE** mentions the "province" of Atramyttion, Chliara, and Pergamon, but the Crusaders could not retain this region and Chliara fell to the Nicene emperor Theodore I Laskaris. It suffered from a severe earthquake in 1296 and from Turkish invasions. A 15th-C. historian (Douk. 221.13–14) is the last Byz. source to mention "Chliera, on the borders of Lydia," but it had long ago been lost by the empire to the Turks.

Recent excavations in the valley of Lykos have revealed the remains of Chliara on the rocks of Gördükkale. The find includes a city wall of stone and brick with traces of towers and a settlement that, as Rheidt hypothesizes, housed about 200 families.

LIT. K. Rheidt, "Chliara," *IstMitt* 36 (1986) 223–44. —A.K.

CHNOUBIS (Χνούβις). The deity or *daimon* engraved on popular medical gem **AMULETS**, the Chnoubis takes the form of a coiled serpent with a lion's head and a **NIMBUS** and rays, surrounded by the seven planets or 12 houses of the zodiac. This pagan amuletic device, believed to prevent abdominal ailments, was christianized in late antiquity when the image of Chnoubis evolved into a dominating Gorgon head, often accompanied by the inscription, "Lord, help the wearer."

The Chnoubis also appears on Christian uterine or Medusa amulets, which derive directly from pagan uterine amulets (*hysterika phylakteria*). The Christian versions have the lion-snake Chnoubis on the obverse inscribed with the *Trisagion* or invocations of the Virgin, and, on the reverse, the command to the womb to lie down quietly as well

as various symbols such as the pentalpha star, lunar crescents, "Z"s, and eight-pointed stars. The purpose of both pagan and Christian womb amulets was to ensure childbirth without complications.

LIT. Vikan, "Art, Medicine, and Magic" 75–78. Bonner, *Studies* 56–60, nos. 81–86. —F.R.T.

CHOIROBOSKOS, GEORGE, grammarian, deacon, and *chartophylax* of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople; fl. early 9th C. Choiroboskos (Χοιροβοσκός) was above all active as a teacher and is described in the titles of some of his works as *oikoumenikos didaskalos* (see **DIDASKALOS**). His principal writings are an extensive commentary on the *Rules* (*Canons*) of declension and conjugation by Theodosios of Alexandria (4th–5th C.); commentaries on the grammarians Apollonios Dyskolos (2nd C.), **HERODIAN**, and **DIONYSIOS THRAX**, which survive only in fragments; a treatise on **ORTHOGRAPHY**, also fragmentary; a commentary on the *Encheiridion* by Hephaestion of Alexandria (2nd C.); **EPI-MERISMS** or grammatical analyses of the Psalms; and a treatise on poetical figures. The dry and detailed treatises of Choiroboskos played a major part in transmitting ancient grammatical doctrine to the Byz. world. The work on poetical figures was translated into Old Slavonic, probably in Preslav ca.900, and the translation was included in the **IZBORNİK** of 1073, copied for Prince Svjatoslav Jaroslavič of Kiev. The *Epimerisms* on the Psalms were used in schools in the mid-10th C. **EUSTATHIOS OF THESSALONIKE** quotes Choiroboskos frequently as an authority. Renaissance grammarians found in his works a mine of information on literary Greek.

ED. Commentary on Theodosios—*Grammatici Graeci*, ed. A. Hilgard pt.4 (Leipzig 1894; rp. Hildesheim 1965) 1.103–417, 2.1–371. For complete list, cf. *Tusculum-Lexikon* 115.

LIT. Lemerle, *Humanism* 87f. W. Böhrer, Ch.Theodoridis, "Johannes von Damaskos terminus post quem für Choiroboskos," *BZ* 69 (1976) 397–401. P. Egenolff, *Die orthoepischen Stücke der byzantinischen Litteratur* (Leipzig 1887). Egenolff, *Orthog.* —R.B.

CHOIROSPHAKTES, LEO, diplomat and writer; died after 919; Koliais (p.15) dates his birth between 845 and 850, Beck (*Kirche* 594) ca.824. Choirosphaktes (Χοιροσφάκτης) was a high-ranking official (*mystikos* and *kanikleios* under Basil I, *magistros* from 896) and a relative of **ZOE KARBO-**

NOPSINA. Leo VI sent him on three embassies to SYMEON OF BULGARIA and in 905 to Baghdad. Probably involved in the rebellion of Andronikos DOUKAS (Jenkins, *Studies*, pt.XI [1963], 171), he was arrested probably in 907, but eventually returned to Constantinople and participated in the unsuccessful attempt of Constantine DOUKAS to seize the throne. In 913 Choirosphaktes was tonsured and confined in Stoudios.

Choirosphaktes' letters are an important source for the history of Byz.-Bulgarian relations. He also wrote epigrams, hymns, and theological works, including *Theology in a Thousand Lines*, dedicated to Michael III. The attribution of some of his works remains problematic since the MS tradition is often obscure. Mercati (*CollByz* 1:271-309) ascribed to Choirosphaktes an *ekphrasis* in verse, *On the Bath-house in Pythia*, which he dates to 911; R. Anastasi (*SicGymn* 17 [1964] 1-7) rejects the attribution. Choirosphaktes was the object of severe and vitriolic accusations by ARETHAS OF CAESAREA and probably CONSTANTINE OF RHODES. M. Šangin (*VizSb* [1945] 228-48) interpreted this criticism as a reaction against Choirosphaktes' intellectual activity; on the other hand, Karlin-Hayter treats Choirosphaktes as a "sniveller" in comparison with Arethas, "a fighter" (*Studies*, pt.IX [1965], 456).

ED. G. Kolias, *Léon Choerosphactès, magistre, proconsul et patrice* (Athens 1939); also *FGHBulg* 8 (1961) 176-84. E. Mioni, "Un inno inedito di Leone (Magistro)," *Byzantion* 19 (1949) 133-39. See list in *Tusculum-Lexikon* 468f.

LIT. G. Ostrogorsky, "Lav Ravduch i Lav Chirofakt," *ZRVI* 3 (1955) 29-36. -A.K.

CHOMA (Χώμα, now Homa), fortress of PHRYGIA in the upper Meander valley, became important as a frontier post in the 11th-12th C. Its troops, *Chomatenoi*, were in the service of Nikephoros III and Alexios I; at that time, Choma was isolated in an area overrun by the Turks. It was then center of a district called Choma and CAPPADOCIA, under a *toparches*. Choma's location on a major road to the interior made it a base for the campaigns of Alexios I and Manuel I. Continually threatened by Turkish armies and nomads, Choma was refortified in 1193 by Isaac II and given the name Angelokastron. It fell to the Turks soon after 1204; it was never a bishopric. Choma was formerly identified with Soublaion (Ramsay, *Cities* 1:221-26), a fortress rebuilt by Manuel I in 1175 and dismantled by him the following year

according to the treaty after the battle of MYRI-OKEPHALON; its site was apparently in the vicinity of Choma.

LIT. Ahrweiler, *Structures*, pt.X (1966), 278-83. -C.F.

CHOMATENOS, DEMETRIOS, a central ecclesiastical figure in the independent state of Epiros; born mid-12th C., died ca.1236. In the late 12th C. Chomatenos (Χωματηνός) or Chomatianos (Χωματιανός) served as *apokrisiarios* from the archbishopric of Ohrid to the patriarch in Constantinople; he was also *chartophylax* in Ohrid and in 1216/17 was appointed archbishop of the autocephalous see at Ohrid by THEODORE KOMNENOS DOUKAS. In 1225 or 1227/8 Chomatenos crowned Theodore emperor in Thessalonike, thus inviting the censure of Patr. GERMANOS II at Nicaea and causing the schism (1228-33) between the Epirot and Nicaean churches (G. Prinzing, *RSBS* 3 [1984] 21-64).

That Chomatenos claimed and enjoyed a quasi-patriarchal position can be seen not only from his coronation of Theodore but also from the protocol of documents issued by his chancery even after Theodore's defeat in 1230. The collection of Chomatenos's acts and letters, approximately 150 pieces, constitutes the main source of the administrative and ecclesiastical history of EPIROS, Serbia, and Bulgaria in the first half of the 13th C. (G. Prinzing, *EpChron* 24 [1982] 73-120; 25 [1983] 37-112; F. Barišić, B. Ferjančić, *ZRVI* 20 [1981] 41-58). His acts, mainly decisions on marriage law, inheritance, and cases of killing, like those of his colleague John APOKAUKOS, are major sources for the social and legal history of the period; they indicate the level of legal knowledge, methods of argumentation, and range of cases that came before a bishop's court. Chomatenos's statements on the limitations of imperial power are unprecedented (D. Simon in *Gedächtnisschrift für Wolfgang Kunkel* [Frankfurt 1984] 449-92). Probably between 1230 and 1234, he wrote a brief vita of KLIMENT OF OHRID, a Bulgarian saint (P. Koledarov, *Literaturna misul* 27 [1983] no.3, 89-100).

ED. Pitra, *Analecta*, vol. 6.

LIT. G. Prinzing, *LMA* 2:1874f. D. Simon, "Byzantinische Provinzialjustiz," *BZ* 79 (1986) 310-43. A.E. Laiou, "Contribution à l'étude de l'institution familiale en Epire au XIII^{ème} siècle," *FM* 6 (1984) 275-323. Macrides, "Killing, Asylum & Law." -R.J.M.

CHONAI (Χῶναι, now Honaz), city of PHRYGIA. The inhabitants of Kolossai, an ancient city of the plain long in decline, moved to the nearby defensible mountain site of Chonai in the 8th C. An important highway fortress, Chonai was a bastion of the theme of THRAKESION and may have been its capital (C. Foss, *Ephesus after Antiquity* [Cambridge 1979] 195f). It was devastated by Turkish raids in 1070 and after the battle of Mantzikert (1071) became a major frontier defense. Chonai was attacked in 1144, 1189, and 1191, and taken by the Turks after 1204. The great Church of St. MICHAEL in Chonai was a center of pilgrimage and location of great trade fairs, on the ancient site of Kolossai. This was a large basilica decorated with mosaics; nothing of it survives. Chonai was the birthplace of Michael and Niketas CHONIATES. It became an autocephalous bishopric ca.860 and a metropolis (without suffragans) ca.950. The remains of its Byz. fortress have not been studied.

LIT. Ramsay, *Cities* 1:208-16.

-C.F.

CHONAI, MIRACLE AT. A miracle performed by MICHAEL THE ARCHANGEL at Chonai was celebrated 6 Sept. As told by Symeon Metaphrastes, the miracle occurred shortly after the deaths of the apostles John and Philip. Next to a healing spring of sweet water, in an oratory dedicated to St. Michael, lived a hermit Archippos. The devil and local unbelievers conspired to dam the river, whose two branches ran on either side of the spring, in order to flood both the spring and the oratory with brackish water. Michael appeared just in time to cleave the rocks in an earthquake, thus diverting the river and preserving hermit, spring, and cult.

Images of the miraculous event show Archippos and the chapel on the right and the Archangel driving his staff into the earth on the left, while the river, descending in two streams from above the figures, plunges down the center of the scene into the cleft created by Michael's staff (e.g., Sinai icon, K. Weitzmann, *The Icon: Holy Images, Sixth to Fourteenth Century* [New York 1978] pl.22). Sometimes devils with pickaxes appear (Venice, Marc. Z586). Known first from the MENOLOGION OF BASIL II (fol.17), the image is one of the rare examples of a miracle of a saint illustrated with the degree of consistency characteristic of feast icons. Michael wears the *pallium*, though indepen-

dent images of him in armor are sometimes labeled "Choniates" (e.g., at Karanlık Kilise, GÖREME).

LIT. M. Bonnet, "Narratio de Miraculo a Michaelae Archangelo Chonis Patrato," *AB* 8 (1889) 287-328. A. Xynopoulos, "To en Chonais Thaumata tou Archangelou Michael," *DChAE* 1 (1959) 26-39. O. Meinardus, "St. Michael's Miracle of Khonac," *Ekklesia kai Theologia* 1 (1980) 459-69. -A.W.C., N.P.S.

CHONIATES, MICHAEL, writer and metropolitan of Athens (1182-1204), brother of Niketas CHONIATES; born Chonai ca.1138, died Boudonitza ca.1222; the name Akominatos often assigned to him is incorrect. Choniates (Χωνιάτης) was a pupil of EUSTATHIOS OF THESSALONIKE. As metropolitan he was an energetic defender of Athens' interests, esp. during the city's siege by Leo SGOUROS. After the Latin conquest, Choniates left Athens, lived on Keos in 1205-17, and via Euboea went to the monastery of Prodromos in Boudonitza (B. Katsaros, *Byzantiaka* 1 [1981] 99-137). Politically Choniates was a strong opponent of the civilian aristocracy, which he criticized for its indifference to the provinces; he was esp. critical of those who came from peasant and artisan families (Lampros, *infra* 1:337.16-22). He welcomed ANDRONIKOS I at first but then withdrew support, frightened by his reign of terror "that put the whole world in fear" (1:210.12-15).

Choniates was one of the rare writers who escaped from convention and produced lively vignettes, such as a description of a dirty and drafty bathhouse on Keos (A. Berger, *Das Bad in der byzantinischen Zeit* [Munich 1982] 71). He often developed his similes and metaphors into full-blown images. In one of his treatises Choniates discussed the question of the relationship of the artist and his audience, defending the thesis of the creator's independence from the crowd's appraisal, even though in actual rhetorical practice he had to take into consideration the desires of his audience (I. Čičurov, 14 *CEB* 3 [Bucharest 1976] 68f).

In frescoes in the Church of St. Peter at Kalynia Kouvara and in the south chapel of the cave of Penteli, dated 1233/4 by inscription, Choniates is depicted as a nimbed bishop, thus suggesting that in Attica he was regarded as a saint shortly after his death (A.K. Orlandos, *EEBS* 21 [1951] 210-14; D. Mouriki, *DChAE* 7 [1973-74] 96-98, fig.1).

ED. S. Lampros, *Michael Akominatou tou Choniatou ta somomena*, 2 vols. (Athens 1879–80; rp. Groningen 1968). See list in *Tusculum-Lexikon* 531.

LIT. G. Stadtmüller, *Michael Choniates, Metropolit von Athen* (Rome 1934). K.M. Setton, "A Note on Michael Choniates, Archbishop of Athens (1182–1204)," *Speculum* 21 (1946) 234–36. I.C. Hill (Thallon), *A Medieval Humanist Michael Akominatos* (New York 1973). —A.K., A.C.

CHONIATES, NIKETAS, government official, historian, and theologian; younger brother of Michael CHONIATES; born Chonai, Phrygia, between 1155 and 1157, died Nicaea, spring/summer 1217 (V. Katsaras, *JÖB* 32.3 [1982] 83–91). After studies probably in Constantinople, Choniates (Χωνιάτης) began his career before 1182 as a provincial functionary in the Black Sea region; he returned to Constantinople, retired while ANDRONIKOS I reigned, but resumed service after ISAAC II ascended the throne, eventually becoming *logothetes ton sekreton*. In 1204 he fled to Nicaea but failed to receive any position of influence there.

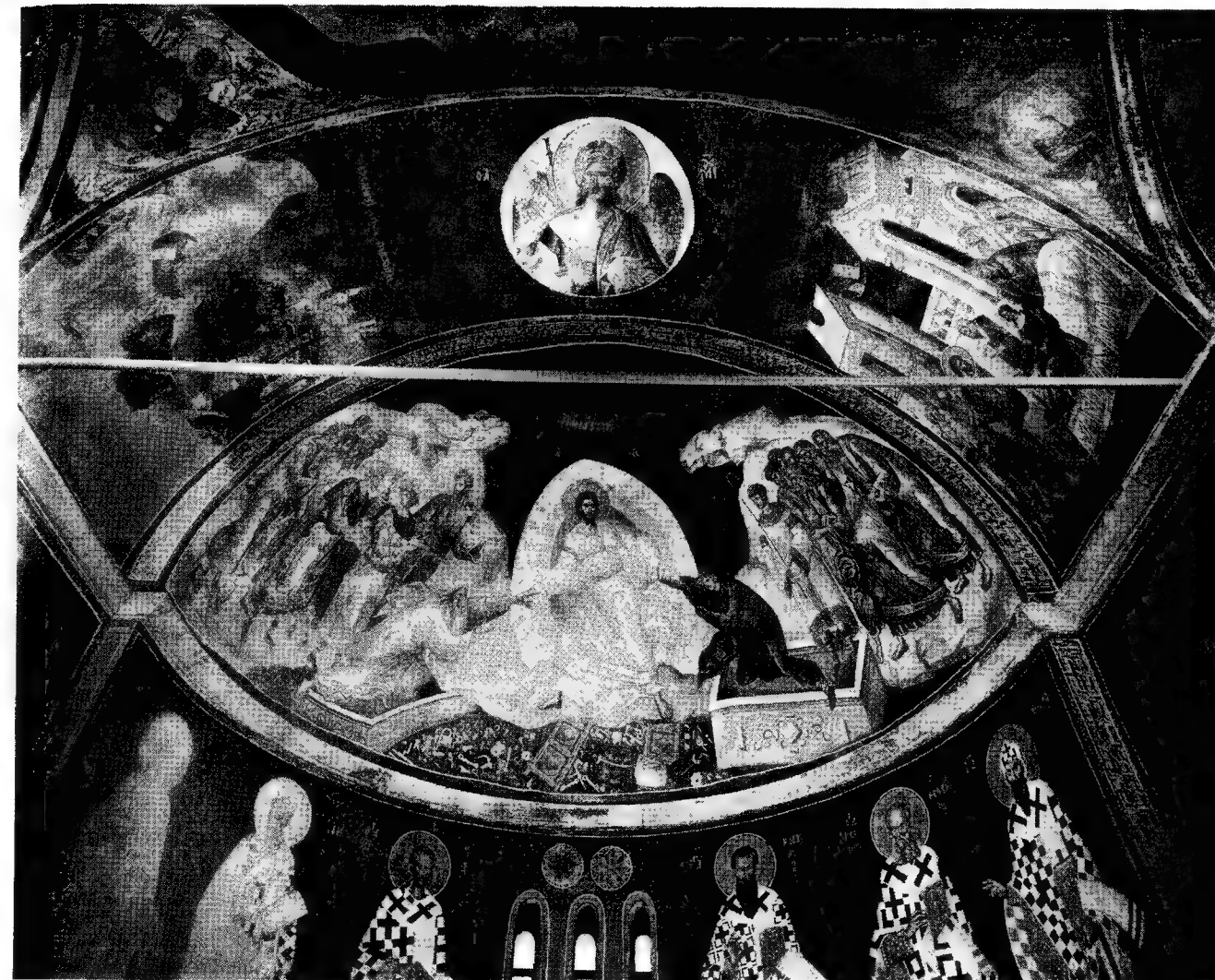
Choniates' *History* [*Chronike diegesis*] is the most important source for 1118–1206, although the author's personal (sometimes biased) opinions color it. A major example of Byz. prose, it reveals a new approach to human beings. They are presented as having contradictory, good and evil qualities and as being the active forces in history, while God functions as the highest moral principle. In a period of disaster, terror (esp. under Andronikos), and moral decline, Choniates defended the values of human life and property as well as culture. The *History* is permeated with a foreboding of catastrophe, also reflected in the imaginative system of metaphors and similes, taken from motifs of storm, shipwreck, fire, disease, and beasts of prey. Traditional clichés are interwoven with irony, psychological observations, crude jokes, obscenities: Choniates is concerned with the human body and its excretory and sexual functions, but shies away from his own curiosity. His speeches (panegyrics of Isaac II, Alexios III, Theodore I, address to the bishop of Philippopolis, monodies) and letters are more conventional than the *History*; factual inconsistencies between them and the *History* can be explained by the differing purposes of the two genres. He also wrote the *Thesaurus of Orthodoxy* (*Panoplia Dogmatike*), a refutation of heresies up to his time (published only partially).

ED. *Historia*, ed. J.L. van Dieten (Berlin–New York 1975). Eng. tr. H. Magoulias, *O City of Byzantium* (Detroit 1984). *Orationes et Epistulae*, ed. J.L. van Dieten (Berlin–New York 1972). Germ. tr. of orations and letters by F. Grabler, *Kaisertaten und Menschenschicksale* (Graz–Vienna–Cologne 1966). *Thesaurus*, PG 139:1101–140:292.

LIT. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:429–41. J.L. van Dieten, *Niketas Choniates, Erläuterungen zu den Reden und Briefen nebst einer Biographie* (Berlin–New York 1971). Idem, *Zur Überlieferung und Veröffentlichung der Panoplia dogmatike des Niketas Choniates* (Amsterdam 1970). Kazhdan–Franklin, *Studies* 256–86. A. Kazhdan, "Der Körper im Geschichtswerk des Niketas Choniates," in *Fest und Alltag in Byzanz*, ed. G. Prinzing, D. Simon (Munich 1990) 91–105. —A.K.

CHORA MONASTERY (Turk. Kariye Camii), located in the northwestern region of Constantinople near Edirne Kapı. The early history of Chora (Χώρα, lit. "dwelling place") is obscure. A legendary tradition attributes the foundation to the 6th-C. saint Theodore (*BHG* 1743), supposed uncle of Justinian I's wife Theodora; a more reliable source identifies the founder as Krispos, son-in-law of the 7th-C. emperor Phokas. In the 9th C. Chora was a center of resistance to Iconoclasm; the iconodule saints THEOPHANES GRAPTOS and MICHAEL SYNKELLOS were associated with the monastery and buried there. Restored in the 11th C. by Maria Doukaina, mother-in-law of Alexios I, Chora was again renovated in the 12th C. by her grandson, Isaac KOMNENOS the *sebastokrator*. Like its predecessor, Isaac's church was a domed basilica built of recessed-brick masonry on a cross-in-square plan with, however, a larger, single apse. Traces of its mosaic decoration remain in the south window of the nave.

The church deteriorated during the Latin occupation of Constantinople, but Theodore METOCHITES restored it magnificently (1316–21). He rebuilt the dome over the nave and replaced the narthexes and PAREKKLESION, decorating them with resplendent mosaics and frescoes. Of the mosaics in the nave, only panels of Christ, the Virgin, and the Dormition remain. The well-preserved mosaics of the narthexes and the frescoes of the *parekklesion* are critical for our understanding of the style of MONUMENTAL PAINTING of this period. In the outer narthex esp. notable are the image of Christ, identified as *he chora ton zonton*, "the dwelling place of the living," on axis with the entrance; the cycle of his Infancy with long sequences on the Magi and the Massacre of the Innocents; and that of his Ministry in the domical



CHORA MONASTERY. Frescoes in the eastern end of the *parekklesion* of the church; early 14th C. Below: church fathers, the bishops (l. to r., unidentified, Athanasios of Alexandria, John Chrysostom, Basil the Great, Gregory of Nazianzos, Cyril of Alexandria). In the conch: Anastasis. In the arch: two miracles of Christ with the archangel Michael in the center.

vaults. The focus of the inner narthex is the donor portrait of Metochites offering his foundation to the Lord. In this area are mosaics of the Deesis with CHRIST CHALKITES, but without the Prodnos, accompanied by images of Isaac Komnenos and "Melania the Nun"; 17 scenes of the life of the Virgin; and an unusually full complement of 70 ancestors of Christ. The eastern half of the *parekklesion*, used as a mortuary chapel, is fittingly devoted to the LAST JUDGMENT and culminates in the ANASTASIS, abnormally placed in the conch of the apse. On the chapel walls are frescoes of military saints, some partly covered or destroyed

by the finely carved hoods of sepulchral monuments. Along the south walls are Old Testament prefigurations of the Virgin.

Metochites also endowed the monastery with substantial estates, added a hospital and public kitchen, and donated his important collection of books. During the Palaiologan period, Chora housed Constantinople's most comprehensive library and was frequented by scholars such as MAXIMOS PLANOUDIS and Nikephoros GREGORAS, as well as Metochites himself. Sultan Bayezid II (1481–1512) transformed the church into a mosque.

LIT. P.A. Underwood, *The Kariye Djami*, 4 vols. (New York 1966; Princeton 1975). R.G. Ousterhout, *The Architecture of the Kariye Camii in Istanbul* (Washington, D.C., 1987). Ø. Hjort, "The Sculpture of Kariye Camii," *DOP* 33 (1979) 199–289. —A.C., A.M.T.

CHORAPHION (χωράφιον, "cultivated field"). The word, rare in classical and patristic texts—Neilos of Ankyra (PG 79:456D) speaks of those who diligently plow their *choraphia*—was used four times in the FARMER'S LAW and became the term for field in documents of the 10th–15th C. The *Treatise on Taxation* (ed. Dölger, *Beiträge* 113.16–17), like the Farmer's Law (pars. 25, 83) and later documents, distinguishes *choraphia* from vineyards, and there is direct evidence concerning plowing and sowing *choraphia*. *Choraphia* are also contrasted with pastures (e.g., MM 4:30.19–20). A *choraphion* was normally under 10 modioi in area, whereas the more general term *ge*, "arable land," was commonly applied to much larger tracts, although the combined expression *choraphiaia ge* is used as well.

The terms *esochoraphia* (e.g., *Lavra* 3, no.164.8, 13), *esothyrochoraphia* (*Pantel.*, no.17.21), *choraphion esotheron* (*Chil.*, no.92.123), and the infrequent *exochoraphia* (*Vazelon*, no.144.12; *Dionys.*, no.25.118 app.), that is, inner and outer fields, probably designated the location of a *choraphion* closer to or farther from the house. *Choraphia* could have common borders with vineyards (e.g., *Lavra* 1, no.18.29–32); the cadaster of 1264 for the bishopric of Kephallenia (ed. Th. Tzannetatos [Athens 1965]) registers *choraphia* bordering a garden (p.31.31) or vineyard (p.44.204–06) as well as roads or buildings; the cadaster of 1235 for the monastery of Lembiotissa includes a *choraphion* bordering an olive grove (MM 4:8.10–11). A *choraphion* could be surrounded by a ditch (MM 4:7.33–34) or boundary marks (MM 4:189.8–9). Olive trees and nut trees grew on some *choraphia*. All this indicates that *choraphia* were not peasant "shares" in a particular field, thereby providing evidence against the existence of an "open field" agricultural system.

LIT. Solovjev-Mošin, *Grčke povelje* 506f. Kazhdan, *Agrarnye otnošenija* 61–63. —M.B.

CHOREPISKOPOS (χωρεπίσκοπος, lit. "country bishop"), a type of assistant bishop who presided over a community in the rural countryside. The

chorepiskopoi, who were probably originally endowed with full episcopal ministry, became gradually subject to their urban colleague, the city bishop. Although their numbers increased in the 4th C., their sacramental and administrative functions were gradually restricted. Thus, the Council of ANTIOCH (341) decreed that they could only ordain ANAGNOSTAI, SUBDEACONS, and exorcists; deacons and priests could be ordained only with the city bishop's permission (canons 8, 10). Although ultimately unsuccessful, canon 57 of the 4th-C. Council of Laodikeia even attempted to replace them with itinerant priests (*periodeutai*). Finally, NICAIA II (787) restricted their episcopal prerogatives almost entirely by legislating that they could not ordain even *anagnostai* without episcopal consent (canon 14). Soon thereafter *chorepiskopoi* disappear.

LIT. F. Gillmann, *Das Institut der Chorbischöfe im Orient* (Munich 1903). M. Jugie, "Les chorévêques en Orient," *EO* 7 (1904) 263–68. Hefele-Leclercq, *Conciles* 2.2:1197–1237. P. Joannou, *Fonti*, fasc. 9 (Rome 1964) cols. 61–62. —A.P.

CHORIKIOS OF GAZA, 6th-C. Christian rhetorician. Chorikios (Χορίκιος) was pupil and eulogist of PROKOPIOS OF GAZA. Forty-six declamations of various types survive. Apart from the historical value of his panegyric on Prokopios, his descriptions of the churches of Sts. Sergios and Stephen at GAZA present invaluable evidence for the variety of CHURCH PLAN TYPES, construction techniques, and figural imagery employed in the 530s and 540s. These accounts are characteristically Justinianic in their emphasis on splendor for its own sake; compared to CORIPPUS, realistic description in Chorikios still bulks larger than symbolic interpretation. Chorikios is also an excellent source for accounts of festivals celebrated in Gaza (F.K. Litsas, *JÖB* 32.3 [1982] 427–36).

Also important for its material on MIME and THEATER is his *Apology for the Mimes*, last in a series of such defenses (reaching back to LIBANIOS and LUCIAN) against the attacks, Christian and pagan, of JOHN CHRYSOSTOM and AILIOS ARISTEIDES. Theater, esp. mime, was controversial, persisting as it did in the face of the Christian onslaught, both legislative and ecclesiastical. Chorikios himself had to reckon with both Justinian's theater closures and the notorious thespian past of the empress THEODORA.

ED. *Opera*, ed. R. Foerster, E. Richtsteig (Leipzig 1929). Partial Eng. tr.—Mango, *Art* 60–72. *Synegoria mimon*, ed. I. Stephanes (Thessalonike 1986).

LIT. F.-M. Abel, "Gaza au VI^e siècle d'après le rhéteur Chorikios," *Revue Biblique* 40 (1931) 5–31. A. Sideras, "Zwei unbekannte Monodien von Chorikios?" *JÖB* 33 (1983) 57–73. —B.B., A.C.

CHORION (χωρίον) in the classical language designated "place," a meaning retained by Byz. (primarily narrative) sources. In papyri, from the 3rd C. onward, the term acquires the sense of VILLAGE (Preisigke, *Wörterbuch* 2:768), and it is the term for village in both the FARMER'S LAW and the *Treatise on Taxation*, whereas in hagiography it alternates with the classical *kome*. Dölger (*Beiträge* 66) suggests that both words were used synonymously "throughout the entire Byzantine era" and refers to *Peira* 23:3, which mentions a "*topos* (place) in the *chorion* of Gordiou [Gordou] *kome*"; Gordiou *kome* could, however, be a personal name rather than a toponym. The documents use *chorion* almost exclusively and *kome* quite seldom (e.g., "*chorion* Peristerai with the neighboring *kome* Tzechliane"—*Lavra* 1, Appendix II.8–9). The term *chorion* also had a fiscal connotation, esp. in the expression RHIZA CHORIOU. The agrarian legislation of the 10th C. emphasized the economic and fiscal solidarity of the *chorion*, considering it as the VILLAGE COMMUNITY. A *chorion* could also be a rural, juridical entity with legally defined borders that, in their development over time, might not correspond to the real geographical borders and appearance of a "physical" village. Very rarely, the term meant a landed estate (e.g., the expression "the lords of *choria*" in the interpolation VII:6 to the Farmer's Law).

LIT. Lemerle, *Agr. Hist.* 18f, 41–48. Kazhdan, *Agrarnye otnošenija* 54f. D.V. Vayacacos, "Les mots *chora* (pays-ville), *chorion* (village), *kome* (bourg), et *polis* comme noms de lieu dans la langue grecque," *Onoma* 22 (1978) 457–66. —M.B.

CHORTAITES MONASTERY, located east of Thessalonike on the slope of a mountain now called Chortiates. The date of its foundation is unknown, but a seal of the 11th/12th C. exists, indicating that the monastery was dedicated to the Virgin (Laurent, *Corpus* 5.2, no.1242). Circa 1205 Chortaites (Χορταίτης) was granted to the Cistercians, having been abandoned by its Greek monks soon after the Frankish conquest of Thes-

salonike. Because of the abuses perpetrated by the Latin monks, it was briefly restored to the Byz. between 1207 and 1212 (E.A.R. Brown, *Traditio* 14 [1958] 79–81). A second group of Cistercians regained control from 1212 to 1233; thereafter it reverted to the Greeks.

Chortaites was an imperial monastery, with property in different regions of Macedonia and in Thessalonike; its holdings are mentioned in the 14th-C. acts of several Athonite monasteries. A poem of Manuel PHILES (Philes, *Carmina*, ed. Martini, no.61) is the only source to mention an early 14th-C. restoration of the monastery after a fire. In 1322 during the civil war the *despotes* Constantine Palaiologos fled to Chortaites from Thessalonike (Greg. 1:356.22). Chortaites' *metochion* on the east side of Thessalonike was visited in 1405 by IGNATIJ OF SMOLENSK. The monastery probably fell into Turkish hands ca.1421 and became deserted.

LIT. A. Bakalopoulos, "He para ten Thessaloniken byzantine mone tou Chortaitou," *EEBS* 15 (1939) 280–87. Idem, "Historikes ereunes exo apo ta teiche tes Thessalonikes," *Makedonika* 17 (1977) 7–15. Janin, *Églises centres* 414f. —A.M.T.

CHORTASMENOS, JOHN, writer, teacher, and bibliophile; born ca.1370, died before June 1439. Chortasmenos (Χορτασμένος) was a man of diverse interests, whose career was shaped by his love of books and literature. He first appears in 1391 as a notary in the patriarchal chancery, a position he held until ca.1415. At an unknown date he became the monk (and then hieromonk) Ignatios; by 1431 he had been made metropolitan of Selymbria.

Chortasmenos included among his pupils BESARION, Mark EUGENIKOS, and GENNADIOS (II) SCHOLARIOS. He wrote a variety of works: 56 letters, some of which are addressed to other authors, such as Joseph Bryennios and Demetrios and Manuel Chrysoloras, as well as to Emp. Manuel II; poems, including iambic verses on the palace of Theodore Kantakouzenos and epigrams on the recently deceased scribe Ioasaph; orations; a vita of Constantine I and Helena; scholia on John Chrysostom; prolegomena to the *Logic* of Aristotle; and a short treatise on hyphenation. Particularly interesting are two detailed descriptions of serious illnesses he suffered (H. Hunger in *Polychronion* 244–52). D. Nastase has suggested

that Chortasmenos was the author of a (lost) chronicle that covered the period between the *Histories* of JOHN VI KANTAKOUZENOS and the historians of the fall of Constantinople (cf. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:482). An anonymous account of the Ottoman siege of Constantinople in 1394–1402 was attributed by Hunger to Chortasmenos, a hypothesis rejected by P. Gautier (*REB* 23 [1965] 100f).

At least 24 MSS have been attributed to the private library of Chortasmenos: they include codices of Euripides, Aristotle, Plutarch, Lucian, Libanios, Byz. historians, and the *Introduction to Astronomy* of Theodore METOCHITES. Chortasmenos is also remembered for rebinding the famous 6th-C. herbal of DIOSKORIDES (Vienna, ÖNB, med. gr. 1). Chortasmenos copied several MSS, including *menaia* that he donated to his diocese and astronomical texts for his own use (E. Gamillscheg, *Codices Manuscripti* 7 [1981] 52–56).

ED. Johannes Chortasmenos (ca.1370–ca.1436–37). *Briefe, Gedichte und kleine Schriften*, ed. H. Hunger (Vienna 1969).

LIT. H. Hunger, "Johannes Chortasmenos, ein byzantinischer Intellektueller der späten Palaiologenzzeit," *WS* 70 (1957) 153–63. Idem, "Zeitgeschichte in der Rhetorik des sterbenden Byzanz," in *Studien zur älteren Geschichte Osteuropas*, pt.2, ed. H.F. Schmid (Graz-Cologne 1959) 152–61. P. Canart, G. Prato, "Les recueils organisés par Jean Chortasmenos et le problème de ses autographes," in *Studien zum Patriarchatsregister von Konstantinopel*, vol. 1 (Vienna 1981) 115–78. —A.M.T.

CHOSROES I (Χοσρόης), called Anūshirwān ("of the Immortal Soul"), Persian "great king" (531–78/9). Under his father KAVĀD, Chosroes participated in suppressing the social movement of supporters of MAZDAK. As king he introduced several fiscal and administrative reforms and achieved a certain centralization of the state. He used Justinian I's domestic problems and involvement in Western politics to continue the war. The first war (527–32), inherited from his father, was ended by the so-called "Eternal Peace" that preserved the frontier of 502. In 540 Chosroes invaded Mesopotamia and Syria and seized Antioch; simultaneously the Persians were active in Lazica. For this invasion he found an ally in VITIGES. New activities in Lazica interrupted the truce of 545, but in 561 the parties signed a 50-year treaty preserving the status quo. War broke out again in 572, originating in the Armenian revolt against Chosroes, Justin II's suspension of tribute, and Byz.-Persian contest in southern Arabia and

Ethiopia for the control of the SEA ROUTES to the East. Despite some success, the Byz. general JUSTINIAN could not retain Armenia.

Probably in 532 (Cameron, *Literature*, pt. XIII [1969], 13, 21) Chosroes offered asylum to Neoplatonist philosophers persecuted in Byz. In Arabo-Persian historiography he is presented as an ideal monarch. Cruel, hard, but worthy of respect, he failed, however, to rectify serious institutional defects. Modern scholarship often exaggerates the influence of Chosroes' reforms on Byz. (E. Stein, *Opera Minora Selecta* [Amsterdam 1968] 65–70; Ostrogorsky, *History* 97, n.2).

LIT. Christensen, *Sassanides* 363–440. *Zeit. Justinians* 1:292–373. Av. Cameron, "Agathias on the Sassanians," *DOP* 23–24 (1969–70) 172–76. —W.E.K.

CHOSROES II, or Khusrau II Parvēz ("the victorious"), the last of the "great kings" (from 590) of Sasanian Iran; died Ctesiphon 29 Feb. 628. Chosroes came to power after crushing the rebellion of Bahrām Chōbīn against Chosroes' father, Hurmazd IV. According to L. Gumilev (*Problemy vostokovedeniia* [1960] no.3:228–41), Bahrām revolted after he had defeated the Turks who, with the Khazars and Arabs, had invaded Iran in concert with the Byz. plan for the Persian war. Chosroes had to flee to Byz. territory; MAURICE and DOMITIANOS helped restore him to the throne in 591. The Byz. generals KOMENTIOLOS and (eventually) John Mystakon were sent to support Chosroes. The treaty with Byz. provided for the surrender of Dara and Martyropolis. Chosroes remained Maurice's ally, and rumors circulated that he converted to Christianity.

The overthrow of Maurice by PHOKAS gave Chosroes a pretext for invading Byz. in 604 and reoccupying lost regions. Chosroes' generals SHAHRBARĀZ and SHĀHĪN were successful, but at last HERAKLEIOS organized a counter offensive and in 627 won a decisive victory near Nineveh. Chosroes was dethroned by his son KĀVAD-SHĪRŪYA and, after a trial, murdered in prison.

LIT. A. Kolesnikov, "Iran v načale VII veka," *PSb* 22 (1970) 58–88. R. Frye, *The History of Ancient Iran* (Munich 1984) 335–37. M. Higgins, *The Persian War of the Emperor Maurice (582–602)* (Washington, D.C., 1939). Goubert, *Byz. avant l'Islam* 1:128–90. —W.E.K.

CHOUMNAINA, IRENE, anti-Palamite nun and bibliophile; born 1291, died Constantinople

ca.1355. Daughter of Nikephoros CHOUMNOS, Irene married the *despotes* John Palaiologos, son of ANDRONIKOS II, in 1303. Widowed in 1307 at age 16, she sought solace in monastic life as the nun Eulogia. Despite her father's opposition, she gave much of her fortune to the poor and spent the remainder on the restoration of the monastery of Christ Philanthropos Soter. She became superior of this double monastery, to which her parents later retired. The convent, which housed 100 nuns, was one of the largest in 14th-C. Constantinople. Only a few ruins of the monastery have been uncovered, between the MANGANA palace and the sea walls. The *typikon* for the monastery is extremely fragmentary; its surviving chapters stress the importance of the cenobitic life (P. Meyer, *BZ* 4 [1895] 48f).

Choumnaina's first spiritual director was THEO-LEPTOS, metropolitan of Philadelphia; in the 1330s she also conducted extensive correspondence with a monk whose identity cannot be established. She was an ardent supporter of Gregory AKINDYNOS and was harshly criticized by Gregory PALAMAS for meddling in theological controversy. Although errors in spelling and syntax reveal Choumnaina's lack of formal education, she was praised by her contemporaries for her erudition, possessed a substantial library, and commissioned the copying of MSS.

ED. A.C. Hero, *A Woman's Quest for Spiritual Guidance: The Correspondence of Princess Irene Eulogia Choumnaina Palaiologina* (Brookline, Mass., 1986).

LIT. A.C. Hero, "Irene-Eulogia Choumnaina Palaiologina, Abbess of the Convent of Philanthropos Soter in Constantinople," *ByzF* 9 (1985) 119–47. —A.M.T.

CHOUMNOS (Χούμνος, fem. Χούμναινα), a family of predominantly civil functionaries attested from the mid-11th C. The first known Choumnos was Michael, deacon and *chartophylax* of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople in 1049 (MM 4:317.11–12). John "Soumn . . ." (read "Choumnos"?) served as chief of the *koiton* in 1087 (*Patmou Engrapha* 1, no.47.24). Another Michael (died ca.1133) was *nomophylax* and *chartophylax* of Hagia Sophia and later metropolitan of Thessalonike. Several 11th- and 12th-C. Choumnoi are known only from their seals. The *sebastos* and *chartoularios* Theodore Choumnos, an important official of Andronikos I, is probably to be identified with the Choumnos who served as tax collector in Athens. Theodore

was also entrusted with a military command. A chrysobull of 1192 mentions the "late *sebastos* Choumnos" (J. Verpeaux [in *Nicéphore Choumnos* (Paris 1959) 28] mistakenly named him "grand logothète"—see R. Guillard, *REB* 29 [1971] 82) who inflicted damage on the Genoese; his identification with Theodore is not probable. Nikephoros Choumnos (died 1234) also served as a tax collector in the Thrakesian theme. A later Nikephoros Choumnos was an important politician and writer (see CHOUMNOS, NIKEPHOROS); his brother Theodore was also a courtier. Several letters survive of Nikephoros's son John, the *para-koimomenos* and general (Boissonade, *AnecNova* 203–22); another son George was chief of the imperial table and *megas stratopedarches*. His daughter Irene-Eulogia CHOUMNAINA played an important role in 14th-C. religious life. Several other Choumnoi were influential courtiers: the *stratopedarches* John received a *pronoia* in 1344; Nikephoros was *megas hetaireiarches* in 1355. Makarios Choumnos founded NEA MONE in Thessalonike in the 1360s and was *hegoumenos* of STODIOS in the 1370s.

LIT. J. Verpeaux, "Notes prosopographiques sur la famille Choumnos," *BS* 20 (1959) 252–66. —A.K.

CHOUMNOS, NIKEPHOROS, statesman and intellectual; monastic name Nathanael; born between 1250 and 1255, died Constantinople 16 Jan. 1327. Choumnos studied rhetoric and philosophy with GREGORY (II) OF CYPRUS in preparation for a government career. He first appears in the sources ca.1275 as a quaestor entrusted with an embassy to the Mongol khan in Persia. Under Andronikos II, he was promoted to *mystikos* in 1293, and ca.1295 became *epi tou kanikleiou*. Circa 1293–1305 he was also MESAZON and one of the most loyal ministers of Andronikos. He secured an alliance with the Palaiologan dynasty in 1303 through the marriage of his daughter Irene CHOUMNAINA to the *despotes* John Palaiologos. In 1309–10 Choumnos served as governor of Thessalonike; thereafter he gradually withdrew from public service, after being supplanted in influence by his political and literary rival, Theodore METOCHITES. In the 1320s the two men engaged in bitter polemics over questions of literary style, Choumnos attacking the writings of Metochites for their lack of clarity. Metochites in

turn criticized his rival for his devotion to physics and his ignorance of astronomy, the highest form of science. Circa 1326 Choumnos retired to the monastery of Christ Philanthropos. His writings include rhetorical pieces; treatises on philosophy, cosmology, and theology; and 172 letters. He possessed a great fortune, based primarily on land in Macedonia, and founded the monastery of the Theotokos Gorgoepekoos in Constantinople (V. Laurent, *REB* 12 [1954] 32–44).

ED. Boissonade, *AnecNova* 1–201. Boissonade, *AnecGr* 1:293–312, 2:1–187, 3:356–406, 5:183–350. PG 140:1404–38.

LIT. J. Verpeaux, *Nicéphore Choumnos: Homme d'État et humaniste byzantin (ca. 1250/1255–1327)* (Paris 1959). I. Ševčenko, *Études sur la polémique entre Théodore Métouchite et Nicéphore Choumnos* (Brussels 1962). —A.M.T.

CHRESIS (χρῆσις). In a broad sense, *chresis* implied the principles (e.g., *orthē chresis*, “proper use”) by which church fathers integrated Graeco-Roman culture within the Christian worldview (Gnilka, *infra*). In documents, *chresis* meant “use” (e.g., *Lavra* 1, no.59.27) and was the usual word for *usufruct*. In accordance with the principles of Roman law, a scholium to the *Basilika* (*Basil.* 16.1.7) defines the *chresis* of a field as working the field and enjoying everything produced on it. Legislation of the 10th C. employs *chresis* in a different sense: a novel of Romanos II (Zepos, *Jus* 3:283.31–32) orders that, while a peasant in debt may hand over the *chresis* of his allotments (*topoi*) temporarily to a *dynatos*, he is not to be deprived of ownership of the property. Thus, the individual who received the *chresis* of a property (i.e., the *usufructuarius*) was not necessarily the one who worked the property. The word appears with this particular meaning occasionally in the 12th C.: in a document from 1153 (*Lavra* 1, no.62.7), a monk's *chresis* of a property owned (and worked) by a monastery provided him with an annual income (*siteresio*). In an extended use of the word a *praktikon* from 1181 (*Lavra* 1, no.65.26) distinguishes between a monastery's rights of *despoteia* (OWNERSHIP) over some *paroikoi* and a group of pronoiars' lifetime *chresis* and *nome* (POSSESSION) over the same *paroikoi*. *Chresis* appears only rarely in documents thereafter (e.g., from 1315; *Esphig.*, Appendix B.71).

LIT. Kazhdan, *Derevnja i gorod* 87–89, 118. Ch. Gnilka, *Chresis: Die Methode der Kirchenväter im Umgang mit der an-*

tiken Kultur (Basel-Stuttgart 1984), with rev. F. Winkelmann, *BZ* 79 (1986) 59–61. —M.B.

CHRISM. See ANOINTING.

CHRISMON. See CHRISTOGRAM.

CHRIST. [This article is divided into three sections that treat the theology of Christ (Christology) that developed in Byz., the literary image of Christ, and the types of Christ used in artistic representations. For depictions of Christ in narrative scenes, see the following entries: AGONY IN THE GARDEN; ANASTASIS; APPEARANCES OF CHRIST AFTER THE PASSION; ASCENSION; BLIND MAN, HEALING OF THE; CANA, MARRIAGE AT; CRUCIFIXION; DEPOSITION FROM THE CROSS; EPIPHANY; FEEDING OF THE MULTITUDES; FLIGHT INTO EGYPT; GALILEE, STORM ON THE SEA OF; INFANCY OF CHRIST; LAZARUS SATURDAY; LORD'S SUPPER; MIRACLES OF CHRIST; MISSION TO THE APOSTLES; NATIVITY; PASSION OF CHRIST; TEMPTATION OF CHRIST; TRADITIO LEGIS; WASHING OF THE FEET.]

BYZANTINE CHRISTOLOGY. The image of Christ encountered in the Byz. church and in its theology is not so much that of the Synoptic Gospels, although Orthodoxy confesses the human nature (SUBSTANCE) of Christ and expresses it in the iconographic program of the GREAT FEASTS, but rather the Johannine Christ (LOGOS), the PANTOKRATOR, the Transfigured or Resurrected One who is enveloped by the MANDORLA. The church fathers of the 4th C. in particular exerted a lasting influence on liturgical texts, and their Christ is the Logos who is “of one essence with the Father” (HOMOIOUSIOS). Against ARIUS and EUNOMIOS, they emphasized Christ's divine status, thereby initiating the Christology “from above” so characteristic of Byz. and of the ANTIOCHENE SCHOOL as well: the Logos “became flesh” (Jn 1:14), the Preexistent One “became man” (cf. Gal 4:4).

According to Grillmeier there are two distinctive types of Christology: the Logos-sarx (cf. *sarkosis*, INCARNATION) and the Logos-anthropos (*enanthropesis*) models. Representatives of the first type are inclined to attach no theological relevance to the human soul, or human freedom, of Christ. At the very least, they ignore it (e.g., ATHANASIOS of Alexandria); or, they deny its existence altogether so that in the union the Logos

assumes the function of the soul (e.g., APOLLINARIS of Laodikeia); or, they subordinate the soul of Christ (and his human personality) to the preeminence of the Logos. Accordingly, the divine activity of the Logos concerning the human reality of Christ is often vitalistically interpreted (*theokinēsis*), as in all Christologies of Monophysitic tendency since the Council of Ephesus (431); this tendency is seen above all in CYRIL of Alexandria, if one excludes the compromise formula that he offered in 433 to the Antiochenes and that the Council of Chalcedon (451) accepted as his belief. Emphasizing Christ as a “man with a body and soul” runs the risk of conceiving the union of the divine and human in the “God-Man,” in the most extreme instance, as a relationship of two persons, that is, in the juxtaposition of two beings, as in the NESTORIAN “Christology of separation.”

Increasingly, a tendency developed to deny the “God-Man” certain human experiences believed to be “merely human.” From the beginning the fact of Christ's sinlessness, a doctrine derived from Hebrews 4:15, was evident to the faithful and soon became a principle of interpretation. Athanasios, for instance, could still accept the ignorance (*to agnoein*) of Jesus as a characteristic of his human nature (PG 26:624A); but later, certain statements in the Gospels were seen only as an accommodation (*oikonomia*) to the audience: “I told you that I do not know, when in truth I do know” (Didymos the Blind, PG 39:920B). The height of this tendency is shown in the Monothelite controversy when MAXIMOS THE CONFESSOR denied the possibility of a gnomic will in Christ, that is, the freedom of choice or FREE WILL.

After the acceptance of dyophysitism at the Council of CHALCEDON, theology was occupied with an explanation of the union, kept within the scope of the Chalcedonian definition (NEO-CHALCEDONISM), as taking place in the Person of the Logos (hypostatic union). This view came to fruition in the 6th C. in the anathemas of the Fifth Ecumenical Council (553) and in so-called THEOPASCHITISM under Justinian I. This made it possible to accord prominence to the Christology of Cyril of Alexandria and to offer the MONOPHYTES a formula that drew from both traditions (e.g., “Known in two natures; united, without commingling, of two natures”).

Emphasizing the hypostatic union gives prominence to the Logos as the basis of the union so

that he is the existential foundation of the one Christ. Thus, emphasis on the predominance of the Logos, in an Alexandrian context, brings prominently into view the deifying “energy.” Man as a union of two natures, body and soul, was a Christological model before Chalcedon and was used by Pope Leo I as well as the Monophysites. Not until Neo-Chalcedonism, however, does it become the focus for clarifying the hypostatic union and for distinguishing between varying degrees of individuation, in particular the differentiation of the individuality of NATURE or SUBSTANCE and of PERSON or HYPOSTASIS. The individuality of body and soul, both of which are conceived within a Platonic framework, are united in a particular man, in his person or hypostasis, on which basis the individual “exists in himself” as an independent being; yet, he is more than a particular instance of a common nature, or species.

The consequence of this model is shown in the Christology of Patr. ANASTASIOS I of Antioch with his emphasis on the deification of man: “Many times have our holy fathers made use of the paradigm of man when reflecting on the union of natures [in Christ]. As man is constituted of different activities (*energeiai*), some of which belong to the rational soul, some to the body, in the same way we understand the union that took place in our Saviour; just as we see one hypostasis constituted of different natures, so also we see it constituted of different energies,” the divine and human (*Doctrina Patrum*, ed. F. Diekamp, 13.1, pp. 79.13–80.3).

If, as in THEODORE OF RAITHOU, the energies are expressly connected with the hypostasis, or together form a *prosopon* derived from a *prosopon*, then Neo-Chalcedonism is able to promote a single, hypostatic energy of Christ. In other words, there is created a Chalcedonian MONOENERGISM (or MONOTHELETISM) as, for example, in the anthropological paradigm to which Patr. Sergios I refers Pope Honorius (Mansi 11:536AB). By emphasizing that the subject of the activity and will is one, both NESTORIANISM and the possibility of conflict between the divine and the human in Christ were excluded, while Christ's sinlessness, and its accompanying mode of freedom, was firmly established.

It is noteworthy that MAXIMOS THE CONFESSOR sought to understand the uniqueness of Christ's

hypostatic union by altering this paradigm, after a phase in which he avoided or even rejected it, and thereby provided ANTHROPOLOGY with a significantly different model of man. The human hypostasis is never absolutely independent, never autonomously free; in its worldly and communal existence it is precisely defined as a union of natures, bound by necessity and impotence to arise and disappear, together with its elements, and to be so constituted until the end of the world. Christ alone is a pure hypostatic union standing above the laws of unions in the natural order. Consequently, he is an absolutely unique hypostasis and is not like man, who is unique only in a relative sense, existing as one particular among many other particulars of the same species. The autonomous character of Christ's hypostasis differs from that of the hypostases in the natural order, for there the independence of the hypostasis is conditioned by the essential elements that constitute the species.

Maximos's concept of "person," therefore, is not concerned with its precise content, but rather its ontological structure. Since Christ is a unique synthesis established in divine freedom, he is not subject to anything in or of the world. For Maximos, as soon as one defines the content of the hypostasis, its activity and will, one falls into Monophysitism, for one's thought moves within the framework of the natural synthesis characterizing man.

This Christological model was, however, unique and had little impact on the history of Byz. theological thought, where distinguishing marks are the predominance of the Logos, the notion of the mutual interpenetration (*perichoresis*) of the divine and human natures, and the communication of idioms produced by the hypostatic union. As a result, theological scholarship acquired the religious flavor peculiar to the tradition of Alexandrian Monophysitism, and this became normative for Byz. thought. The divine Logos is the one whom the believer encounters in the icon of Christ, and in the life, suffering, and resurrection of Jesus. It is God who in Jesus has assumed all mankind and whose presence extends in an aesthetic experience.

This experience is in no apparent conflict with God's transcendence, with respect to his essence. The argument of the Iconoclasts—which maintained that the iconographic representation of

Christ, to the extent that it claims to depict God and man, either separates his two natures (falling, therefore, into Nestorianism) or fuses them into one (thereby falling into Monophysitism)—reflects not the experience or consciousness of the faithful, but rather competing pseudo-rational Christological formulas. An example of an alternative view is the simple statement of Patr. NIKEPHOROS I that in the icon of Christ the Logos is made visible if it represents his body and therefore refers to him. At issue is the role of perceptible symbols in conveying spiritual understanding: "We do not err when we depict Christ crucified at all times, for if what we see mentally, while absent, is not also seen with the senses in painting, then even what we see mentally will be lost" (Theodore of Stoudios, PG 99:436A).

In spite of this spirituality, the dogmatic formula of Monophysitism remained unacceptable to Byz. thought and theologians were constantly involved in its refutation, esp. when the conquests in Armenia and on the borders of the Euphrates confronted them again with the Monophysite church. Christology also played a role in the polemic against ISLAM in that Monophysite, and even Nestorian, influences are discernible in the Qur'an, thereby indicating the milieu in which it originated.

LIT. A. Grillmeier, *Christ in Christian Tradition*, vols. 1, 2.1 (London-Oxford 1965–87). K.H. Uthemann, "Das anthropologische Modell der hypostatischen Union," *Kleronomia* 14 (1982) 215–312. Idem, "Das anthropologische Modell der hypostatischen Union bei Maximus Confessor," in *Maximus Confessor*, ed. F. Heinzer, C. Schönborn (Fribourg 1982) 223–33. —K.-H.U.

LITERARY DESCRIPTIONS OF CHRIST. Although the New Testament provides no information on the physical characteristics of Christ, gradually the church fathers developed verbal descriptions of Christ in his human manifestation. Using Isaiah 52:13–53:12 as their source, some early fathers (Clement of Alexandria, Basil the Great, Cyril of Alexandria) imagined Christ as an unattractive man of short stature and ordinary features (A. Michel, *DTC* 8 [1947] 1153). Others (Jerome and Augustine in the West, John Chrysostom in the East) provided a different literary portrait, based on the description of the Messiah in Psalm 44:3 as "the most beautiful of the sons of men." Chrysostom (PG 57:346.19–26) states that Christ's countenance was surely comparable

to the glorious face of Moses and to Stephen the Protomartyr, who resembled an angel.

By the 9th C. detailed descriptions of Christ were developed: the LETTER OF THE THREE PATRIARCHS (ed. Duchesne 277.15–18) refers to the church tradition that presented Christ as being "of good build, three cubits tall, with eyebrows that meet, beautiful eyes and long nose, curly haired, bent over, of healthy appearance, with a black beard, a complexion the color of wheat, and long fingers." The same features are listed in the letter to Emp. Theophilos falsely ascribed to John of Damascus (PG 95:349C) and by OULPIOS (ed. Chatzidakis, *EEBS* 14 [1938] 411.39–43).

LIT. P. Hinz, *Deus homo*, vol. 1 (Berlin 1973). S.G.F. Brandon, "Christ in Verbal and Depicted Imagery," in *Christianity, Judaism and Other Greco-Roman Cults. Studies for Morton Smith at Sixty* (Leiden 1975) 164–72. B. Baldwin, "Images of Christ and Byzantine Beliefs," *Aevum* 58 (1984) 144–48. —A.K.

TYPES OF CHRIST. The iconographical tradition of representing Christ was slow to develop. Once established, however, images of Christ re-

mained remarkably consistent, because of the emphasis, from the 6th C. onward, on "authentic" likenesses of Christ that were all supposed to derive from ACHEIROPOIETA fashioned during his lifetime.

Early images of Christ showed him together with the apostles, or in other contexts, such as performing miracles; if depicted alone, he at first took the form of the GOOD SHEPHERD. In these cases he was generally depicted young and beardless.

Other images of Christ alone are documented only from the 6th C. onward (the lost *acheiropoieta* icons from KAMOULIANAI and PANIAS, in the Praetorium of Pilate in JERUSALEM, and at Memphis). Two of these, the miraculous images of Christ's face known respectively as the MANDYLION and the KERAMION, survived longer; both were transferred to Constantinople during the 10th C. These two icons have also been lost, but versions of them made during the 11th C. show a bearded Zeus-like head of Christ, which suggests that these early lost images all used the same type later known as

CHRIST: Types of Christ. Christ Emmanuel in a medallion on the breast of the Virgin; mosaic, early 14th C. Church of the Chora monastery, Istanbul.



the Pantokrator. This is confirmed by the earliest surviving panel portrait of Christ, an icon at St. Catherine's monastery, Sinai (Weitzmann, *Sinai Icons*, B1), and by the image on the solidus of Justinian II, the first figure of Christ to appear on coins (J.D. Breckenridge, *The Numismatic Iconography of Justinian II* [New York 1959]).

Christ Pantokrator. The concepts that separate the types of Christ are theological, having to do with the various manifestations of Christ in his relation to God the Father; the images themselves are based on the prophetic visions of God as well as on traditional representations of antique divinities. The Pantokrator, or "all-sovereign," designates the best-known type: Christ is represented frontally as a severe dark-bearded figure, clad in a tunic and dark blue *himation*, blessing with his right hand raised before his chest and holding a Gospel book in his left. His hair is parted in the middle, and two strands of hair may fall left or right from the center of his forehead. His halo is inscribed with a cross. The features do not change but can be subtly altered to convey a more strongly ascetic, merciful, or judgmental impression, depending on the taste of the period. The image is generally accompanied merely by the abbreviation IC XC, the monogram of Christ; the word *Pantokrator* begins to accompany this image only in the 12th C. Variations in the image are legion: Christ may be holding the book open or closed, from beneath or with his fingers stretched out over its binding. He may bless with the first two fingers raised and the last two touching the thumb or with all raised but the fourth finger. Instead of blessing, he may point to the book.

In monumental painting, this Pantokrator figure, in the form of a bust, was deemed particularly appropriate for dome decoration, where it could appear that Christ the ruler was coming from the heavenly world into the earthly through the center of the dome; it was also frequently placed over the entrance to a church, esp. the door between narthex and naos. Christ Pantokrator could be represented seated on a throne, as in the coins of Basil I (*DOC*, ed. Grierson, 3.1:154–60), but most often appears as a bust.

Christ Emmanuel. Christ as the preexistent Logos, the incarnate Word, the flesh immortal, was depicted in the form of a frontal beardless youth with curly locks pushed behind his ears, a high forehead and a cross-halo; he was known as the

Emmanuel (Is 7:14). Though images of the youthful Christ were common in the 4th–5th C., separate images of Christ Emmanuel labeled as such appear with any frequency only from the 11th C. onward. Images of the MAJESTAS DOMINI in the frontispieces to Gospel MSS of the DECORATIVE STYLE group replace the mature Christ with the figure of the young Emmanuel. Manuel I Komnenos used the image of Christ Emmanuel on his coins, evidently a reference to his own name. The VIRGIN BLACHERNITISSA is shown with the Emmanuel enclosed in a medallion on her chest, and the features of the Emmanuel were borrowed for images of CHRIST ANAPESON, for the sacrificed child in the AMNOS, for Christ in the BURNING BUSH, etc.

Ancient of Days. God the Father was never represented, but Christ's oneness with the Father (see TRINITY) was conveyed through the image of Christ as the Ancient of Days (*ho palaios ton hemeron*), an elderly figure with white hair and beard, bearing a cross-halo. His robes and gestures are those of the Pantokrator. The image itself, rarely inscribed, is based on the description in Daniel 7:9 (cf. Rev. 1:14); it grew in popularity from the 12th C. onward.

The relation between the three aspects of Christ (Pantokrator, Emmanuel, Ancient of Days) is explored esp. in the 11th and 12th C., when all three may appear together on a single MS page (as three figures seated on three thrones in Paris, B.N. gr. 74; S. Tsuji, *DOP* 29 [1975] fig.4) or in a single church, each in a separate dome (NEREZI), or in three medallions down the barrel vault of the nave (St. Stephen, KASTORIA).

Christ as Angel. The rare image of the Christ-angel is based on Isaiah 9:6, which speaks of the Messiah as the angel of the Great Council (S. Der Nersessian, *CahArch* 13 [1962] 209–16). This and other Old Testament passages were adopted by Gregory of Nazianzos in his Second Homily on Easter (PG 36:624AB) to describe the vision of Habbakuk, and illustrated MSS of his homilies from the PARIS GREGORY ON illustrate his homily with the image of an angel in a mandorla. Later versions stress the relation of the angel figure to Christ by giving the angel the cross-nimbus. Christ as SOPHIA was also depicted as the Christ-angel.

Only a couple of Christ images are clearly related to famous icons in Constantinople: CHRIST CHALKITES and CHRIST ANTIPHONETES. Both are

essentially Pantokrator images. Images in which Christ's eyes look off to the viewer's left, the direction followed by his "forelock," has been associated by A. Cutler with Christ Euergetes (*DOP* 37 [1983] 35–45). Other epithets accompanying figures of Christ, such as *soter* (savior), *eleemon* (merciful), *philanthropos* (lover of mankind), *hyperagathos* (supremely good), and *zoodotes* (giver of life), while they correspond to the dedications of famous monasteries, do not necessarily represent distinct types or famous originals. The image of Christ Anapeson derives from a popular literary allegory, rather than from any theological tenet or special icon original. The MAN OF SORROWS and the Helkomenos ("the one dragged along"), which shows Christ being dragged to the cross and is known from at least the early 12th C. onward, are both illustrations of narrative Passion scenes.

LIT. E. von Dobschütz, *Christusbilder* (Leipzig 1899). K. Wessel, *RBK* 1:966–1047. J.T. Matthews, "The Byzantine Use of the Title Pantocrator," *OrChrP* 44 (1978) 442–62. A.W. Carr, "Gospel Frontispieces from the Comnenian Period," *Gesta* 21 (1982) 7–10 and n.51. W. Warland, *Das Brustbild Christi. Studien zur spätantiken und frühbyzantinischen Bildgeschichte* (Rome-Freiburg-Vienna 1986). I. Stouphe-Poulemenou, "Palaiochristianikes parastaseis tou Christou kai ho byzantinos Pantokrator," *Theologia* 57 (1986) 793–854. —N.P.S.

CHRIST, GENEALOGY OF. See GENEALOGY OF CHRIST.

CHRIST ANAPESON (*ἀναπεσών*, lit. "the reclining one"), the image of Christ asleep, awaiting resurrection. The image depends ultimately on the description of the lion in *PHYSIOLOGOS* as a beast who sleeps with his eyes open and whose offspring, born dead, are wakened to life by their father on the third day. References in the Bible to the unsleeping lion of Judah (esp. Gen 49:9; cf. Ps 121:4) led to the incorporation of the *Physiologos* description into biblical commentaries and to the development by the mid-14th C. of the image of Christ as a youth reclining on a bed, legs crossed, his head resting on his right hand, his eyes open. In his left hand he holds a scroll. In monumental painting the image is most often placed in or at the entrance to the *pastophoria* (A. Grabar, *La peinture religieuse en Bulgarie* [Paris 1928] 257–62). The figure of Christ may be flanked by

two angels carrying the symbols of the Passion (e.g., at Peribleptos church, Mistra); the instruments of the Passion serve to emphasize Christ's sacrifice, as does the location near the sanctuary (in the case of the Peribleptos, the conch of the *diakonikon*) (S. Dufrenne, *Les programmes iconographiques des églises de Mistra* [Paris 1970] 33, 54). The recumbent pose is occasionally assumed by the Christ child in images of the VIRGIN OF THE PASSION.

LIT. K. Wessel, *RBK* 1:1011–12. Pallas, *Passion und Bestattung* 181–96. —N.P.S.

CHRIST ANTIPHONETES (*ἀντιφωνητής*, lit. "the one who responds," also "the guarantor"). An icon of Christ Antiphonetes famous for its miracles was kept in Constantinople in an unidentified "domed tetrastyle" building thought to go back to the time of Constantine I the Great; it was probably in the neighborhood of the Church of the Virgin at CHALKOPRATEIA, where the icon is known to have been housed from at least the 9th C. onward. Its best-known miracle (7th C.) involved a merchant and the Jewish creditor to whom he gave the icon as surety, and it may explain the meaning of the epithet "the giver of surety." According to Psellos (*Chron.* 1:149, ch.66.1–10), the empress Zoe owned an icon of Christ Antiphonetes through which she foretold the future, as the complexion of Christ on the icon was capable of responding to questions by changing color. According to a 13th-C. chronicler, she also founded a Church of Christ Antiphonetes in which she was buried (Sathas, *MB* 7:163.3–5). An icon of Christ Antiphonetes appears, inscribed as such, on her coins and on other coins of the 11th C. (*DOC*, 3.1, ed. Grierson, 162f). The image is that of a standing, three-quarter length Christ, arms held close to his sides, with the palm of his right hand held up so as to face the viewer. It appeared again in the now destroyed 11th-C. mosaic on a bema pier in the Koimesis church in NICAEA (C. Mango, *DOP* 13 [1959] 252), but rarely thereafter. There was a 12th-C. monastery of Christ Antiphonetes on Cyprus.

LIT. T. Raff, "Das 'heilige Kerámion' und 'Christos der Antiphonetés,'" in *Festschrift L. Kretzenbacher* (Munich 1983) 149–61. Mango, *Brazen House* 142–48. Majeska, *Russian Travellers* 356–60. B. Nelson, J. Starr, "The Legend of

Divine Surety and the Jewish Moneylender," *AIPHOS* 7 (1944) 289–338.
—N.P.S.

CHRIST CHALKITES (Χαλκίτης), Christ of the CHALKE Gate. The site and historical associations of this image of Christ assured its fame, yet its exact appearance remains unclear and may in fact have changed with the repeated restorations to which it was subject. Leo III's order to remove (or destroy) the image in 726 or 730 initiated ICONOCLASM. The 9th-C. version, installed under Patr. Methodios after the TRIUMPH OF ORTHODOXY, was executed by the artist LAZAROS in mosaic. Frolow construed Methodios's epigram on this image to mean that Christ was depicted as a bust of the Pantokrator type, with the arms of the cross as three separate spikes—that is, not inscribed in a halo—behind his head. Coins of John III Vatatzes that bear a standing figure of Christ are labeled Chalkites, as is a similar figure in the Deesis mosaic in the narthex of the Church of the CHORA in Constantinople. But the gesture of Christ's right hand varies, and P. Grierson has suggested that by the 13th–14th C. any standing figure of Christ was called Chalkites (*DOC* 3.1:160–62).

LIT. Mango, *Brazen House* 108–42, 170–74. A. Frolow, "Le Christ de la Chalce," *Byzantion* 33 (1963) 107–20.
—N.P.S.

CHRISTIANOUPOLIS (Χριστιανούπολις), city of the Peloponnesos, probably to be identified with the modern village of Christianou in western Messenia (N.A. Bees, *OrChr* n.s. 4 [1915] 265–67), although connection with ancient Megalopolis in Arkadia has also been suggested. The city probably did not exist in antiquity but was briefly important in the 12th C. The bishop of Christianoupolis, unknown previously, held metropolitan status from the end of the 11th C. (*Notitiae CP* 11.79). By the 13th C. the city had declined and in 1222 Pope Honorius III divided its territory between the bishops of Korone and Methone (*Regesta Honorii Papae III*, ed. P. Pressutti, vol. 2 [Rome 1895] 50). Christianoupolis is perhaps to be identified with C(h)ristiana of Latin documents of the 13th–14th C., which mention a tower (Bon, *Morée franque* 348). The Greek see was restored before 1278 and is mentioned thereafter (V. Grumel, *AOC* 1 [1948] 166).

Preserved at the site is the large Church of the Transfiguration (restored), a domed octagon similar to the *katholikon* of HOSIOS LOUKAS and DAPHNI, dated to the 3rd or 4th quarter of the 11th C. It was apparently an episcopal church; its construction may be associated with the elevation of Christianoupolis to metropolitan rank.

LIT. Bon, *Péloponnèse* 112. E. Stikas, *L'église byzantine de Christianou en Triphylie* (Paris 1951). R. Janin, *DHGE* 12 (1953) 773f.
—T.E.G.

CHRISTODOROS OF KOPTOS (in Egypt), poet of 5th–6th C. Two of his epigrams in the GREEK ANTHOLOGY (bk.7, nos. 697–98) commemorate the death of John of Epidamnus, consul (467) and prefect (479). Christodoros's hexameters on the statues standing in the Zeuxippos baths at Constantinople comprise book 2 of the *Greek Anthology*. These verses, filled with the favorite Roman praise of the statues' lifelike qualities, tell us much about the cultural taste of the times; the presence of statues of the Latin authors Vergil and Apuleius is particularly striking. JOHN LYDOS (*De magistratibus* 3.26) quotes one line from Christodoros's poem *On the Disciples of the Great Proklos*. Possibly Christodoros wrote the fragmentary poems in P. Gr. Vindob. 29788B–C (R.C. McCail, *JHS* 98 [1978] 38–63). The *Souda* credits him with an epic on the Isaurian war of Emp. ANASTASIOS I as well as *patria* on Constantinople, Thessalonike, and other cities, but none survives.

ED. *AnthGr* 1:168–193, 2:406. Eng. tr. in Paton, *Greek Anth.* 1:58–91, 2:368–70.
LIT. F. Baumgarten, *De Christodoro Poeta Thebano* (Bonn 1881). T. Viljamaa, *Studies in Greek Encomiastic Poetry of the Early Byzantine Period* (Helsinki 1968) 29–31, 56f, 101. R. Stupperich, "Das Statuenprogramm in den Zeuxippos-Thermen," *IstMitt* 32 (1982) 210–35.
—B.B.

CHRISTODOULOS OF PATMOS, saint; baptismal name John; born Bithynia first half 11th C., died Euripos in Euboea 16 Mar. 1093. After elementary education in his native village, Christodoulos (Χριστόδουλος) became a monk on Mt. Olympos in Bithynia. When his spiritual father died, Christodoulos visited Rome, Bethlehem, and Jerusalem. Forced by Turkish invasions to leave Palestine, he headed for LATROS, where he was *protos* from 1076 to 1079. The Turkish threat then compelled him to seek refuge in Strobilos, Kos, and PATMOS. On Patmos Christodoulos

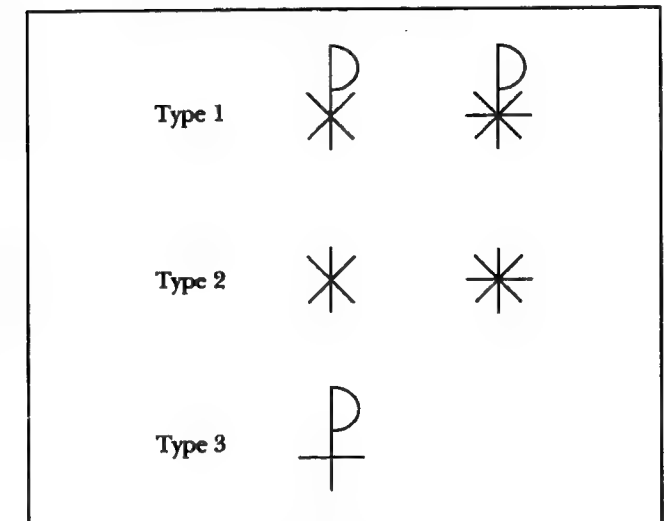
founded a monastery dedicated to John the Theologian and eagerly contributed to the economic regeneration of the island, which had been devastated by invasions. In 1092 a Turkish attack made Christodoulos flee to Euripos, where he soon died.

For his monastery on Patmos, Christodoulos received privileges from Alexios I, including a chrysobull of April 1088; he composed three sets of Rules: the *Hypotyposis* (1091), the *Diatheke* (Testament) (1093), and the *Kodikellos* (1093). John, metropolitan of Rhodes, wrote the Life of Christodoulos, probably ca.1140; Athanasios, a monk on Patmos and later patriarch of Antioch (1156–70), wrote an *enkomion* of Christodoulos based on the Life. After 1191 Theodosios, a monk from Constantinople, compiled another *enkomion* containing a description of Christodoulos's posthumous miracles and substantial information about political events of the late 12th C.

ED. MM 6:59–90.
LIT. BHG 303–08. E. Vranouse, *Ta hagiologika keimena tou hosiou Christodoulou* (Athens 1966). *Patmou Engrapha* 1:3*–32*. P. Gautier, "La date de la mort de Christodoule de Patmos," *REB* 25 (1967) 235–38.
—A.K.

CHRISTOGRAM (also Chrismon) and Christ's MONOGRAM are terms for various monogrammatic abbreviations of the name of Christ that began to appear during the 3rd C. and became popular in the 4th C. as a result of their use by Constantine I the Great and his sons. The two most common types are (1) the combination of Chi (X) and Rho (P), the first two letters of the Greek name *Christos*, and (2) a starlike figure consisting of the initials of *Iesus Christos*, Iota (I) and Chi (X), the horizontal beam of the cross being often added to each of these figures. A third type of Christogram consists only of the combination of Rho and the cross beam. The programmatic intention can be stressed by the addition of the letters Alpha (A) and Omega (Ω) or of attendant figures like apostles, angels, putti, etc.

The Christian meaning of the abbreviations in question is not always demonstrable, the combination Chi-Rho and similar figures (*crux ansata*) having been used in non-Christian milieus much earlier. Therefore the original aim of Constantine when placing a symbol of this kind on LABARUM and shield cannot be established with certainty (transfer from Mithraic cult?). From the 4th C.



CHRISTOGRAM. Types of Christogram.

into the 6th, the Christogram was used as an apotropaic device on imperial armor and as a sign of imperial triumph. It quickly became a sign of Christ's triumph as well, appearing already on early 4th-C. "Passion" sarcophagi, atop the cross, as it had stood atop Constantine's labarum. Its Christian use hereafter was varied and extensive. Occasionally ornamental, it was a widespread sign of Christian affiliation; it often symbolized Christ's triumph, and sometimes symbolized Christ himself. From the 5th C. onward, it was replaced more and more by the CROSS; it remained in use, however, in special functions, e.g., on doors (apotropaic), on documents and letters (invocative), or as a pattern of *versus texti*. Its monumental use ceases after the 6th C. in Byz.

LIT. Gardthausen, *Palaeographie* 2:57f. Idem, *Das alte Monogramm* (Leipzig 1924) 73–107. M. Sulzberger, "Le Symbole de la Croix et les Monogrammes de Jésus chez les premiers Chrétiens," *Byzantion* 2 (1925) 337–448. K. Wessel, *RBK* 1:1047–50. R. Grigg, "Constantine the Great and the Cult Without Images," *Viator* 8 (1977) 16–22. P. Bruun, "The Christian Signs on the Coins of Constantine," *Arctos. Acta Philologica Fennica* n.s. 3 (1962) 5–36. H.I. Marrou, "Autour du monogramme constantien," in *Mélanges offerts à Étienne Gilson* (Toronto-Paris 1959) 403–14.
—W.H., A.W.C.

CHRISTOPHER, general; dates of birth and death unknown. He was *domestikos ton scholon* under BASIL I and also was the emperor's *gambros*; according to C. Mango (*ZRVI* 14–15 [1973] 22, n.35), he married Basil's eldest daughter, Anastasia. R. Guiland identifies him with the *magistros* Chris-

topher of the same reign. In 872 Christopher led the army against the PAULICIANS; he seized TE-PHRIKE and thereafter sent the *strategoi* of Armeniakon and Charsianon to meet CHRYSOCHEIR at Bathryrax; an attack in the dead of night compelled the Paulicians to flee, and Chrysocheir was killed during the pursuit (P. Lemerle, *TM* 5 [1973] 103).

LIT. Guiland, *Institutions* 1:438. J.G.C. Anderson, "The Campaign of Basil I. against the Paulicians in 872 A.D.," *ClRev* 10 (1896) 136-40. —A.K.

CHRISTOPHER, bishop of Ankyra; fl. first half of the 13th C. After being elected EXARCH of the West on 6 Aug. 1232 at Nicaea, Christopher was sent to the despotate of EPIROS as legate of Patr. GERMANOS II to end the schism between the churches of Nicaea and Epiros. Upon arrival in Epiros in 1233, he convened a synod where the termination of the schism was declared. He was well received by most of the Epirot clergy, who provided him with financial support during his stay. He met with leaders of the schism, like George BARDANES, and investigated the status of certain stauropegial monasteries (G. Prinzing, *RSBS* 3 [1983] 24, 52, 57).

LIT. A. Karpozilos, *The Ecclesiastical Controversy between the Kingdom of Nicaea and the Principality of Epiros (1217-1233)* (Thessalonike 1973) 90-94. E. Kurtz, "Christophoros von Ankyra als Exarch des Patriarchen Germanos II.," *BZ* 16 (1907) 120-42. Nicol, *Epiros I* 119-22. —A.M.T.

CHRISTOPHER LEKAPENOS, eldest son of ROMANOS I; co-emperor (921-31); died Constantinople? 931. Christopher replaced his father as *megas hetaireiarches* ca.919 and was crowned co-emperor on 20 May 921. The *patrikios* Niketas, father of Christopher's wife Sophia, tried unsuccessfully to incite him to rebel against Romanos and in 928 was removed from the palace. Maria-Irene, Christopher's daughter, was married to PETER OF BULGARIA.

LIT. Runciman, *Romanus* 64f, 71f. —A.K.

CHRISTOPHER OF MYTILENE, poet, high-ranking imperial official; born Constantinople ca.1000, died after 1050 or perhaps after 1068. Christopher had the titles of *patrikios* and *anthypatos*, and served as imperial secretary (*hypogra-*

phus), judge of Paphlagonia and Armeniakon. His epigrams—sometimes conventional descriptions of various objects, sometimes personal and sarcastic—present scenes of everyday life as well as political events (death of Romanos III, blinding of Michael V); he also praised the manliness of the rebel George MANIAKES. Christopher was deeply interested in the beauty of the visible world which reflected divine wisdom, exemplified in such a small creature as the spider whose skill he praised; yet, at the same time, he was concerned with social inequity (Kurtz, *infra*, no.13). He praised some monks, e.g., Niketas of Synada, whom the empress and the whole city revered (no.27), but he esteemed Niketas primarily for his talent as poet and rhetorician. He derided gluttonous monks (no.135) or gullible monks like Andrew, the collector of false relics (no.114). Christopher was interested in the visual arts and praised artists who depicted people and animals as full of life (nos. 50, 101). He also wrote four CALENDARS of saints: two in classical meters (iambes and hexameters), and two in isosyllabic meters—one very concise (in STICHERA), another a little more expanded (in KANONES); the last is called a SYNAXARION in some MSS.

ED. *Die Gedichte*, ed. E. Kurtz (Leipzig 1903), corr. C. Crimi, *BollBadGr* 39 (1985) 231-42. *Canzoniere*, Ital. tr. R. Anastasi, C. Crimi, et al. (Catania 1983). *I calendari in metro innografico di Cristoforo Mitileneo*, ed. E. Follieri, 2 vols. (Brussels 1980).

LIT. E. Follieri, "Le poesie di Cristoforo Mitileneo come fonte storica," *ZRVI* 8.2 (1964) 133-48. —A.K.

CHRISTOS PASCHON (Χριστὸς πάσχων), anonymous drama presenting the story of Christ's crucifixion and resurrection. Although the *personae dramatis* are derived from the Gospels (VIRGIN MARY, JOHN, Joseph of Arimathea, MARY MAGDALENE, and others), the author has them express their feelings and attitudes in words borrowed from ancient writers, primarily Euripides. He structures his drama, however, on different aesthetic principles, replacing action with a narrative account of the action (both the chorus and heralds play a substantial part) and emphasizing the sudden shifts in emotion (S. Averincev in *Problemy poetiki i literatury* [Saransk 1973] 255-70); the author accordingly changes the lexical pattern of his sources (I.G. Rizzo, *SicGymn* 30 [1977] 1-63). The problem of authorship remains un-

solved; the MS tradition ascribes the work to GREGORY OF NAZIANZOS, and A. Tuilier accepted this traditional point of view, but the majority of scholars prefer to date *Christos Paschon* in the 12th C. Among possible authors mentioned are PRODROMOS, TZETZES, and MANASSES, none of them unquestionably proven. R. Dostálova (*JÖB* 32/3 [1982] 80) hypothesized that the work could have been produced in the circle of EUSTATHIOS OF THESSALONIKE, while L. MacCoull (*BSAC* 27 [1985] 45-51) returned to late antiquity by hypothesizing an origin in 5th- to 6th-C. Egypt.

ED. Grégoire de Nazianze, *La passion du Christ*, ed. A. Tuilier (Paris 1969), with criticism by J. Grosdidier de Matons, *TM* 5 (1973) 363-72.

LIT. Hunger, *Lit.* 2:102-04. F. Trisoglio, "La Vergine ed il coro nel 'Christus Patiens,'" *Rivista di studi classici* 27 (1979) 338-73. W. Hörandner, "Lexikalische Beobachtungen zum Christos Paschon," in *Studien zur byzantinischen Lexikographie*, eds. E. Trapp et al. (Vienna 1988) 183-202. —A.K.

CHRISTOUPOLIS (Χριστούπολις, mod. Kavala), seaport in northern Greece located on the site of ancient Neapolis; it was the harbor of PHILIPPI. Prokopios (*Buildings* 4.4, p.118.50) mentions Neapolis in the list of Macedonian *phrouria* fortified by Justinian I; it is still named among Macedonian bishoprics in a notitia compiled after 787 (*Notitiae CP* 3.274), and is listed by Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos (*De them.* 2.36, ed. Pertusi 88) among Macedonian *poleis*. The name of Christoupolis had probably replaced that of Neapolis by the second half of the 9th C.; seals of several *kommerkiarioi* and an *archon* of Christoupolis have been published (Schlumberger, *Sig.* 114; Zacos, *Seals* 1, no.2404). Its walls were rebuilt by the *strategos* Basil Kladon in 926 (S. Reinach, *BCH* 6 [1882] 267-75).

Located on an important mainland route from Thessalonike to Constantinople, Christoupolis was the object of many attacks: it was burned by the Normans in 1185, captured by Baldwin of Flanders, and seized by semi-independent Lombard barons. In the 13th C. the area was contested among Latins, Bulgarians, the despotate of Epiros, and the empire of Nicaea, with John III Vatatzes the ultimate victor. In the early 14th C. it was a part of the theme of Boleron-Mosynopolis (Guillou, *Ménécée*, no.16.1), in 1335-38 an independent theme (*Xénoph.*, nos. 23.23, 25.1). Be-

cause of the strength of its fortifications (G. Mpa-kalakes, *Hellenika* 10 [1938] 307-18), it withstood the attack of the Catalan Grand Company in the early 14th C., but Stefan Uroš IV Dušan later conquered it. The Byz. retook Christoupolis in 1357-58, after Dušan's death, and John V gave it to two brothers, the *stratopedarches* Alexios and the *megas primikerios* John, who had commanded the army that seized Christoupolis (Ostrogorsky, *Serska oblast* 147-54). The city surrendered to the Turks in 1387.

The bishop of Christoupolis, first attested in the early 10th C., was suffragan of Philippi; he became autonomous archbishop before 1260 and metropolitan without suffragans by 1310. The traditional view that Christoupolis also had the Slavic name Moruvac was rejected by G. Theodorides (*Makedonika* 6 [1964-65] 75-89).

LIT. K. Chiones, *Historia tes Kabalas* (Kavala 1968) 27-64. G. Mpaikalakes, "Neapolis, Christoupolis, Kabala," *ArchEph* (1936) 1-48. Idem, "Hoi teleutatoi Komnenoi ex epigraphes tes Kabalas," *ArchEph* (1937) 464-72. Lemerle, *Philippes* 208f. —T.E.G.

CHRIST PHILANTHROPOS MONASTERY. See KECHARITOMENE NUNNERY.

CHRONICLE (χρονικόν, also χρονογραφικόν, χρονογραφείον, rarely χρονογραφία), the term that the Byz. applied, without a strict distinction, to various types of HISTORIOGRAPHY, and that has acquired, in modern scholarship, several specific meanings. The concept of the monastic chronicle as opposed to the secular "history" created by high state officials was rejected by Beck (*infra*), who demonstrated that among 21 so-called chronicles only one-third were written by monks, one of whom (GEORGE THE SYNKELLOS) was a man of high education. As a conventional term, chronicle can designate any one of the following types of works: (1) historical works describing world history from Creation (John MALALAS, George Synkellos, GEORGE HAMARTOLOS, GLYKAS) or large sections of past history (as in THEOPHANES THE CONFESSOR, Patr. NIKEPHOROS I) that for the most part were not based on the author's personal observation; the sections on ancient history were derived primarily from JOSEPHUS FLAVIUS, Sextus Julius AFRICANUS, and EUSEBIOS OF CAESAREA; ZONARAS, however, used more sophisticated

sources; (2) short chronicles that narrated in an annalistic form political events within a limited chronological period; esp. abundant are short chronicles dealing with the Turkish invasions (see **CHRONICLES, SHORT**); (3) short lists of dated events (ancient empires, emperors' reigns, patriarchs, popes, etc.) beginning with the ancient past (e.g., the *Chronographikon* of Patr. Nikephoros I, the chronicle of PETER OF ALEXANDRIA), attested in Byz. from ca.800 onward, that, according to Z. Samodurova (*VizVrem* 36 [1974] 139–44), were contained in MSS alongside short works on grammar, geography, rhetoric, philosophy, metrology, etc., and probably served educational ends (*VizVrem* 21 [1962] 146f); and (4) private notes with chronological dates, such as the list of the children of Alexios I in Moscow, *Hist. Mus.* 53/147 (A. Kazhdan in *Festschrift F. Altheim*, vol. 2 [Berlin 1970] 233–37).

ED. *Chronica byzantina breviora. Die byzantinischen Kleinchroniken*, ed. P. Schreiner, 3 vols. (Vienna 1975–79). S. Lampros, *Brachea chronika* (Athens 1932).

LIT. Beck, *Ideen*, pt.XVI (1965), 188–97. Z.V. Samodurova, "Malye vizantijskie chroniki i ich istočniki," *VizVrem* 27 (1967) 153–61. B. Croke, "The Origins of the Christian World Chronicle," in Croke-Emmett, *Historians* 116–31.

—A.K.

CHRONICLE OF 819, a short, annotated chronological table of events and notable persons from the birth of Christ to 819, written in Syriac. The author, a Monophysite, and probably a monk at Qartamīn, a monastery near Mardīn, listed those persons and events that were of interest to members of the Syrian Orthodox church. Of particular interest are the references to military encounters between the Muslims and "Romans" in the 8th and 9th C. The chronicle was later integrated almost completely into the so-called *Chronicle of 846*.

ED. A. Barsaüm in *Anonymi auctoris chronicon ad annum Christi 1234 pertinens*, ed. J.-B. Chabot (Paris 1920) [CSCO 81] 3–22, (Louvain 1937) [CSCO 109] 1–16. —S.H.G.

CHRONICLE OF 1234, conventional title for the universal history in Syriac, composed by a now anonymous Edessan author ca.1240. The work covers roughly the same ground as does the *Chronicle* of MICHAEL I THE SYRIAN, which is earlier by almost a half-century and with which the *Chronicle of 1234* often disagrees in details. The

latter chronicle is composed of two major parts, a narrative of civil affairs and a record of ecclesiastical events. The two parts are conflated up to the time of Constantine I; thereafter they are in separate books. In the *Chronicle's* present state of preservation, a unique and incomplete 14th-C. MS, the civil history reaches the year 1234 (hence the conventional title) while the ecclesiastical record ends in 1207. The importance of the *Chronicle of 1234* lies in part in the fact that it preserves excerpts from earlier works that are now lost. Examples of works surviving only in quotations are writings attributed to John of Asia, DIONYSIOS OF TELL MAHRĒ, and a history of Edessa by Basil bar Shūmana (died 1171). Other now unknown sources used by the author appear to be the same as those used by Theophanes the Confessor (A.S. Proudfoot, *Byzantion* 44 [1974] 367–439).

ED. J.-B. Chabot, *Anonymi auctoris chronicon ad annum Christi 1234 pertinens*, 2 vols. in 3 pts. (Paris 1916–20; Louvain 1937) with Lat. tr. [CSCO, vols. 81, 82, 109]. Fr. tr. A. Abouna, J.-M. Fiey, *Anonymi auctoris chronicon ad A.C. 1234 pertinens II* (Louvain 1974) [CSCO 354].

LIT. W. Witakowski, *The Syriac Chronicle of Pseudo-Dionysius of Tel-Mahrē* (Uppsala 1987) 85f. —S.H.G.

CHRONICLE OF CAMBRIDGE, conventional and incorrect title of an anonymous chronicle preserved in two Greek versions (Vat. gr. 1912 and Paris, B.N. suppl. gr. 920 of the 11th C.) and in an Arabic translation (MS of Cambridge, of the 13th C.). It consists of brief notes with chronological indications, encompassing 827–965 and relating primarily to Greco-Arab wars in Sicily; it was apparently the continuation of a general chronicle, from Adam to 825/6. G. Cozza-Luzi suggested that it was written in 998/9, with the Arabic text produced in the beginning of the 11th C.

ED. *La Cronaca Siculo-Saracena di Cambridge*, ed. G. Cozza-Luzi (Palermo 1890), corr. C.O. Zuretti, *Athenaeum* 3 (1915) 186f.

LIT. Vasiliev, *Byz.Arabes* 1:342–46. Krumbacher, *GBL* 358. —A.K.

CHRONICLE OF EDESSA, or *Histories of Events in Brief*, as the work is called in Syriac, is essentially a list of notable events and noteworthy churchmen associated with the history of the city of EDESSA from the 3rd to 6th C. The now anonymous *Chronicle*, which was compiled in the 6th C., survives in a unique MS (Vat. Syr. 163). It pre-

serves excerpts from the archives of Edessa as well as other sources, and is important for the history of the establishment of Christianity in the Syriac-speaking world. In its present form the *Chronicle* is probably an abbreviation of a longer recension of the same material. In turn, it became a source for later chronicles.

ED. L. Hallier, *Untersuchungen über die edessenische Chronik* (Leipzig 1892), with Germ. tr. I. Guidi, *Chronica Minora* (Paris 1903) 1:1–13 (Syriac); 2:1–11 (Latin).

LIT. Baumstark, *Literatur* 99f. W. Bauer, *Orthodoxy and Heresy in Earliest Christianity* (Philadelphia 1971) 12–17. W. Witakowski, "Chronicles of Edessa," *Orientalia Suecana* 33–35 (1984–86) 487–98. —S.H.G.

CHRONICLE OF GALAXEIDI, a brief chronicle composed ca.1703 by Euthymios, a monk of the monastery of the Savior in Galaxeidi (a port on the Gulf of Corinth). Drawing on apparently authentic documents preserved in the monastery and adding a liberal dash of epic imagination and religious credulity, the chronicle provides some interesting sidelights on late Byz. resistance movements in the southern Balkans as well as on earlier events, such as the Bulgarian invasion of the Peloponnesos under Romanos I (Jenkins, *Studies*, pt.XX [1955], 205–09; Bon, *Péloponnèse*, 80 and n.4).

ED. K. Sathas, *Chronikon anekdoton Galaxeidiou* (Athens 1865). G. Valetas, *Chroniko tou Galaxeidiou* (Athens 1944). —E.M.J.

CHRONICLE OF IOANNINA, name given by Vranoussis to an anonymous 15th-C. prose chronicle, originally wrongly attributed to the non-existent "Komnenos and Proklos." The chronicle, written ca.1440, is the longest and most informative of the surviving texts on medieval EPIROS and describes the tyrannical reign over IOANNINA of THOMAS PRELJUBOVIĆ (1366/7–84). The author is very hostile to Thomas and emphasizes his cruelty. The second portion of the chronicle concerns Thomas's pious widow, Maria Angelina (died 1394), and her marriage in 1385 to the Florentine Esau Buondelmonti, who ruled benevolently until 1408 or 1411. The chronicle also contains information about the settlement in Epiros of Serbs and ALBANIANS. It concludes with the year 1399; however, an Oxford MS of the chronicle contains additional entries up to 1417/18 (L. Vranoussis, *Historika kai topographika tou mesaionikou kastrou ton*

Ioanninon [Athens 1968] 78f). There is also a vernacular version of the chronicle, written in the 18th C., that ends with the death of Thomas.

ED. L. Vranoussis, "To chronikon ton Ioanninon kat' anekdoton demode epitomen," *EpMesArch* 12 (1962) 57–115 (texts: 74–101).

LIT. S. Cirac Estopañan, *Bizancio y España. El legado de la basilissa Maria y de los despotas Thomas y Esaú de Joannina*, 2 vols. (Barcelona 1943). Nicol, *Epiros II* 131, 142–60. L.I. Vranoussis, *Chronika tes mesaionikes kai tourkokratoumenes Epeirou* (Ioannina 1962). —A.M.T.

CHRONICLE OF MONEMVASIA, conventional and perhaps incorrect title of a local anonymous chronicle preserved in four late MSS (of the 16th C.) that differ from each other in content. Lemerle argued that the original chronicle (as reproduced in *Ivir.* 329) should be called the "Chronicle of the Peloponnesos": it describes events in the Peloponnesos from Justinian to Nikephoros I. The additional section deals with later events, some of which can be dated from 1082 to 1339. Lemerle argued that the chronicle was written before 932, when it was used in a scholion by ARETHAS OF CAESAREA; J. Koder even hypothesized that it was Arethas who compiled the chronicle (*JÖB* 25 [1976] 75–80). I. Dujčev (in *Charanis Studies* 54) rejected these conclusions on the basis of the allusion to Nikephoros II who lived after Arethas; he dated the chronicle to 963–1018. The chronicle's statement that the Slavs dominated the Peloponnesos for 218 years has provoked heated discussion: S. Kyriakides (*Byzantinai meletai*, vol. 6 [Thessalonike 1947]) considered the chronicle as a nonauthentic text, whereas P. Charanis (*DOP* 5 [1950] 139–66) insisted on its historicity.

ED. *Cronaca di Monemvasia*, ed. I. Dujčev (Palermo 1976).

LIT. P. Lemerle, "La chronique improprement dite de Monemvasie," *REB* 21 (1963) 5–49. —A.K.

CHRONICLE OF THE MOREA (*Χρονικὸν τοῦ Μορέως*), an anonymous account of the Frankish conquest of the MOREA, from the First Crusade to 1292, which survives in four versions (Greek, French, Italian, and Aragonese, while extracts appear in the chronicle of DOROTHEOS OF MONEMVASIA); debate continues whether the original was in Greek or French. The main MS of the Greek text (which is composed of over 9,000 lines of POLITICAL VERSE) dates from the late 14th C., not long after the time of its composition in the first

decades of that century. Including many Frankish loanwords and written in the mixed Greek found also in the late Byz. verse ROMANCES, this work contains a large number of repeated lines, a feature which usually indicates a close connection with traditional oral POETRY (M.J. Jeffreys, *DOP* 27 [1973] 163–95). The *Chronicle* is a major witness to the forms of VERNACULAR Greek at this time. The unknown author shows good knowledge of the legal niceties of Moreot feudal procedure and is more familiar with the council chamber than the battlefield; on events outside the Morea he is totally unreliable. Taking a Frankish standpoint and at times showing a vehemently anti-Byz. and anti-Orthodox bias, his account reflects vividly the cultural mix of the Frankish-Greek Peloponnesos of the late 14th C.

ED. *The Chronicle of Morea*, ed. J. Schmitt (London 1904; rp. Groningen 1967). To *Chronikon tou Moreos*, ed. P. Kalonaros (Athens 1940). *Crusaders as Conquerors: The Chronicle of Morea*, tr. H. Lurier (New York 1964).

LIT. Beck, *Volksliteratur* 157–59. Jacoby, *Société*, pt.VII (1968), 133–89. M.J. Jeffreys, "The Chronicle of the Morea: Priority of the Greek Version," *BZ* 68 (1975) 304–50. I.P. Medvedev, "K voprosu o social'noj terminologii Morejskoj chroniki," *VizOč* 3 (1977) 138–48. —E.M.J.

CHRONICLE OF THE TOCCO, title given by G. Schirò to an early 15th-C. chronicle in political verse about the Tocco family. Most of the chronicle (3,923 lines) has been preserved in Vat. gr. 1831 (produced before June 1429), which Schirò identifies as an autograph MS; Zachariadou (*infra*) has shown that the order of folios in the MS is confused. The title of the work and the name of its author are missing. The chronicle describes events in EPIROS during the late 14th and early 15th C. and glorifies the accomplishments of the Tocco rulers of IOANNINA. It spans a 50-year period from the death of Leonardo Tocco (1375/6) to 1422. In addition to political history, the work provides information on the feudal structure of Epiros and socioeconomic conditions.

Schirò suggests that the anonymous author was contemporary to the events he described and lived in Ioannina when he wrote the *Chronicle of the Tocco*. He praised Ioannina and the Greeks and criticized Arta and the Albanians. His viewpoint is very provincial: Constantinople and the Byz. emperor seem far removed from the local power struggles on which he focuses. The author writes

in the Greek vernacular with many errors in orthography.

ED. *Cronaca dei Tocco di Cefalonia di anonimo*, ed. G. Schirò (Rome 1975), with Ital. tr.; corr. E.A. Zachariadou, *EpChron* 25 (1983) 158–81.

LIT. A. Kazhdan, "Some Notes on the 'Chronicle of the Tocco,'" in *Bisanzio e l'Italia. Raccolta di studi in memoria di Agostino Pertusi* (Milan 1982) 169–76. —A.M.T.

CHRONICLE OF THE TURKISH SULTANS

(*Χρονικὸν περὶ τῶν Τούρκων σουλτάνων*), conventional title of an anonymous chronicle of the Ottoman sultans, compiled at the end of the 16th C. It is preserved in a unique MS (Vat. Barb. gr. 111), which lacks both opening and closing folios; another MS (Vat. Barb. gr. 598) contains some fragments of the text (E. Zachariadou, *Hellenika* 20 [1967] 166). In its present form the *Chronicle* runs from 1373 to 1513. Zoras (*infra*) and Moravcsik (*Byzantinoturcica* 1:296) suggested that the chronicler used CHALKOKONDYLES and LEONARD OF CHIOS as well as some sources now lost; Zachariadou (*infra*) demonstrated that its major source was the Italian chronicle of Francesco Sansovino (in its second edition of 1573), which the chronicler translated with slight changes and additions; he used also pseudo-DOROTHEOS OF MONEMVASIA and an independent story of SKANDERBEG. The *Chronicle's* significance for Byz. events is minimal.

ED. *Chronikon peri ton Tourkon Soultanon*, ed. G.T. Zoras (Athens 1958), with add. and corr. in *EEPhSPA* 16 (1965–66) 597–604. *Leben und Taten der türkischen Kaiser*, tr. R.F. Kreutel (Graz-Vienna-Cologne 1971).

LIT. E.A. Zachariadou, *To Chroniko ton Tourkon soultanon* (Thessalonike 1960). —E.M.J., A.K.

CHRONICLES, CITY. Local chronicles form a subdivision of the genre of CHRONICLES; few are known (e.g., CHRONICLE OF MONEMVASIA). One can hypothesize that some kind of annalistic records were kept in Antioch and Constantinople, but the traces are very indistinct. A chronicle of Antioch seems to have been the main source for MALALAS (bks. 1–17); Theophanes and some other historians also rely on local materials. PARASTASEIS SYNTOMOI CHRONIKAI drew its detailed knowledge of the late 6th-C. emperors from a written source that might be a lost chronicle (*Parastaseis* 45), and some information concerning natural phenomena (solar eclipse, comets) in the second part of the

chronicle of SYMEON LOGOTHETE might be drawn from a city record (A. Kazhdan, *VizVrem* 15 [1959] 140f). Schreiner (*Kleinchroniken* 1:24) listed annalistic notes from Thessalonike, Argos and Nauplion, Thebes, Mytilene, and Mesembria as well as those of Greco-Venetian provenance; they belong primarily to the 14th and 15th C.

LIT. A. Freund, *Beiträge zur antiochenischen und zur konstantinopolitanischen Stadtchronik* (Jena 1882). —A.K.

CHRONICLES, SHORT (*Βραχέα Χρονικά*), a name imposed by S. Lambros (the first editor of these texts) on a series of unrelated brief notices found scattered in the margins and on blank folios of MSS from the 10th C. onward. A major characteristic of these notices is a precise date by indiction, year, month, and day (after the *Chronographia* of THEOPHANES THE CONFESSOR, 9th C., this annalistic form ceased to be used for major works). The *Short Chronicles* vary in type and can include extracts from longer works, lists of imperial reigns, records of events in a particular locality, and notes of births and deaths within an individual family. Though often scrappy, the *Short Chronicles*, which cover all periods from the 4th C. to the Turkish conquest of the Aegean in the 16th and 17th C., frequently contain information unattested elsewhere; they provide an invaluable web of references that corroborate and complement the narrative historians.

ED. *Die byzantinischen Kleinchroniken*, ed. P. Schreiner, 3 vols. (Vienna 1977–79), with partial Germ. tr. —E.M.J.

CHRONICON ALTINATE, a complicated Venetian compilation that survives in 13th-C. MSS and whose legendary early history of Venice and its relations with Byz. comprises catalogs of rulers and bishops. It preserves an essential document on the circumstances of the deaths of Byz. emperors and descriptions of their tombs that was compiled in the 10th C. and continued from the 11th to 13th C. The 10th-C. section is a Latin translation of a lost memorandum of the emperors' reigns that once figured as the hitherto lost chapter 42 of *De cer.* book 2 (C. Mango, I. Ševčenko, *DOP* 16 [1962] 61–63) and sheds considerable light on problems of imperial chronology.

ED. R. Cessi, *Origo civitatum Italiae seu Venetiarum* [= FSI 73] (Rome 1933) 102–19.

LIT. Grierson, "Tombs and Obits," 3–60. *RepFontHist* 3:265f. —M.McC.

CHRONICON PASCHALE, conventional title for a Byz. universal chronicle, probably written in the 630s. It was so named by its first editor DuCange because it presents methods of determining the date of EASTER. It has sometimes been called the Alexandrian Chronicle, although in fact the work does not follow the Alexandrian chronographic tradition. The *Chronicon Paschale* originally covered the period from Adam to 629/30, but the preserved text breaks off in 628. It is the first extant chronicle to use the reckoning of 21 March B.C. 5509 for the date of Creation. Though largely a compilation of Sextus Julius AFRICANUS, EUSEBIOS OF CAESAREA, KOSMAS INDIKOPLEUSTES, and other sources, it does provide documentary and contemporary evidence for the 6th and early 7th C., esp. the reigns of Phokas and Herakleios. From the prominence accorded to SERGIOS I, patriarch of Constantinople, it has been conjectured that the author was a member of his circle.

ED. *Chronicon Paschale*, ed. L. Dindorf, 2 vols. (Bonn 1832). Eng. tr. M. & M. Whitby, *Chronicon Paschale 284–628 A.D.* (Liverpool 1989).

LIT. J. Beaucamp et al., "Le prologue de la *Chronique pascale*," *TM* 7 (1979) 223–301. Eidem, "La *Chronique pascale*: Le temps approprié," in *Temps chrétien* 451–68. E. Schwartz, *RE* 3 (1899) 2460–77. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:328–30. —B.B.

CHRONICON SALERNITANUM, essential source on Byz. Italy and its relations with neighboring principalities by an anonymous 10th-C. monk of Salerno (perhaps Radoald, abbot of S. Benedetto—H. Taviani, *Annales de Bretagne et des pays de l'Ouest* 87 [1980] 175–89). The chronicle draws on the LIBER PONTIFICALIS, Paul the Deacon, ERCHEMPERT, and lost archival materials, which are sometimes incorporated into the account (e.g., the letter of LOUIS II to Basil I and the spurious epistolary exchange between CHARLEMAGNE and the *basileus*), as well as oral tradition; it also narrates in lively—and sometimes inventive—fashion the deeds of the princes of Benevento and Salerno from the 8th C. to 974. It is particularly valuable for the later period.

ED. *Chronicon Salernitanum*, ed. U. Westerbergh (Stockholm 1956).

LIT. Wattenbach, Holtzmann, Schmale, *Deutsch. Gesch. Sachsen u. Saier* 1:340f, 3:111f. P. Delogu, *Mito di una città meridionale* (Salerno, secoli VIII–XI) (Naples 1977).

—M.McC.

CHRONICON VENETUM, the oldest surviving Venetian history, which narrates events from the 6th C. to 1008. The prominent role the anonymous work gives to the diplomat John, deacon, chaplain, and confidant of Doge Pietro II Orseolo (976–78, 991–1008), suggests that John may have written it. Most material on Byz. for the first two centuries comes from the 8th-C. chronicler Paul the Deacon. From ca.800 the *Chronicon* has independent value, although its sources are unclear and its chronology imprecise. It downplays Venice's formal links to Byz. but documents relations in the conferral of dignities like *spatharios*, *hypatos*, etc., on doges (e.g., 103.12–13, 104.1–2, 106.16–17); the defense of Byz. Italy (109.4–12, 113.11–115.4); the dispatch of Venetian BELLS to Constantinople for a church built by Basil I (126.13–16); and the purchase of artwork in Constantinople (143.1–2). It also treats Eastern events like the revolt of BARDANES TOURKOS (100.14–19), the Bulgar victory over Michael I (106.6–14), the attack of the Rus' on Constantinople in 860 (117.14–118.5), Romanos I's coup and Constantine VII's restoration (134.23–136.13), and the marriage at Constantinople of the doge's son with Basil II's "niece," Maria Argyropoulina (167.27–169.11), who was actually a sister of ROMANOS III (Vannier, *Argyroi* 43).

ED. *Chronache veneziane antichissime*, ed. G. Monticolo in FSI 9 (1890) 59–171.

LIT. G. Fasoli, "I fondamenti della storiografia Veneziana," in *La storiografia Veneziana fino al secolo XVI: Aspetti e problemi*, ed. A. Pertusi (Florence 1970) 11–44. Karayannopoulos-Weiss, *Quellenkunde* 2:417.

—M.McC.

CHRONOGRAPHER OF 354. See CALENDAR OF 354.

CHRONOLOGY. Byz. inherited from the ancient world its wide variety of systems for ordering events at proportioned intervals on a fixed scale and for measuring the time between them, and it proceeded to construct new systems of its own. Nature's way of ordering the passage of TIME is twofold: the monthly cycle of the moon and the annual seasonal cycle of the sun. Following Ro-

man usage, the Byz. calendar comprised a week of seven DAYS, with each day divided into HOURS of light and dark which varied in length depending on latitude and the seasons; and a year of 365 days divided into 12 MONTHS of uneven duration with a bissextile or leap year every four years. At Constantinople and throughout most of the Byz. world each new year began on 1 Sept. (before 462, on 23 Sept.). This day traditionally signified the beginning of the INDICITION, the official administrative year, which became compulsory for legal purposes in 537 (Justinian I, nov.47). The indiction was originally a cycle of years used in Egypt for the purpose of assessing land tax and in 312/13 a regular indiction of 15 years was instituted. Although the successive indiction cycles were themselves never numbered, each year within the cycle was, and the indiction became the usual way for the Byz. to distinguish recent and forthcoming years. When a document is dated only by an indiction, the exact year must be established by some other means. The date of EASTER was the other recurring chronological yardstick for Byz.; it required the provision of paschal tables setting out successive years with each year's Easter date. Sometimes events were dated in or from a year of cataclysmic or portentous events such as EARTHQUAKES, ECLIPSES, and COMETS.

The passing of time was ordered in a number of short-term and long-term ways. In the short term an event might be ascribed to a particular indiction or eponymous year. There was a variety of eponymous years that could begin and end at any point in a solar year: regnal years of Byz. emperors and foreign rulers (regnal years of Byz. emperors might also be used outside the empire, e.g., in Italy); years of the patriarchs of Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem; years of the popes of Rome; and years of leading imperial officials such as PRAETORIAN PREFECTS. Until the 7th C., following Roman practice, each year beginning on Jan. 1 was a consulship named after one or two consuls designated for that year. This was the usual way of dating years in chronicles and in public and legal documents. Lists of consuls were maintained for chronological reference.

The ordering of time over longer spans was much more complex and controversial. Some traditional measures were utilized: Olympiads (each year being the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, or 4th of a successively numbered Olympiad beginning in 776 B.C.);

local eras used in different cities and regions such as the ANTIOCHENE ERA or the DIOCLETIANIC ERA originating in Egypt and beginning on Thoth 1 (Aug. 29). The years of Diocletian were used initially for Easter tables but were later employed to date events and documents. More significant were the chronological measures developed by the Byz. themselves: lunar/solar cycles and world eras. Lunar cycles (19 years) and solar cycles (28 years) were employed to establish recurring synchronism and were compounded into larger cycles of 532 (= 28 × 19) years for fixing paschal dates (see COMPUTUS). The cycles also formed the basis for calculating eras from Creation, on the suppositions that the age of the world could be discovered precisely by chronographical methods and that the death and resurrection of Christ were epochal dates of special cosmic significance. All Byz. era calculations were based on the lunar cycle of Anatolios of Laodikeia, which began in 258, and the world era of Julius AFRICANUS (Incarnation in 5500, or 5501 by George the Synkellos's reckoning). Consequently, the ALEXANDRIAN ERA was constructed by changing the commencement of the year to 29 Aug., and the BYZANTINE ERA was constructed by adjusting the cycle of Anatolios first to the equinoctial new moon (21 Mar.), then to the indiction. There were other eras such as that of MALALAS (Incarnation in 5967, Crucifixion 6000) and the eras of the Incarnation (date dependent on world era) and the Ascension (beginning in 31). The official era became the Byzantine Era, while the civil year corresponded to the liturgical YEAR, reflecting the way Byz. had come to sacralize chronology and the calendar.

The multiplicity of dating systems used by Byz. up to the 9th C. meant that historians and annalistic chroniclers always needed to reconcile and combine overlapping systems. The chronicle of Malalas, for instance, dates events by consulships and indictions, by the Antiochene Era, and by years from Adam. It was not easy to maintain perfect synchronism over a long period, as evidenced by the miscalculation of THEOPHANES THE CONFESSOR for the events of the 7th/8th C. After Theophanes a unified system of chronology was used, and the date of the Creation as 5,508 years before the Incarnation was generally accepted.

To establish the chronology of events, modern scholars rely primarily on direct indications of dates. The sources, however, present various dif-

ficulties in chronology: (1) many Byz. historians do not date every event; thus, Byzantinists can place undated episodes in time only by inference, assuming that events were presented in strict chronological sequence (not always true); (2) some events or documents are dated by indiction only, and the scholar needs additional information to establish an absolute date; (3) in some cases, when there is a discrepancy between the date by indiction and the date from Creation, the scholar must decide which date is correct (or if both are wrong); (4) a similar problem arises when events are assigned different dates in Byz. and non-Byz. sources. If a source has no date whatever, the event can sometimes be dated on the basis of astronomical data (mention of ECLIPSES and COMETS), of natural phenomena (EARTHQUAKES, PLAGUES, etc.), or of feasts (e.g., by the occasional coincidence of Easter or a Sunday with a day and month of the solar year).

AUXILIARY DISCIPLINES have elaborated complicated methods to date MSS, inscriptions, coins, seals, ceramics, and other objects; to establish the chronology of archaeological material, not only the discovery of relatively well-dated objects (esp. coins) is necessary, but also stratigraphy, that is, the sequence of inhabited levels. Particularly important and difficult is the dating of literary texts, esp. anonymous ones, that can be based only on the mention of persons and events and, to a far lesser degree, on stylistic and linguistic criteria.

LIT. V. Grumel, *La Chronologie* (Paris 1958). M. Sjurjmov, *Chronologija vseobščaja* (Sverdlovsk 1971). R.S. Bagnall, K.A. Worp, *The Chronological Systems of Byzantine Egypt* (Zutphen 1978). F. Dölger, *Das Kaiserjahr der Byzantiner* (Munich 1949). Ja. Ljubarskij, "Zamečanja k chronologii XI knigi 'Aleksiady' Anny Komninoj," *VizVrem* 23 (1963) 47–56.

—B.C., A.K.

CHRONOS (Χρόνος), ancient personification of TIME, the father of Aion (i.e., aeon). In Neoplatonic philosophy, esp. in Damaskios (381K), he is the principle of being, described as a winged dragon with the face of a god resembling both a bull and a lion. NONNOS OF PANOPOLIS (*Dionysiaka* 2:420–23) depicted Zeus as seated in Chronos's chariot with four winged steeds, whereas QUINTUS OF SMYRNA (12:194f) said that it was "immortal Aion" who framed Zeus's eternal chariot "with his never-wearying hands." Church fathers usually contrasted Chronos and Aion, considering *chronos*

as the time of the sensible world and *aion* (eternity) as the time of the everlasting cosmos (Basil the Great, PG 29:596B; Gregory of Nazianzos, PG 36:320B).

LIT. O. Waser, *RE* 3 (1899) 2481f.

—A.K.

CHRYSAPHES, MANUEL, musician; fl. ca. 1440–63. Although little is known about his life and growth as a musician, apparently Chrysaphes (Χρυσάφης) was the most prolific and distinguished composer, singer, scribe, and theoretician of the late Byz. period. At least two of his dated autographs survive: Athos, Iveron 1120 (July 1458) and Istanbul, Topkapı 15 (July 1463). Numerous sources reveal that he held the office of *lampadarios* (see SINGERS) at the imperial palace, and, as John VIII and Constantine XI commissioned certain of his compositions, his association with the imperial court is confirmed.

Chrysaphes' compositions appear with great frequency in musical collections written after the mid-15th C. In this he compares favorably with the prolific 13th- and 14th-C. writers Glykys, Koukouzeles, Korones, and Kladas. All adhere to the new stylistic trends of the Palaiologan period, characterized in musical composition by the dominant kalophonic idiom. Chrysaphes—like his predecessors, acutely aware of the need to refurbish older chants, which were no longer suitable for the new, expanded liturgy, and to enrich the repertory with fresh vocal settings—composed a variety of musical offerings in diverse styles to fit the new requirements: solo and choral hymnody and psalmody; embellished chants; *kratemata* (see TERETISMATA); etc.

Chrysaphes was one of the few Byz. composers to write about theoretical and practical matters that he considered essential for a true understanding of Byz. chant. His treatise, entitled *On the Theory of the Art of Chanting and On Certain Erroneous Views That Some Hold about It*, is of great value in that it clarifies hitherto unexplained aspects of modal theory and musical practice and provides much important information about the development of Byz. singing in the 14th–15th C.

LIT. D.E. Conomos, *The Treatise of Manuel Chrysaphes, the Lampadarios* (Vienna 1985).

—D.E.C.

CHRYSARGYRON (χρυσάργυρον, *collatio lustralis*), tax in gold and silver levied every five years,

originally designed to pay the quinquennial donatives to the army. The tax was instituted by Constantine I and collected from *negotiatores*, a term primarily denoting merchants, but also including moneylenders and prostitutes; doctors and teachers were exempt. The tax was assessed on the capital assets of the *negotiatores*, along with their tools and families. Officials elected in each city by those liable for the tax collected the *chrysargyron*; it was esp. burdensome for city dwellers and those of small means. In the 5th C. it was collected every four years. In 498 Emp. Anastasios I abolished the tax, making up the difference from his own estate.

LIT. Jones, *LRE* 110, 237, 431f, 871f. Karayannopulos, *Finanzwesen* 129–37. R. Delmaire, "Note sur la périodicité du chrysargyre," *Bulletin de la société française de numismatique* 40 (1985) 621–23. T. Damsholt, "Das Zeitalter des Zosimos: Euagrios, Eustathios und die Aufhebung des Chrysargyron," *Analecta Romana Instituti Danici* 8 (1977) 89–102.

—T.E.G.

CHRYSOBALANTES, THEOPHANES, physician; fl. probably 10th C. Recent research has demonstrated that the name of Theophanes Nonnos, previously ascribed to this physician, derives from a Renaissance forgery. No biographical data are known. At the orders of an emperor "Constantine Porphyrogenetos," probably Constantine VII, Chrysobalantes (Χρυσοβαλάντης) compiled a therapeutic manual composed of abstracts from the writings of ORIBASIOS, AETIOS OF AMIDA, ALEXANDER OF TRALLES, and PAUL OF AEGINA. This compendium survives as the *Epitome de curatione morborum* in 297 chapters. He also wrote a pharmaceutical tract, the *De remediis* (as yet unpublished). A third treatise, *De alimentis*, describes the nutritive values of various foods.

ED. *Epitome de curatione morborum*, ed. C.W. Ettinger, 2 vols. (Amsterdam-Gotha 1794–95). *De alimentis*, in *Phys-MedGr* 2:257–81.

LIT. J. Sonderkamp, "Theophanes Nonnos: Medicine in the Circle of Constantine Porphyrogenitus," *DOP* 38 (1984) 29–41. Idem, *Untersuchungen zur Überlieferung der Schriften des Theophanes Chrysobalantes* (sog. *Theophanes Nonnos*) (Bonn 1987).

—J.S.

CHRYSOBERGES (Χρυσοβέργης, "golden wand"), a family known from the late 10th C. Some family members were judges or fiscal officials, such as "Krysobourgios," judge of Melitene under Rómanos III (MICHAEL I THE SYRIAN, *Chronique* 3:140f); Peter Chrysoberges, *patrikios* and

judge of the *velum* and Charsianon (Schlumberger, *Sig.* 285; the editor's date—10th C.—does not seem acceptable: at that time PATRIKIOS was too elevated a title for a provincial judge); Peter, *megas chartoularios* of the *genikon* (Laurent, *Corpus* 2, no.335) in the 11th C.; John, *megas chartoularios* of the soldiers' *logothesion* in 1088; Michael, *logariastes* on Crete in 1193.

Other members of the Chrysoberges family were high ecclesiastical functionaries: two patriarchs of Constantinople, Nicholas II and LOUKAS CHRYSOBERGES; Theodosios, patriarch of Antioch in the mid-11th C. (Laurent, *Corpus* 5.2, nos. 1521–24); Chrysoberges, metropolitan of Naupaktos, an addressee of THEOPHYLAKTOS of Ohrid; another Chrysoberges, archbishop of Corinth ca. 1170 (V. Laurent, *REB* 20 [1962] 214–18); Stephen, *chartophylax* of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople in the mid-12th C. (Laurent, *Corpus* 5.1, no.101; he was, according to Laurent, identical with the archbishop of Corinth); Nikephoros Chrysoberges, metropolitan of Sardis and a writer (see CHRYSOBERGES, NIKEPHOROS). The family possessed lands and held modest posts in the Smyrna region from the 12th C. onward (Ahrweiler, "Smyrne" 109f). While they still participated in administration in the 14th C.—a Leo signed a charter of 1322 as imperial *doulos* (*Chil.* 1, no.85.98–99), and a John was an imperial envoy ca. 1343—by that time they were mostly peasants, artisans, and scribes.

LIT. Nikephoros Chrysoberges, *Ad Angelos orationes tres*, ed. M. Treu (Breslau 1892) 38f, add. N. Bees, *EEBS* 2 (1925) 143, n.1.

—A.K.

CHRYSOBERGES, MAXIMOS, theologian; died Lesbos? between 1410 and 1429. He was the eldest of three brothers, all of whom became DOMINICANS; both Theodore and Andrew rose to be vicar-general of the order. Maximos was a student of Demetrios KYDONES and studied AQUINAS in his teacher's translation. After his conversion to Catholicism, he entered a Dominican monastery in Pera ca. 1390. A few years later he went to Venice to study philosophy and (in 1396) to Pavia to study theology. In 1398 he traveled to Rome, where he received permission from Pope Boniface IX (1389–1404) to celebrate the Dominican rite in Greek. Circa 1399/1400 he went to Crete, where he participated in a public disputation with Joseph BRYENNIS and wrote his *Discourse to the*

Cretans on the Procession of the Holy Spirit. He also engaged in polemics with Neilos DAMILAS. Maximos believed that the decline of the Byz. was a result of their disobedience to the pope.

ED. PG 154:1217–30.

LIT. Loenertz, *Calécas* 57–63. Beck, *Kirche* 742.

—A.M.T.

CHRYSOBERGES, NIKEPHOROS, rhetorician; born probably ca. 1160 (not 1142), died after 1213?. Promoted with the patronage of Constantine MESOPOTAMITES to the post of DIDASKALOS ca. 1186, Chrysoberges probably fell into disgrace in the 1190s but was then appointed *magistros ton rhetoron* (1200–04) and produced speeches to Alexios III, Alexios IV, and Patr. John X Kamateros. Circa 1204 he succeeded his uncle as metropolitan of Sardis. Both his political views and literary principles were traditional and conventional. He praised imperial power but unlike EUSTATHIOS OF THESALONIKE remained unimpressed by military prowess. The Italian problem occupied an important place in Chrysoberges' works. In 1202 he criticized the Italians for their arrogance and vanity but was more cautious in 1204, trying to present them as loyal servants of Alexios IV.

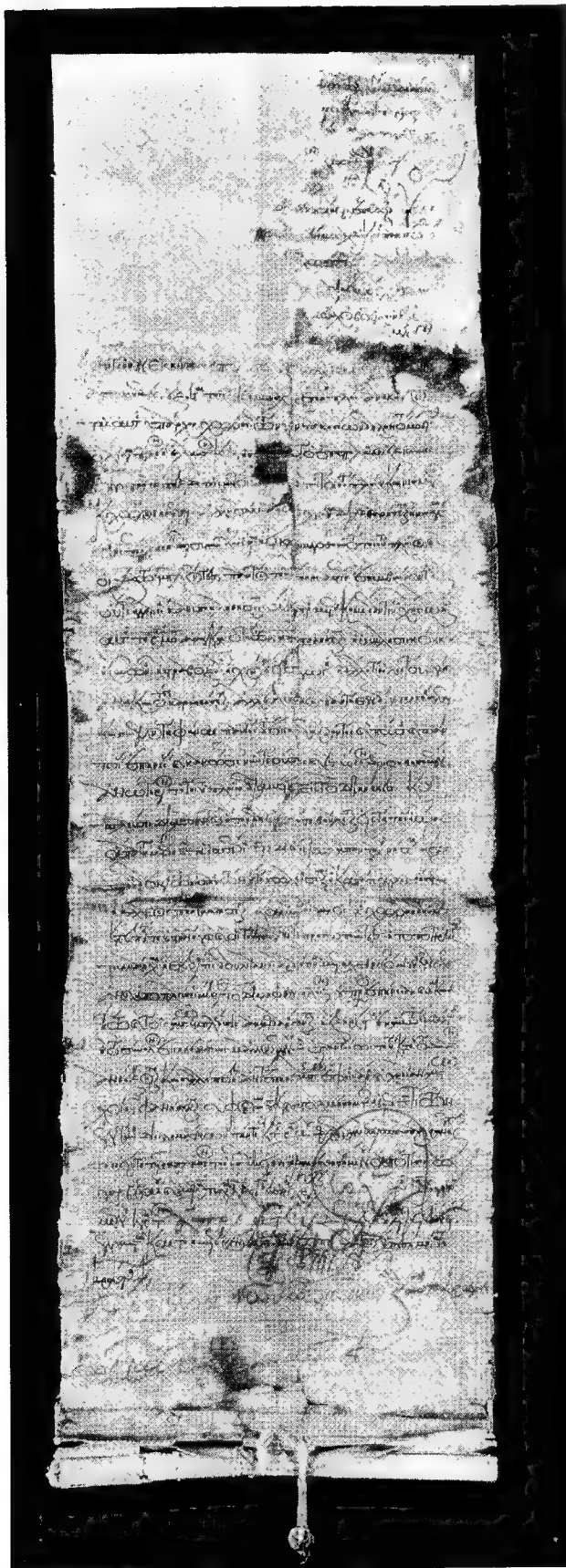
ED. *Ad Angelos orationes tres*, ed. M. Treu (Breslau 1892). Eng. tr. of the speech to Alexios IV by C. Brand, "A Byzantine Plan for the Fourth Crusade," *Speculum* 43 (1968) 465–72. R. Browning, "An Unpublished Address of Nikephoros Chrysoberges to Patriarch John X Kamateros of 1202," *BS/EB* 5 (1978) 37–68. F. Widmann, "Die Progymnasmata des Nikephoros Chrysoberges," *BNJbb* 12 (1935–36) 12–25.

LIT. Kazhdan-Franklin, *Studies* 224–36. Browning, "Patriarchal School" 184–86. Dujčev, *Proučvanija* 91–110. P. Wirth, "Die Wahl des Patriarchen Niketas II. Muntanes von Konstantinopel," *OrChr* 46 (1962) 124–26.

—A.K.

CHRYSOBULL (χρυσόβουλλον), generic name for several types of documents bearing the emperor's gold bulla; later, used to indicate solemn documents, even those without such a bulla. Chrysobulls were also issued by the emperors of Trebizond and by Slavic rulers, esp. by STEFAN UROŠ IV DUŠAN.

Types of chrysobull included the *chrysoboullos logos*, the *chrysoboullon sigillion*, the *chrysoboullon*, and the *chrysoboullos horismos*. The *chrysoboullos logos* (preserved originals from 11th to 15th C.) was a solemn document for granting privileges (including unilateral confirmations of TREATIES with



countries of western Europe), sometimes also for communicating important administrative decisions or for publishing new laws. The word *logos* (usually three times), part of the date, the word *legimus* (until the 12th C.), and the full imperial autograph signature were written with red ink. The *chrysoboullon sigillion* (originals from 11th to mid-14th C.) was for lesser privileges, often related to real estate. Words written in purple ink were *sigillion*, *legimus* (until 1119), and the emperor's autograph *MENOLOGEM*. In some early *sigillia*, the gold seal was accompanied by the emperor's wax seal. The *chrysoboullon*, sometimes defined as *horkomotikon* (when confirming an oath) or *prokouratorikon* (when it served as a procuration), was a document for confirmation of treaties, safe-conducts, appointment of representatives (13th–15th C.), signed either with full signature, or with menologem. The *chrysoboullos horismos* (middle of the 14th C.) was a less-solemn document in which only the emperor's full signature was written in purple.

The gold bulla and the emperor's autograph full signature in purple (exception: menologems 1341, 1342) were also used to confirm treaties (*trevae*, *symbolaion*, *symphonia*) with Venice and Genoa (1341 and after) as well as the *litterae patentes* (Gr. *aneogmenai graphai*) issued in Paris by Manuel II (1400, 1402), although the word *chrysobull* was not used of them.

LIT. Dölger-Karayannopulos, *Urkundenlehre* 117–28. Oikonomides, "Chancellerie" 190. Oikonomides, "Chancery" 313–19. Dölger, *Diplomatik* 39–45. —N.O.

CHRYSOCHEIR (Χρυσόχερς, lit. "Golden Hand"), last leader of the PAULICIANS (ca.863–ca.878/9). Chrysocheir may have served in his youth as an officer in the imperial army, but his career is known primarily after his succession to his uncle, KARBEAS. Chrysocheir sided with the Muslims and fought vigorously against Emp. Basil I, raiding as far as Nicaea, Nikomedeia, and even Ephesus, but the capture of TEPHRIKE and his own murder by a renegade named Poullades (ca.878/9) brought about the end of the Paulician principality. The memory of his career must have survived in popular tradition, for in the DIGENES

CHRYSOBULL. Chrysobull of Emp. Alexios I; 1088. Monastery of St. John, Patmos.

AKRITAS he seems to have been turned into Digenes' Muslim paternal grandfather.

LIT. Lemerle, "Pauliciens" 96–103. Garsoïan, *Paulician Heresy* 30f, 39, 128f. —N.G.G.

CHRYSOGRAPHY. See ILLUMINATORS.

CHRYSOKEPHALOS, MAKARIOS, metropolitan of Philadelphia (1336–82); baptismal name Michael; born ca.1300, died Philadelphia? Aug. 1382. Born to a noble family, Chrysokephalos (Χρυσόκεφαλος) is first attested, as a scribe, in 1327. By 1328 he was a monk and was later ordained hieromonk. After becoming metropolitan of PHILADELPHIA, he traveled frequently to Constantinople to participate in the permanent synod (ENDEMOUSA SYNODOS); he remained a moderate on the questions of UNION OF THE CHURCHES and PALAMISM. In 1345 he was praised by AKINDYNOS (ep.48) for his opposition to Palamas, but switched sides by the following year and signed the Tomos of the local council of Constantinople of 1341 five years after it had been issued. By 1350 he had the title of exarch of Lydia, and in 1351 he was called "universal judge" (see KRITAI KATHOLIKOI). He was a candidate for the patriarchate in 1353 but was defeated by PHILOTHEOS KOKKINOS.

Chrysokephalos was celebrated by his contemporaries as an orator and writer. In his youth he compiled the *Rhodonía* (*Rose Garden*), an anthology of PROVERBS and GNOMAI. Later he wrote CATENAE on Matthew and Luke, homilies, and a vita of St. Meletios of Galesios (BHG 1246a). Passarelli (*infra*) argues that he was responsible for the restoration of the basilica of St. John at Philadelphia and delivered his *Homily on the Feast of Orthodoxy* at its inauguration. His correspondents included Sophianos, Makarios Paradeissas, and Theodore MELITENIOTES (cf. R. Walther, *JÖB* 22 [1973] 219–32; 23 [1974] 215–27).

ED. *Rhodonía*—ed. Leutsch-Schneidewin, *Corpus* 2:135–227. PG 150:173–244. Macario *Crisocefalo* (1300–1382): *L'omelia sulla festa dell'Ortodossia e la basilica di S. Giovanni di Filadelfia*, ed. G. Passarelli (Rome 1980). *Vita S. Meletii*, ed. Spyridon Lauriot in *GregPal* 5 (1921) 582–84, 609–24 and *Ho Athos* 8–9 (1928) 9–11.

LIT. M. Manousakas, "Makariou Philadelphieas tou Chrysokephalou anekdota chronika semeiomata," *Thesaurismata* 4 (1967) 7–19, 223f. —A.M.T.

CHRYSOKOKKES, GEORGE, astronomer and physician; fl. Trebizond and Constantinople ca.1335–50. Chrysokokkes (Χρυσόκόκης) is first noted as a scribe who copied the *Batrachomyomachia* and *Odyssey* in 1336 (Vat. Palat. gr. 7). Fragments of his works on medicine, perhaps influenced by contemporary Persian practice, survive in some MSS. He studied ASTRONOMY in Trebizond under a priest named Manuel, who owned MSS containing astronomical tables and their canons translated by Gregory CHIONIADIS from Persian and Arabic into Greek. Taking his geographical table and one of his three star-catalogs from Chioniades' version of the *Zīj al-Sanjārī* of al-Khāzinī, his calendaric tables from the *Zīj al-'Alā'ī* of al-Fahhad, and most of his planetary tables and their canons from the *Zīj-i Ilkhānī* of al-Ṭūsī, Chrysokokkes produced ca.1346 an *Introduction to the Syntaxis of the Persians* (*Exegesis eis ten Syntaxin ton Person*), dedicated to his "brother," John Charsanites (perhaps identical with John Charsianeites, the founder of the CHARSIANEITES MONASTERY—H. Hunger, *JÖB* 7 [1958] 137). Some 30 MS copies survive of this extremely popular work, which influenced several anonymous sets of astronomical tables and canons written in the second half of the 14th and the beginning of the 15th C. as well as the *Tribiblos* of Theodore MELITENIOTES. Shelomo ben Eliyahu of Thessalonike (fl.1374–86) translated Chrysokokkes' *Exegesis* into Hebrew (B. Goldstein, *Journal for the History of Arabic Science* 3 [Aleppo 1979] 36f). Chrysokokkes himself made no significant contribution to astronomy (D. Pingree, *DOP* 18 [1964] 144f). His authorship of the brief list of equivalent ancient and modern toponyms (published by U. Lampsides, *BZ* 38 [1938] 320–22) is extremely doubtful.

A later George Chrysokokkes, active in Constantinople ca.1420–30, was an important humanist, counting among his students BESSARION and among his Italian patrons FILELFO, Aurispa, and Cristoforo Garatone (Wilson, *Scholars* 271f). Another astronomer, Michael Chrysokokkes, a notary of the Great Church in Constantinople, translated the astronomical tables of Immanuel ben Jacob Bonfils from Hebrew into Greek in 1435 under the title *Hexapterygon* (P. Solon, *Centaureus* 15 [1970] 1–20).

ED. Tables and one star-catalog—*Astronomia philolaica*, ed. I. Bullialdus (Paris 1645), *Tabula philolaicae*, 211–32. Canons (partial)—*Ad historiam astronomiae symbola*, ed. H.

Usener (Bonn 1876) 23–37. Three star-catalogs—ed. P. Kunitzsch, *BZ* 57 (1964) 382–411.

LIT. R. Mercier, "The Greek 'Persian Syntaxis' and the Zij-i Ilkhānī," *AIHS* 34 (1984) 35–60. —D.P., J.S.

CHRYSOLORAS, DEMETRIOS, writer and government official; born before 1360, died after April/May 1416. Little is known of his biography; his relationship to Manuel CHRYSOLORAS (*Χρυσολωρᾶς*) is unclear. He was an intimate of MANUEL II PALAIOLOGOS, who addressed eight letters to Chrysoloras between 1397 and ca. 1417. About 1384/5 he went on an embassy to a "barbarian" ruler, probably the Ottoman sultan Murad I. Despite his friendship with Manuel, he served as *mesazon* for JOHN VII PALAIOLOGOS in Thessalonike from 1403 to 1408.

Chrysoloras wrote a variety of works: anti-Latin polemics (including a dialogue among Thomas AQUINAS, Neilos KABASILAS, Demetrios KYDONES, and himself), a eulogy of St. Demetrios, and discourses on the Annunciation and Dormition. His *enkomion* of a flea is still unpublished. In 1403 he composed an oration of thanksgiving on the first anniversary of the defeat of BAYEZID I at Ankara (P. Gautier, *REB* 19 [1961] 340–57). His description of the ideal emperor (*Comparison of Old Rulers and the Present New Ruler*) was the source of a closely related work, his "Hundred Letters" to Manuel, a collection of very short letters praising the emperor.

ED. *Cento epistole a Manuele II Paleologo*, ed. F.C. Bizzarro (Naples 1984), with Ital. tr. *Comparison*—ed. Lampros, *Pal. kai Pel.* 3:222–45. Eulogy of St. Demetrios—ed. B. Laourdas, *GregPal* 40 (1957) 342–54. For complete list, see *Tusculum-Lexikon* 166.

LIT. Beck, *Kirche* 751. Chortasm. 90–94. —A.M.T.

CHRYSOLORAS, MANUEL, diplomat and teacher of Italian humanists; born ca. 1350, died Constance 15 Apr. 1415. About the same age as MANUEL II, Chrysoloras was the emperor's friend and was entrusted with numerous European missions. During embassies to Venice in the 1390s he first came into contact with Italian scholars. From 1397 to 1400 he taught Greek in Florence; his most prominent student was Guarino of Verona (1374–1460). After his return to Constantinople in 1403, he continued his teaching and prepared

a textbook on grammar. Chrysoloras made periodic trips to the West to seek assistance against the Turks; in 1406 he was in Venice and Padua, from 1407 to 1410 in Paris, London, Spain, and Bologna. Chrysoloras converted to Catholicism and spent two years in Rome (1411–13) attempting to negotiate the convocation of a church council. He then attended the Council at Constance, where he died.

His relatively small literary output included a *Comparison of the Old and New Rome*, in the form of a letter to Emp. JOHN VIII PALAIOLOGOS. In this work Chrysoloras shows his appreciation of the naturalism of antique art and marvels at the ancient ruins and Christian shrines of Rome, but concludes that Constantinople is the superior city because of its incomparable location and wondrous monuments such as Hagia Sophia. An autograph MS (Meteor, Metamorph. 154) preserves a lengthy and important discourse to Manuel, written in 1414, eulogizing the deceased *despotes* THEODORE I PALAIOLOGOS, and urging the promotion of education and study of the past (C.G. Patrinelis, *GRBS* 13 [1972] 497–502).

ED. Letters—PG 156:24–60. Germ. tr. of eps. 1–2—F. Grabler, *Europa im XV. Jahrhundert von Byzantinern gesehen* (Graz 1954) 109–47. See list in Cammelli, *infra* 177–85.

LIT. G. Cammelli, *I dotti bizantini e le origini dell'umanesimo, I. Manuele Crisolora* (Florence 1941). Barker, *Manuel II* 261–67, 320–23, 544f. H. Homeyer, "Zur Synkrisis des Manuel Chrysoloras, einem Vergleich zwischen Rom und Konstantinopel," *Klio* 62 (1980) 525–34. —A.M.T.

CHRYSOPOLIS (*Χρυσόπολις*, lit. "Golden City"), the name of at least two Byz. cities, one in Macedonia, the other in Bithynia.

CHRYSOPOLIS IN MACEDONIA, a *kastron* at the mouth of the STRYMON River; it was located near ancient AMPHIPOLIS which disappeared in the 7th C., although some archaizing authors (from Bryennios through Kantakouzenos) continued to use the name Amphipolis. Chrysopolis is first attested in an act of 984 transferring from Lavra to Iveron 25 exempted households there (*Ivir.*, no.6.32–35). An act of the mid-11th C. (*ibid.*, no.30.2) places Chrysopolis in the district (*dioikesis*) of Boleron and Strymon. Chrysopolis was a harbor on "the sea of Chrysopolis" (Solovjev-Mošin, *Grčke povelje*, no.9.43–44); in 1347 Stefan Uroš IV Dušan conferred upon Lavra an annual reve-

nue of 300 hyperpera from the salt pan and mooring stations in Chrysopolis (*ibid.*, no.16.48–51). The town is also mentioned in Greek portulans of the 15th–16th C.

Surviving walls represent several phases ranging from the original settlement in the west to a vast extension in the east during the 14th C., probably under Andronikos III, and later repairs.

LIT. F. Papazoglou, "Eion-Anfipol-Hrisopol," *ZRVI* 2 (1953) 7–24. A.W. Dunn, "The Survey of Khrysoupolis, and the Byzantine Fortifications in the Lower Strymon Valley," *JÖB* 32.4 (1982) 605–14. Lemerle, *Philippe* 263–65. —T.E.G.

CHRYSOPOLIS IN BITHYNIA (Scutari, mod. Üsküdar), a harbor on the eastern shore of the BOSPOROS, and a suburb of CHALCEDON. It was one of the principal places to cross the strait to Constantinople. In antiquity it was a simple *kome* (W. Ruge, *RE* 3 [1899] 2518). In the 9th C. Patr. Nikephoros I described it as a coastal *chorion* opposite Constantinople (Nikeph. 44.10–11) and as a port, *epineion* (60.25).

Licinius was captured in Chrysopolis after his defeat in 324 and delivered to Constantine I. The town gained significance in the 7th and 8th C., when both the Arabs attacking Constantinople and armies from rebellious themes headed toward the Bosporos: thus in 668 the soldiers of Anatolikon assembled in Chrysopolis to demand that Emp. Constantine IV accept his brothers as co-rulers; in 715 the town served as a base for the Opsikianoï who mutinied against Anastasios II; in 717 the future Leo III moved against Theodosios III from Chrysopolis. The town also played a crucial role in the revolt of ARTABASDOS against Constantine V. In 803 BARDANES TOURKOS arrived there and waited in vain for the citizens of Constantinople to invite him into the city. In 988 Basil II defeated Bardas PHOKAS at Chrysopolis, and in 1055 the rebellious Bryennios went to Chrysopolis. Around 1050 Chrysopolis formed a theme under the command of a *strategos* (Skyl. 467.2–3). Its role evidently diminished after the Turkish conquest of Asia Minor, where these uprisings had originated. In 1200 Alexios III moved to Chrysopolis when there was a rebellion in Constantinople. Under its new name, Scutari, Chrysopolis is mentioned by Latin authors in the 13th C.

Chrysopolis was an important monastic center.

The most renowned of its monasteries was built by Philippikos.

LIT. Janin, *CP byz.* 494f. Janin, *Églises centres* 23–29. —A.K.

CHRYSOTELEIA (*χρυσотέλεια*, lit. "tribute in gold"), a tax introduced by Anastasios I. It is described by a 6th-C. chronicler (Malal. 394.8–10) as a tax imposed upon JUGA, collected in money instead of in kind, and used "to feed the *stratiotai*." EVAGRIOS SCHOLASTIKOS (*HE* 3:42) criticizes Anastasios for levying the *chrysoteleia*, since the emperor "sold the soldiers' expense" and placed a heavy burden on taxpayers; according to JOHN OF ANTIOCH, Anastasios's measures left the provinces (*eparchiai*) empty of military contingents (*FHG* 4:621, fr.215). This evidence has been variously interpreted: as a new tax replacing the CHRYSARGYRON that Anastasios had abolished; as a COMMUTATION of the ANNONA; and finally as an *adaeratio tironum* (see SECONDARY TAXES) that was effective only temporarily. The vernacular expression *chrysoteles eispraxis* (exaction in gold) used by the hagiographer of NIKON HO "METANOITE" (ed. Sullivan, ch.58.13) was understood by N. Svoronos (*Cadastre* 85, n.1) as synonymous with CHARAGMA.

LIT. J. Karayannopoulos, "Die chrysoteleia der iuga," *BZ* 49 (1956) 72–84. —A.K.

CHRYSOTRIKLINOS (*Χρυσотρίκλινος*, "golden hall"), a hall in the GREAT PALACE, probably constructed at the end of the 6th C. A domed octagon lit by 16 windows, the Chrysotriklinos was the place of ceremonial receptions, esp. at Easter. Its principal table (of gold or rather gilded silver) accommodated 30 high-ranking state and church functionaries; there were 2 to 4 additional tables for 18 persons each, where subordinate officials were seated. Literary sources sometimes mention a small table for the emperor who sat apart from his guests. The imperial throne, decorated with a mosaic representing the enthroned Christ, was placed in the apse of the Chrysotriklinos. The hall contained exquisite furniture, of which the most renowned piece was the so-called PENTAPYRGION, a large cupboard displaying vases, crowns, and other precious objects. The Chrysotriklinos was surrounded by numerous halls: Tripeton (a ves-

tibule of Chrysotriklinos), Horologion (possibly containing a sundial), Kainourgion (adorned with 16 columns and with mosaics depicting imperial expeditions), LAUSIAKOS, and the TRIKLINOS OF JUSTINIAN (II), from which one could reach the HIPPODROME through the Gate of Skyla. The official in charge of the Chrysotriklinos (also called the *protospatharios* of Chrysotriklinos) was an important court dignitary, but his functions are not yet clear.

LIT. Janin, *CP byz.* 115–17. Oikonomides, *Listes* 196, n. 209, 299. —A.K.

CHURCH (ἐκκλησία, lit. “assembly”). The Byz. did not develop a systematic ECCLESIOLOGY. Instead, for them the church was a sacramental communion that included not only the earthly OIKOUMENE but the Kingdom of Heaven as well, with angels, saints, and God himself: in the words of Isidore of Pelousion (PG 78:685A), a “union of saints hammered out of true faith and perfect behavior.” In general, however, the Byz. church rejected the claims of DONATISM and MONTANISM, whose followers sought to exclude sinners from membership in the church. Sanctity and unity were considered basic features of the church, contrasted with the multiplicity and falsity of paganism and heresy. The unity of the church was underlined by such epithets as *katholike* (general) and *oikoumenike* (universal), and its dogmatic correctness by the epithet *orthodoxos* (of right belief).

Administration of the church was based on patristic texts and the canons of ecumenical and local COUNCILS, codified beginning in the 6th C. and regularized in the NOMOKANON of Fifty Titles. The Byz. church did not have a single head, rejecting the idea of papal PRIMACY, but embraced the concept of PENTARCHY in which patriarchs and the pope maintained administrative control of their individual territory. In fact, the loss of the East to the Arabs in the 7th C. and the separation of the West made the patriarch of Constantinople the *de facto* head of the Byz. church. The Byz. defended the concept that the authority of the council was superior to the power of the patriarch; in an extreme form, an anonymous treatise of the 10th C. tried to justify the superiority of an assembly of metropolitans over the patriarch of Constantinople (Darrouzès, *infra* 24–29). On

the contrary, NIKETAS OF AMASEIA defended the thesis that the patriarch was the supreme arbiter in the ecclesiastical sphere. With regard to the state, theoreticians insisted that the church was superior to the civil administration (e.g., John Chrysostom, PG 61:507.42–43), in contrast to the attempt of the state to treat the emperor as the supervisor (“bishop”) of the church’s external affairs. The author of the EPANAGOGÉ presented the theory of two equal powers, that of the emperor, who deals with material matters, and that of the patriarch, responsible for mankind’s spiritual health and salvation. In practice, however, civil administration usually had the upper hand over the church.

As an institution, the church possessed an established organization based on a hierarchy of rank (bishop, priest, deacon, etc.), on administrative gradations (patriarchate-metropolis-bishopric, etc.), on regular assemblies (councils), and on the system of ecclesiastical officials. Its privileges included a special CANON LAW distinct from civil law, and various exemptions for the CLERGY. The church obtained jurisdiction over the clergy and in some matters over the laity. Its material basis consisted of the ownership of land, imperial grants (SOLEMNIA), movable property (esp. liturgical vessels and vestments), and voluntary donations and bequests; the mandatory TITHE was a relatively late innovation. Ecclesiastical property was in theory inalienable, and attempts to confiscate it aroused serious conflicts (e.g., the case of LEO OF CHALCEDON).

Being a holy body, the church could expel sinful members, both temporarily and permanently (by means of EXCOMMUNICATION). MISSIONS expanded the church’s influence by spreading Christianity to new territories, baptizing heathens and heretics, and converting Jews and Muslims. The Byz. church had no monopoly on education, but it obtained supervision over teaching and offered episcopal posts to many outstanding scholars. Its means of salvation were challenged by some mystics who, like SYMEON THE THEOLOGIAN, considered the individual path of vision of the divine light as superior to the activity of the institutionalized church. The political role of individual bishops was significant in secular affairs, but the influence of episcopal organization had to compete with monasteries (see MONASTICISM) that

often managed to obtain independence from local bishops (STAUROPEGION) and even from the patriarch.

SOURCE. Darrouzès, *Ecclés.*

LIT. Meyendorff, *Byz. Theology* 79–90. E. Herman in *CMH* 4.2:105–33. J.M. Hussey, *The Orthodox Church in the Byzantine Empire* (Oxford 1986) 297–368. —T.E.G.

CHURCHES, CAVE AND ROCK-CUT. See ROCK-CUT CHURCHES AND DWELLINGS.

CHURCHES, IMPERIAL, were of three main types, all more or less exempt from patriarchal and episcopal jurisdiction, although this exemption was contested in the early 11th C. by Patr. ALEXIOS STOUDITES (cf. Rhalles-Potles, *Syntagma* 5:29) and no doubt at other times.

1. One group included the churches and chapels of the imperial palaces and provincial governors’ residences (*praitoria*). Their exemption is authorized in a real or spurious piece of imperial legislation whose administrative terminology reflects the realities of the 6th–7th C. (L. Burgmann in *Cupido Legum* 20).

2. Another group included those founded by emperors, in association either with the Palace (NEA EKKLESIA, CHALKE) or, more commonly, with monastic and philanthropic institutions in Constantinople (e.g., MYRELAION, MANGANA, PANTOKRATOR). Such foundations, officially designated as “pious houses” (EUAGEIS OIKOI) or, by the 11th C., “pious bureaux” (*euage sekreta*), constituted, with their large endowments, a special crown domain (N. Oikonomides, *TM* 6 [1976] 138–40).

3. Finally, there were monasteries whose founders, often highly respected, influential ascetics, put them under the direct protection of the emperor, in order to make them independent (*autexousia* or *autodespota*) of other earthly authorities (Meester, *De monachico statu* 104; I. Konidares, *To dikaion tes monasteriakēs periousias* [Athens 1979] 173–79). Such foundations were registered in the imperial SAKELLION (*Lavra* 1, no.33) and put under the care of particular government ministers (P. Magdalino, *REB* 42 [1984] 235f). —P.M.

CHURCHES, PRIVATE, were characterized, in canonical terms, by “oratory” (EUKTERION) status,

and, for practical purposes, by dependence on a “proprietor” (KTETOR) able to determine how and by whom the foundation was used. Although the rights and requirements of *ktetores* varied considerably and were sure to lapse sooner or later, it is useful to draw a conceptual distinction between churches founded on this basis and churches founded for purposes of public worship. The institution of the private church was already well established by the 6th C., and became even more popular later, accounting for the vast majority of churches built after the slump of the 7th–8th C. From this time the existing public churches were, except in newly reoccupied and reorganized provincial areas, generally more than adequate, while the urge to found one’s own church was widespread among all who had the means, which, to judge from many surviving structures, did not have to be very great.

A private church was the expression of all that the founder held most dear. It provided an intimate venue for his regular religious observances; it embodied his personal devotion to the heavenly figure to whom it was dedicated; it was a spiritual investment for his own salvation, and, as sacred PROPERTY, a financial investment that was relatively secure from fiscal erosion and partible inheritance. Whether it served as a funerary chapel or merely commemorated the *ktetor* and his family in its prayers, it was a monument to him and the unity of his kin. The significance of the private church is very well illustrated by the will of Eustathios BOILAS (1059), who with his late sister’s grandchildren had joint responsibility for a church that his mother had founded, while he himself was founder of two churches, one a burial chapel, and, close to his house, another which clearly meant more to him than either of his two daughters to whose hands he reluctantly entrusted its fate (Lemerle, *Cinq études* 23–29).

The relationship between private churches and the authorities was ambivalent. Local bishops, who were often *ktetores* in their own right, cannot have objected to modest foundations whose properties were registered in an INVENTORY in the episcopal archives and might be added to the episcopal estates after the founder’s death—a practice that Basil II tried to prevent (Zepos, *Jus* 1:268). On the other hand, churches founded by rich and powerful *ktetores* threatened to take business away

from the bishop's church, esp. from the 9th–10th C., when legal restrictions on the liturgical functions of domestic *eukteria* lapsed and founders were able to evade episcopal control by placing their foundations under the jurisdiction of the patriarch. The possibility that private services in domestic chapels were a cover for clandestine gatherings concerned the state as well as the church. William Adam (pseudo-Brocardus), a Western writer of the 14th C., saw the private churches as a politically subversive institution peculiar to Byz. (RHC *Arm.* 2:475).

The proliferation of private churches, whether urban or rural, domestic or monastic, undoubtedly affected the development of liturgy and church architecture from the 6th C. The exclusion of the laity from entrance processions, the confinement of these within the church, the elevation of the sanctuary barrier, and the disappearance of the *SYNTHRONON* and *SOLEA* may all be related to the saying of private masses in private chapels. The intimate scale of the Byz. church of the 10th–12th C. and its standardization as a hierarchy of inner surfaces peopled with icons had much to do with the *ktetor's* desire for communion with his own personal "heaven on earth."

The diversity of plans, masonry types, and forms of decoration in private churches is evident in such regions as have been investigated in detail (GÖREME, KASTORIA, and the MANI), although local traditions tended to dictate norms in these respects. More idiosyncratic were the oratories that existed in monasteries such as St. CATHERINE's on Mt. Sinai and that of Constantine LIPS, and in *katholikai ekklesiai*, for example, in the GALLERIES of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople. After the 8th C., private chapels are found in the residences of both lay persons and ecclesiastics.

LIT. Zhishman, *Stifterrecht*. J. Thomas, *Private Religious Foundations in the Byzantine Empire* (Washington, D.C., 1987). A. Steinwenter, "Die Rechtsstellung der Kirchen und Klöster nach den Papyri," *ZSavKan* 19 (1930) 1–50. E. Herman, "Chiese private e diritto di fondazione negli ultimi secoli dell'impero bizantino," *OrChrP* 12 (1946) 302–21. A.W. Epstein, "Middle Byzantine Churches of Kastoria: Dates and Implications," *ArtB* 62.2 (1980) 190–207. T.F. Mathews, "Private Liturgy in Byzantine Architecture: Towards a Re-appraisal," *CahArch* 30 (1982) 125–37. —P.M., A.C.

CHURCH FATHERS (ἐκκλησιαστικοὶ πατέρες in EUSEBIOS OF CAESAREA, *Against Markellos* 1.4.3),

the most authoritative ancient Christian writers, second in their significance only to the APOSTLES. The totality of their oeuvre is called patristics or patrology. In the first centuries of Christianity the title "father" was given to spiritual teachers in general and esp. to bishops; *pateres* was also the term for the DESERT FATHERS whose sayings were collected in the APOPHTHEGMATA PATRUM and for the participants in the First Council of Nicaea. The concept of the church fathers as guardians of Christian tradition was developed from the 4th C. onward, when their opinions were frequently used during Trinitarian and Christological discussions and were, for this purpose, gathered in FLORILEGIA; one of these florilegia was the so-called *Doctrina patrum de incarnatione Verbi* (The Doctrine of the Fathers on the Incarnation of the Logos), a collection of Orthodox and "heretical" statements concerning Monophysitism and Monothelitism, produced between 660 and 685 (Beck, *Kirche* 446). In the West, a (partial) list of "holy fathers" was established, probably in the 6th C., and is found in the so-called *Decretum Gelasianum*, the apocryphal decree of Pope GELASIUS I.

The early Christian theologians are divided into the earlier Apologists (Justin, Hippolytos, etc.) and later "fathers" in a narrow sense of the word, while such authors as ORIGEN, TERTULLIAN, and LACTANTIUS occupy an intermediate place. Among the Western fathers AUGUSTINE was considered supreme; after him patristics declined, and theological thought revived only in the 11th C., in the form of SCHOLASTICISM. In the East, patristics flourished from the 4th to the 6th C., with pride of place being given to the CAPPADOCIAN FATHERS and pseudo-DIONYSIOS THE AREOPAGITE in the theological field, while JOHN CHRYSOSTOM marks the apogee of Christian ethics. JOHN OF DAMASCUS summarized the whole development of Christian doctrine up to his time and can be called the last of the church fathers. The great theologians of the post-patristic period (Symeon the Theologian, Nicholas of Methone, Gregory Palamas, etc.) are not considered church fathers.

LIT. M. Geerard, *Clavis patrum graecorum*, 5 vols. (Turnhout 1974–87). J. Quasten, *Patrology*, 3 vols. (Westminster, Md. 1950–60; Ital. revised tr. Turin 1967–78). O. Bardenhewer, *Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur*, 5 vols. (Freiburg im Breisgau 1902–32). J. Liébert, *Les Pères de l'Église*, vol. 1 (Paris 1986). P.K. Chrestou, *Hellenike patrologia*, 3 vols. (Thessalonike 1976–87). G.G. Majorov, *Formirovanie srednevekovoj filosofii* (Moscow 1979). —A.K.

CHURCH PLAN TYPES. The classification of religious architecture by type was first established around the turn of the 20th C. and served as a chronological taxonomy. Although this method of dating has largely been superseded, the identification and study of these types remains a useful system of basic classification. The most common plan types are the following: BASILICA (e.g., St. Achilleos, Mikra Prespa); domed basilica (St. IRENE, Constantinople); cross-domed church (HAGIA SOPHIA, Thessalonike); cross-in-square (North Church of LIPS MONASTERY, Constantinople); domed octagon (NEA MONE, Chios); Greek cross, or domed octagon (*katholikon*, DAPHNI); ambulatory church (PAMMAKARISTOS, Constantinople); triconch, or trefoil (large-scale: *katholikon*, Great LAVRA, Mt. Athos; small-scale: Koumbelidike, KASTORIA); tetraconch, or quatrefoil (large-scale: *martyrion* [?], SELEUKEIA PIERIA; small-scale: VELJUSA). (For ill., see next page.)

Many other church plan types existed, but they were less commonly employed. Most could be enlarged by the addition of enveloping spaces—exedrae, ambulatories, aisles, porches, or chapels—resulting in new compound plans and more elaborate exterior massing. Multiplication of domes (St. Sophia, KIEV) is one of the most important architectural by-products of this phenomenon.

LIT. Krautheimer, *ECBArch* 517–21. G. Stanzl, *Längsbau und Zentralbau als Grundthemen der frühchristlichen Architektur* (Vienna 1979). S. Čurčić, "Architectural Significance of Subsidiary Chapels in Middle Byzantine Churches," *JSAH* 36 (1977) 94–110. —S.C.

CHURCH PROGRAMS OF DECORATION. From the earliest surviving remains it is evident that Christian edifices were adorned with figural images selected and positioned according to their religious significance. Already in the mid-3rd-C. baptistry in DURA EUROPOS both symbolic depictions such as the Good Shepherd and representations derived from biblical narratives such as the Healing of the Cripple were used to reinforce visually the beholder's ritual experience.

From the 4th to 7th C. elaborate narrative cycles from both the New and Old Testaments appeared on the interior walls of Christian monuments (S. Maria Maggiore, ROME; S. Apollinare Nuovo, RAVENNA). Other monuments displayed votive panels (St. DEMETRIOS, Thessalonike). On the triumphal arch and in the apse of the BEMA a variety of

themes occurred, including Christ in Majesty among saints, apostles, and/or donors (S. Vitale, Ravenna), the prophetic VISION (HOSIOS DAVID, Thessalonike), the Virgin with accompanying figures (KITI, LYTHRANKOMI), and even narrative images, like the TRANSFIGURATION (St. CATHERINE, Sinai; S. Apollinare in Classe, Ravenna).

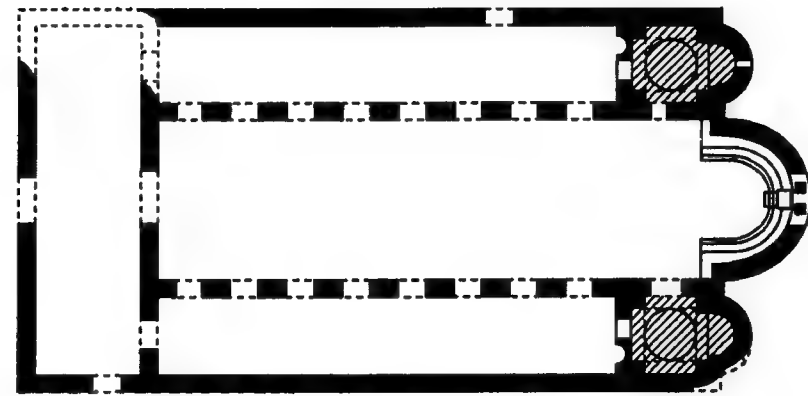
EKPHRASEIS of churches in Constantinople and surviving provincial monuments suggest that in the period from the 9th through the 10th C. programming was flexible. Scenes such as the ASCENSION and PENTECOST as well as the PANTOKRATOR might appear in the central vault. The Virgin was the most popular but certainly not the only subject for the conch of the apse. The nave might be adorned with elaborate Christological narratives or with single figures. Particularly in the provinces, votive programs seem to have maintained their pre-Iconoclastic popularity.

The so-called "Middle Byz. Program" appeared as a dominant formula only at the end of the 10th and beginning of the 11th C., coincident with the political consolidation of the empire. This scheme is typified by a Pantokrator in the central dome and the Virgin, most often holding the Child, in the conch of the bema. The heavenly court—angels, prophets, apostles, and saints—are ranked on the walls and vaults below along with icons of the GREAT FEAST cycle. The hierarchical nature of this program complements the pyramidal ordering of space in the relatively small, centralized churches constructed during this period. With the collapse of the empire in 1204, narrative programming with the multiplication of framed, quadratic images replaced the more iconic and architectonic forms of the earlier period.

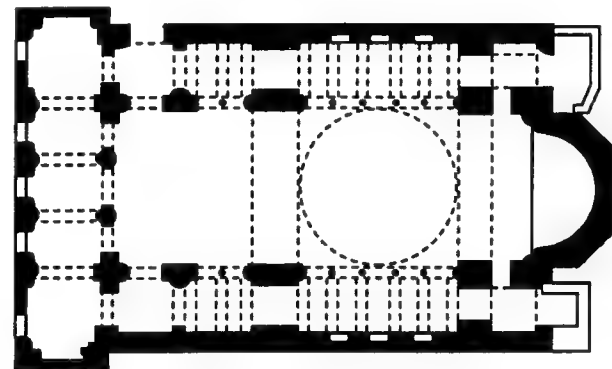
LIT. Demus, *Byz. Mosaic*. J. Lafontaine-Dosogne, "L'évolution du programme décoratif des églises," 15 *CEB*, vol. 3 (Athens 1976) 131–56. Demus, *Mosaics of San Marco* 1:231–73. Ihm, *Apsismalerei*. T. Mathews, "The Sequel to Nicaea II in Byzantine Church Decoration," *Perkins Journal* 41 (July 1988) 11–23. —A.J.W.

CHURCH SLAVONIC, in its broadest sense, the liturgical and literary language of the Orthodox (and Catholic Croatian) SLAVS. The term *Old Church Slavonic* (OCS) is normally reserved for the language of the earliest translations by Sts. CONSTANTINE THE PHILOSOPHER and METHODIOS and their immediate successors, as preserved in GLAGOLITIC and Cyrillic MSS of the 10th–11th C.

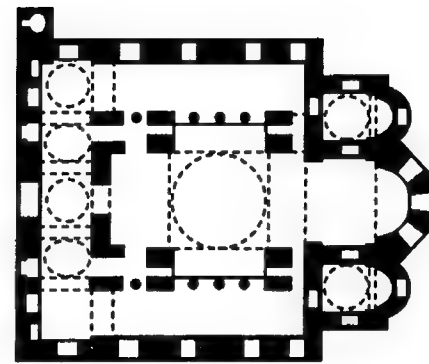
CHURCH PLAN TYPES



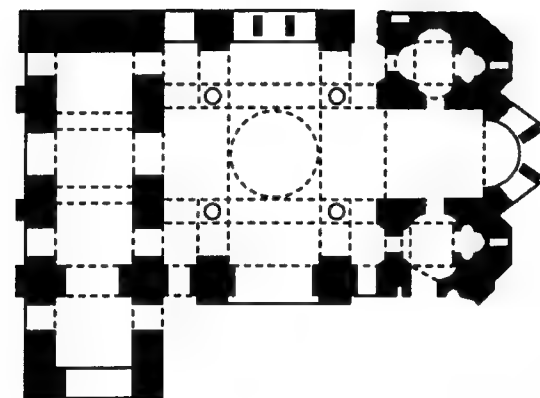
Basilica



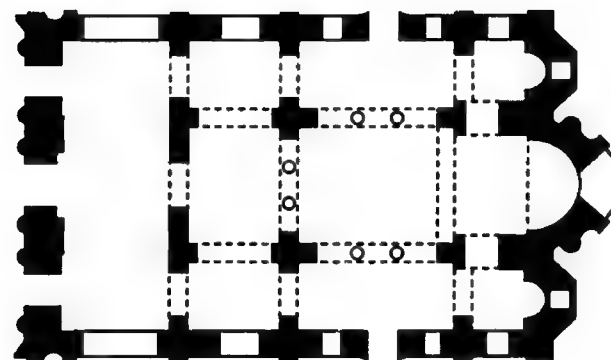
Domed Basilica



Cross-domed Church

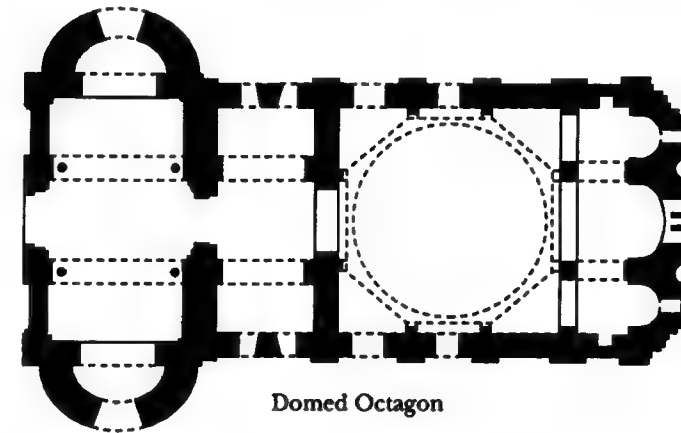


Cross-in-square or Quincunx

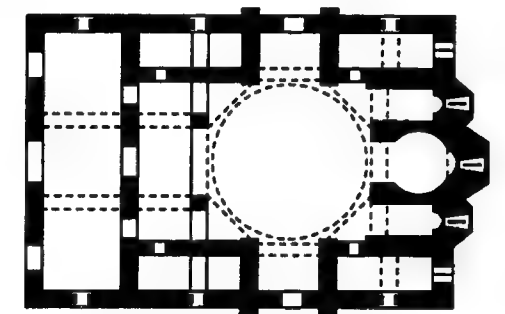


Ambulatory Church

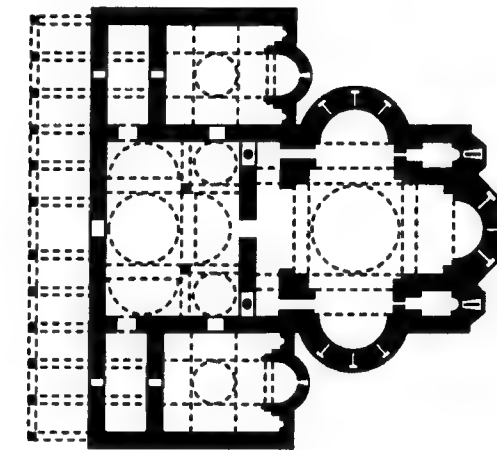
CHURCH PLAN TYPES



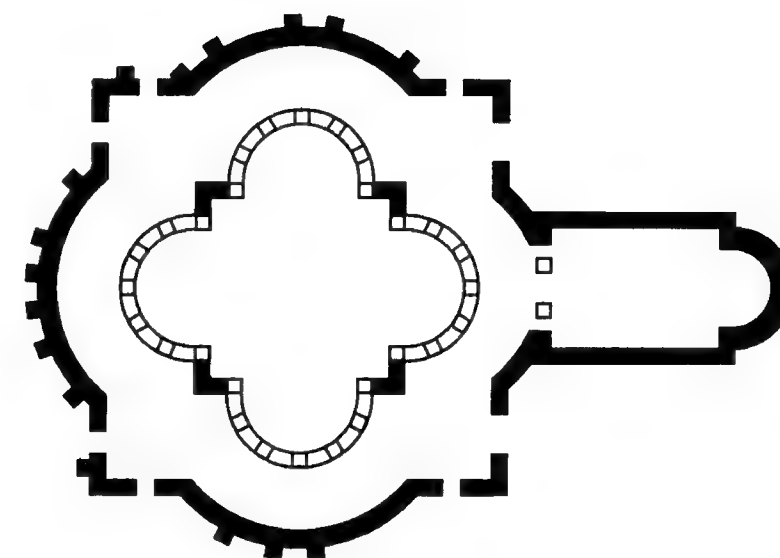
Domed Octagon



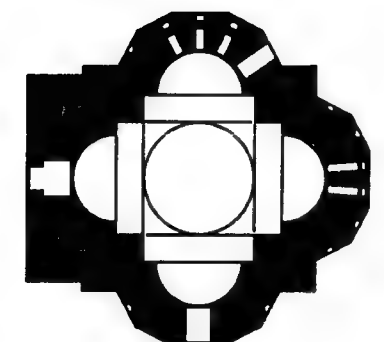
Greek Cross-domed Octagon



Triconch



Tetraconch



Tetraconch

Subsequently, distinct local recensions of Church Slavonic emerged through its interaction with the Slavonic vernacular languages (Russian Church Slavonic, Bulgarian Church Slavonic, etc.).

LIT. R. Picchio in *The Slavic Literary Languages*, ed. A. Schenker, E. Stankiewicz (New Haven 1980) 1–33.

—S.C.F.

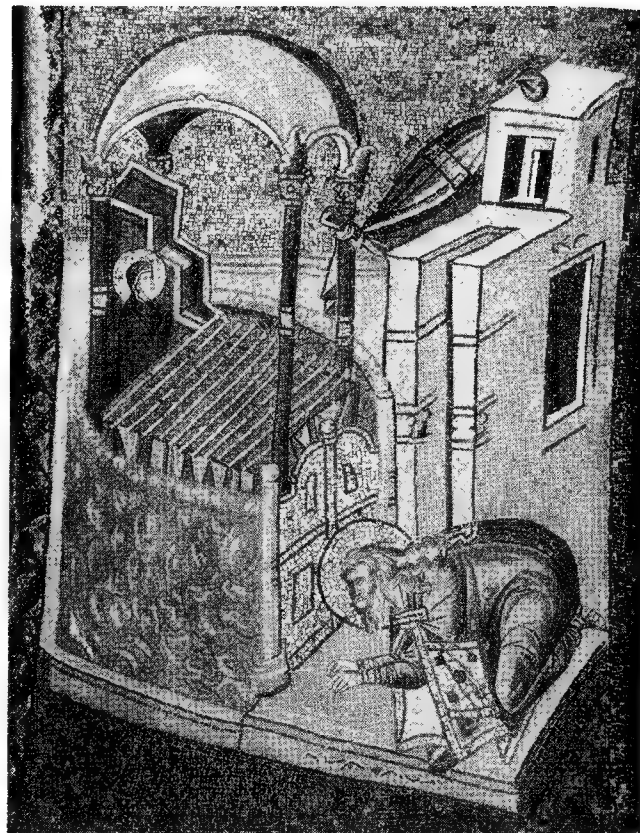
CIBORIUM (κιβώριον), a domed or pyramidal structure on four or six columns (K. Wessel, *RBK* 1:1055). In Roman times ciboria were erected over tombs both to protect them and to enhance their importance, hence their use over the ALTAR symbolizing the tomb of Christ. Similarly, the silver ciborium at St. DEMETRIOS in Thessalonike was thought to mark the site of the saint's tomb (Lemerle, *Miracles* 1:114f). A pyramidal ciborium rose over the SARCOPHAGUS containing the saint's relics in the church of HOSIOS LOUKAS (R.W. Schultz, S.H. Barnsley, *The Monastery of Saint Luke* [London 1901] 29, pl.46). Circular, hexagonal, or rectangular in plan, ciboria survive mostly in fragments; exceptionally complete examples are the restored ciborium of the Katapoliane in Paros and that of the Metropolis church at Kalambaka (see STAGOI). Some ciboria display columns with spiral fluting and Corinthian or protome CAPITALS, their pyramidal or domed canopy terminating in a cross (Orlandos, *Palaiochr. basilike* 2:471–81). Painted representations of ciboria suggest that they were furnished with curtains, though this point has been contested (Mathews, *Early Churches* 165–68).

Ciboria sometimes combined colored and white marble, while those of St. Polyuktos and St. Euphemia in Constantinople displayed inlaid glass decoration. They were cast in bronze and gilded, or dressed in silver like that in Hagia Sophia, Constantinople, as described by PAUL SI-LENTIARIOS.

LIT. M.T. Smith, "The Ciborium in Christian Architecture at Rome, 300–600 A.D." (Ph.D. diss., New York Univ., 1968). D.I. Pallas, "Le Ciborium hexagonal de Saint-Démétrios de Thessalonique," *Zograf* 10 (1979) 44–58.

—L.Ph.B.

CILICIA (Κιλικία), Roman province of south-eastern Asia Minor consisting of two districts: Cilicia Pedias, a well-watered fertile plain bounded by the Taurus, Antitaurus and Mediterranean, and Cilicia Tracheia, the rugged region of the southern Taurus stretching west to PAMPHYLIA.



CIBORIUM. Depiction of a ciborium; mosaic, 14th C. Inner narthex of the Church of the Chora monastery, Istanbul. The scene depicts Zacharias praying before the rods of the suitors.

Under Diocletian, Cilicia Tracheia became part of ISAURIA. Cilicia Pedias was divided ca.400 into Cilicia I (metropolis TARSOS) and Cilicia II (metropolis ANAZARBOS); their churches were under the patriarchate of Antioch. Located on the highway from Constantinople to northern Syria via the CILICIAN GATES, Cilicia prospered; it was a densely populated center of agriculture, trade, and manufacture (esp. of linen) through the 6th C. In 646, however, MU'AWIYA found the area virtually deserted, and by the early 8th C. it was occupied by the Arabs, for whom it became a bulwark against Byz. attacks. These achieved their goal with the reconquest of Cilicia by Nikephoros II Phokas in 965. The district did not then form an administrative unit, but was ruled by *strategoi* of separate fortresses (N. Oikonomides in 14 *CEB*, vol. 1 [Bucharest 1974] 288f). After 1071 Byz. lost Cilicia to Philaretos BRACHAMIOS; thereafter, it constantly changed hands between Byz., Crusaders, Seljuks, and Armenians. John II Komne-

nos took it in 1137; Manuel I Komnenos had to reconquer it in 1159; it was definitively lost to the Armenians after 1176 (see CILICIA, ARMENIAN). Cilicia contains the remains of numerous late antique churches and medieval fortifications.

LIT. F. Hild et al., *RBK* 4:182–356. H. Hellenkemper, *Burgen der Kreuzritterzeit* (Bonn 1976) 104–254. H. Hellenkemper, F. Hild, *Neue Forschungen in Kilikien* (Vienna 1986). R.W. Edwards, "Ecclesiastical Architecture in the Fortifications of Armenian Cilicia," *DOP* 36 (1982) 155–76.

—C.F.

CILICIA, ARMENIAN (also known as Lesser Armenia), principality (1073?–1099) and subsequently kingdom (1099–1375) under the Armenian RUBENID and HET'UMID, and the Latin LUSIGNAN dynasties. Armenians fleeing from Seljuk invasions after the Byz. defeat at MANTZIKERT (1071) took refuge in Rubenid strongholds such as Vahka and Gobidar (Kopitar) in the Antitaurus mountains, and the Het'umid Lambron near the Cilician Gates. By the end of the 12th C. the Rubenids had established a kingdom that encompassed at its peak the coastal plain of Cilicia as well as the surrounding mountains. Its capital was located at Sis, in the foothills.

The princes of Armenian Cilicia, although occasionally supported by the Crusaders, were forced to recognize the suzerainty of Byz. (reaffirmed by the campaigns of the emperors John II Komnenos in 1138 and Manuel I Komnenos in 1158) and negotiations were opened between the Armenian church and the Byz. Empire. The Third Crusade enabled the Rubenid prince Leo II to be crowned king as Leo I (see LEO II/I). Officially, Byz. sanctioned this action, but Armenian Cilicia turned thereafter increasingly toward the Latins.

The kingdom prospered from the trade passing from the West to the Far East through its port of Ayas (It. Lajazzo), esp. during the period of Mongol protection in the second half of the 13th C. Its international culture reached its apogee in the same period.

The recognition of Mongol suzerainty by the Het'umids in 1253 bolstered Armenian Cilicia for a time, but its political situation between the Seljuks of Rûm, the Mamlûks of Egypt, and the Mongols remained precarious, esp. after the conversion of the latter to Islam at the end of the 13th C. By 1292 the Armenian patriarchs were forced to abandon their seat at Hromkla on the

Euphrates overrun by the Muslims and to seek refuge at Sis. Internal struggles between pro- and anti-Latin parties, fueled by the growing influence of Western institutions and by the negotiations for an ecclesiastical union with Rome, sapped the strength of the kingdom still further. The hostility of the Armenian nobility toward the Latin Lusignans led to the murder of King Guy in 1344. In 1375, an Egyptian force overran Cilicia, sacked the capital, and carried away the last king as a prisoner to Cairo.

LIT. S. Der Nersessian, *HC* 2:630–59. L. Alishan, *Sis-souan ou l'Arméno-Cilicie* (Venice 1899). P. Tekeyan, *Controverses christologiques en Arméno-Cilicie dans la seconde moitié du XIIe siècle* (Rome 1939). R. Edwards, *The Fortresses of Armenian Cilicia* (Washington, D.C., 1987).

—N.G.G.

Art of Armenian Cilicia. The many ruins of fortified towns in Cilicia include both palaces and churches, some with traces of monumental painting. Some silverwork survives—a reliquary and bookbindings—but it is MS illumination that best reveals the brilliant art of the Cilician court. The traditions of great scriptoria (in both monasteries and towns) and the contributions of individual artists and aristocratic patrons can be traced for decades at a time: for example, MSS are known from Hromkla from just after the founding of the patriarchal see there in 1151 until the Mamlûk sack of 1292; among them are seven signed from 1256 to 1269 by the artist T'oros Roslin.

Although Armenian workshop traditions survived the emigration to Cilicia, Byz. styles and images are found throughout Cilician painting. A 13th-C. Gospel (Erevan, Mat. 7651) copies almost all the miniatures of the 11th-C. FRIEZE GOSPEL in Florence. Ornate inscriptions and arabesque arches on CANON TABLE pages, however, reflect Islamic art, while the Lectionary of Het'um II (Mat. 979) contains Chinese elements. Cilician royalty are shown wearing oriental textiles. Latin influence was particularly strong after the Council of Sis (1252), as the affinity of T'oros Roslin's figure style to that of the Arsenal Bible (Paris, Arsenal 5211) or the adoption of the *Madonna della Misericordia* type for Cilician donor portraits demonstrates.

LIT. S. Der Nersessian, *Armenian Art* (London–New York 1978) 123–62. Eadem, "Deux exemples arméniens de la Vierge de Miséricorde," *REArm* n.s. 7 (1970) 187–202.

—A.T.

CILICIAN GATES (Πύλαι Κιλικίας), the narrow pass, 1,050 m high, that offers the easiest crossing of the Taurus Mountains between central Anatolia and the plain of Cilicia, and thus always the route of a major highway. It was esp. important during the wars with the Arabs after they gained control of Cilicia in 703. The term strictly denotes the narrow pass but is also applied to the whole stretch of road through the mountains. The main center of this district was Podandos, a city and bishopric and later KLEISOURA of Cappadocia, which was the constant goal of (often successful) Arab attacks in the 8th–10th C. Lulon, on a steep peak at the west end of the pass, provided a final defense and served as the first in the chain of BEACONS that rapidly transmitted news of attack to the capital. The pass contains the remains of several fortresses.

LIT. *TIB* 2:223f, 261–64.

–C.F.

CIRCUS. See CHARIOTEERS; CHARIOT RACES; HIPPODROMES.

CIRCUS PARTIES. See FACTIONS.

CISTERNS. See CONSTANTINOPLE, MONUMENTS OF: Cisterns.

CITATION was an important stylistic device closely connected with the tendency toward ARCHAISM and IMITATION (*mimesis*). On the one hand, citation was a sort of game between the author and reader, the former avoiding any direct indication of the origin of the citation and the latter challenged to guess the source (Hunger, *Lit.* 2:7). On the other hand, citation could be a powerful vehicle to convey direct information; e.g., Christian apologists (imitating their Jewish predecessors) quoted ancient poets for their propaganda, and during theological discussions citation was the major argument that time and again led to forgery or deletion of crucial passages. The most commonly quoted texts were the Bible, Homer, and the ancient tragedians. Often citations originated not from original texts but from FLORILEGIA and LEXIKA; quoting from MEMORY was common and frequently caused distortions. The frequency of citation differs from work to work: some texts

(CHRISTOS PASCHON, ANACHARSIS, BARLAAM AND IOASAPH) are consciously composed of borrowed lines, while other works used citations to a limited degree. Since the concept of plagiarism did not exist, the use of quotations could grow into a copying of entire passages. Even though there was an element of showing off the author's knowledge (D. Christides, *EEPhSPT* 22 [1984] 689), citation also performed specific aesthetic functions. It connected the present with the past, depicted objects and events from an alien point of view, and introduced the element of unexpectedness and strangeness (esp. by combination of biblical and pagan quotations); a new image was often constructed from borrowed words and sentences.

LIT. N. Zeegers-van der Vorst, *Les citations des poètes grecs chez les apologistes chrétiens du IIe siècle* (Louvain 1972). E. Livrea, "Le citazioni dei tragici in un inedito florilegio patmiaco," *RSBS* 3 (1983) 3–9. F. Grabler, "Das Zitat als Stilmittel bei Niketas Choniates," 11 *CEB* (Munich 1960) 190–93. A.R. Littlewood, "Repetition of Quotations in Byzantine Letters," 12 *BSC Abstracts* (Bryn Mawr 1986) 49f. M. Kertsch, "Patristische Zitate bei spätern griechisch-christlichen Autoren," *JÖB* 38 (1988) 113–24. –A.K.

CITIES (πόλεις), the cornerstone of classical civilization, were centers of population, culture, trade, manufacture, and administration. By the 6th C., the East contained more than 900 cities, of which the greatest were CONSTANTINOPLE, ALEXANDRIA, and ANTIOCH. A large provincial city might extend 2 km in its greatest dimension and have a population of 50,000, but most were much smaller.

Urban wealth was based on agriculture, but trade and manufacture were significant. These were usually on a small scale in which the artisan would sell the goods he made, but many cities, esp. ports, had extensive TRADE in essential or luxury goods. Major classes of the urban population were the CURIALES, bureaucrats and state officials, ecclesiastics, landowners, and the members of GUILDS, the craftsmen and shopkeepers.

The city differed from rural areas by its provision of public works and services. Most were maintained until the 6th C.: cities provided free bread, AQUEDUCTS, clean and lighted streets, BATHS, markets, theaters, HIPPODROMES, and LATRINES. Diocletian instituted municipal higher education to supply trained civil servants. The church, whose revenues were increasing, offered public welfare, with HOSPITALS, poorhouses (PTOCHOTROPHEIA),

homes for the aged (GEROKOMEIA), and inns (XENODOCHEIA). As cities found public works more difficult to support, governors came to build or restore them. Such activity was concentrated in provincial capitals, which often prospered at the expense of lesser cities. Urban prosperity varied considerably, from Constantinople, which could draw on the revenues of the empire, to cities in exposed regions like North Africa (e.g., CARTHAGE in the 7th C.) and the Balkans, where ruin and contraction were common.

Cities were administered by councils or CURIAE, which relied on rents, endowments, local taxes, and contributions from their members (*curiales* or decurions) to support their expenses: supplying bread and water to the population, higher education, police, and esp. maintenance of baths and other public facilities. The confiscations of Constantine I and Constantius II deprived the cities of their territories and taxes; the resulting financial distress was only partially relieved when Valens remitted one-third of these revenues. The history of late antique cities is thus marked by shortage of money, weakening of the councils, and growing interference from Constantinople. As the decurions became increasingly reluctant to serve, the government tried a series of expedients to maintain the councils, install responsible administrators (DEFENSOR CIVITATIS), and restrain the influence of rapacious governors. Finally, Anastasios I entrusted the cities to their bishops and landowners, replacing the councils with the collective responsibility of the church and propertied class. Many cities suffered serious demographic decline from the bubonic plague of 542 and later years; however, Constantinople, provincial capitals, pilgrimage centers, and cities along main highways and trade routes continued to prosper.

Excavations have revealed the physical aspect of the late Roman city. The broad boulevards, numerous open squares, and massive palaces and churches of Constantinople represented the planning of the age but could not be duplicated elsewhere. New districts of cities like Antioch, however, show a regular plan featuring orthogonal streets with monumental arches at their intersections. Most cities followed existing and often irregular plans, but in all cases colonnaded streets (EMBOLOI) were an essential element for communication and commerce, as rows of shops laid out

behind their mosaic-paved colonnades became the chief markets. In general, the ancient urban fabric survived: theaters, odeons, baths with gymnasiums, marketplaces, and civic centers were all maintained, while the villas and luxurious apartments of the rich were frequently expanded, and monumental fountains adorned the streets. Major changes reflected religion and style. Pagan temples were abandoned and demolished for building materials; churches took their place. In some cases, temples were turned into churches, but more often the churches grew up on the periphery and only gradually invaded the city center. Late antique cities looked very different from their predecessors: buildings universally employed reused material, often covered on the outside with plaster, and were decorated inside with frescoes, cut marble, and mosaics. Color was manifest everywhere. Ancient urban regularity tended to disappear as open spaces and streets became cluttered with shoddy commercial construction (shops were typically extended into streets, and booths set up in colonnades), and abandoned buildings were left in ruins. Deterioration of open space was esp. marked in the 6th C. Cities like JUSTINIANA PRIMA, or some in LYCIA, have virtually no civic buildings of the traditional type but contain houses and shops closely packed along regular streets and dominated by one or more large churches, thus illustrating the decline of public works and growth in the power of the church.

In the 7th C., cities underwent fundamental and permanent transformations as they reduced in size and population; their public works and services came to an end. They generally became ruralized, differing from fortresses or villages only in their size, occasional preservation of ancient buildings, and continuing role as seats of the ecclesiastical hierarchy. Merchants and craftsmen became rare; the *curiales* disappeared; cities were commonly under the command of military officials, subordinates of the STRATEGOS. External blows—Persian, Arab, Slav, and Avar attacks—contributed to the crisis.

A typical city of the Dark Ages consisted of a fortified center, often with a separate acropolis, which occupied a small part of the former urban area. The walls, built from ruined buildings, typically incorporated or obliterated former public structures and ignored previous streets. Within them, civic buildings were almost universally

abandoned: most became quarries for building material; others were occupied by squatters who built poor dwellings within them, often in connection with burning their marble for lime to make mortar. Churches, however, survived, often as increasingly dilapidated basilicas that came to tower over the small and crowded industrial installations (for pottery, glass, lime, and iron working) and houses. Monasteries and cemeteries, formerly alien to urban areas, came within the walls. Houses were small and poorly built, usually containing courtyards with large *pithei* for storage of grain and liquids. With the abandonment or destruction of aqueducts, cisterns were constructed everywhere. Many settlements clustered behind the walls of a hilltop fortress, while others were scattered around the ancient ruins, often as separate settlements resembling villages, each with its own water supply and limited facilities for production. Even Constantinople was affected: large parts of the city fell into ruin, public services were abandoned, and the population declined drastically.

Recovery began in the 9th C. and continued in Asia Minor through the 11th, in Greece through the 12th C. The cities never regained their ancient roles, but conditions within them improved as peace and trade brought growth. New larger circuits of walls were built, but cities continued to expand outside them. Small neighborhood churches were erected and an occasional open marketplace appeared, but cities remained crowded and poorly built, with small houses along narrow winding streets which had no relation to earlier planning. In this, new foundations hardly differed from the old; fortresses and churches were the dominant elements, other structures found room beside them. The 13th C. brought some prosperity to the cities of Asia Minor, which often received new walls and churches, while in Greece the Frankish period brought a growth of city-fortresses on hilltops. The last period of Byz. rule, when the central government was weak, allowed the cities to gain some independence, often recognized with concessions when they were reintegrated into the empire. In some places a local aristocracy assumed considerable authority. Cities of the splinter states grew and flourished. They often consisted of a citadel (*KASTRON*), an upper enclosure where the ruler, magnates, and bishop had their palaces; and a lower town (*EMPORION*)

devoted to commerce, with the homes of the common people and foreigners (who sometimes had their separate castle). By the 14th C. houses were large and spacious, aqueducts were again in use, and the standard of living was higher than it had been since the 7th C. Even such places, however, were small compared with their late antique predecessors, offered few if any public services, and showed no sign of systematic planning.

The normal artistic representation of a city was as a walled enceinte, studded with towers and rendered in bird's-eye perspective. Entered via a single portal, cities shown as models in the hands of a benefactor or as elements of BACKGROUND are customarily filled with elaborate architecture including a domed church. Only rarely, as in the MADABA MOSAIC MAP, do they contain structures that allow specific identification of the site. A unique planimetric view of Constantinople appears on the hyperpers of Michael VIII and Andronikos II.

LIT. A.P. Kazhdan, "Vizantijskie goroda v VII-IX vv.," *Sovetskaja Archeologija* 21 (1954) 164-88. E. Kirsten, "Die byzantinische Stadt," 11 *CEB* (Munich 1958) Berichte 5:3. C. Foss, "Archaeology and the 'Twenty Cities' of Byzantine Asia," *AJA* 81 (1977) 469-86. Mango, *Byzantium* 60-87. Ch. Bouras, "City and Village: Urban Design and Architecture," *JÖB* 31 (1981) 611-53. I. Ehrensperger-Katz, "Les représentations de villes fortifiées dans l'art paléochrétien et leurs dérivées byzantines," *CahArch* 19 (1969) 1-27. —C.F., A.C.

CITIZENS (*πολίται*). Byz. law preserved the Roman concept of citizenship, as granted to all free inhabitants of the empire in 212. Byz. citizens were distinguished from slaves, whose acts of MANUMISSION recognized them as citizens (e.g., Sathas, *MB* 6:618.13-14). Changes in citizenship to take advantage of commercial privileges could cause problems (e.g., *MM* 3:189.11-19 of 30 Oct. 1436) and dual citizenship is attested after 1204. It is unclear how Byz. proceeded juridically toward the numerous foreigners (e.g., Armenians, LATINS) who entered imperial service, but many were successfully assimilated. Externally, Byz. citizens were usually recognizable by a national costume and particular traits of grooming; for example, in 787 the Beneventans offered to enter the Byz. Empire and adopt the Byz. national dress and haircut (*CODEX CAROLINUS* 83, p.617.5-31). Shared cultural traditions, PATRIOTISM, loyalty to the emperor, Orthodoxy, and, from the 7th C. onward,

the Greek language helped shape Byz. citizens' distinctive identity.

LIT. R.S. Lopez, *Byzantium and the World around It* (London 1978), pt.XIV (1974), 342-52. P. Schreiner, *LMA* 2:1039f. —M.McC.

CITY TAXES. Until the 7th-C. crisis, Byz. cities, important demographically as well as economically, had their own municipal administrations and finances, based mainly on rents of city land (*astika*), on contributions (voluntary or not) of wealthy citizens (esp. civic magistrates), and on city taxes, the *vectigalia*, collected on local economic activities. City taxes were taken over by the COMES SACRARUM LARGITIONUM, partially returned by Julian, then confiscated again by Valentinian and Valens, the latter being obliged to return part of them to the city administrations. In the meantime, urban economic activities had started to decline. After the 7th C., when the smaller and less economically active "medieval" cities appeared, administered directly by state officials and financed by the government, city taxes disappeared.

LIT. Jones, *LRE* 732-34.

—N.O.

CIVIL PROCEDURE (*χρηματική δίκη*). The Justinianic civil lawsuit began with the plaintiff's (*enagon*) submission of the writ (*libellos*) at the COURT of law; from there it was served, together with a summons, on the defendant (*enagomenos*). On the first day fixed for TRIAL the formal conditions were clarified (esp. the question of the competency of the court), an OATH was taken by the participants in the proceedings, and surety was arranged by the plaintiff and defendant or by their representatives. The first part (*prooimion*) of the procedure was concluded with the formal statement of dispute (*prokatarxis*). The next step was the examination of evidence that could be undertaken by the assessors. The most important types of evidence were the testimony of WITNESSES and documents. Witnesses did not necessarily have to appear in person, but they did have to confirm their recorded testimony under oath. Where other proofs were lacking an oath could be imposed on one party by the other or by the judge. After a maximum of three years, a trial concluded with a final judgment (*apophasis*), which had to be drawn up in writing and read aloud. If the losing party

neither complied with the decision nor appealed within ten days, the victorious party could file for the legal execution of the judgment four months after the court's announcement of the decision.

LIT. D. Simon, *Untersuchungen zum justinianischen Zivilprozess* (Munich 1969). Kaser, *Zivilprozessrecht* 410-529. Zachariä, *Geschichte* 392-99. —L.B.

Later Developments. In post-Justinianic law, witnesses, documents, and oaths continued to play the chief role in litigation. Although late Roman procedure tended to give more weight to documents than to oral testimony, the *Peira* 30.17 reversed this principle: while acknowledging the preeminence of written evidence in cases such as marriage or sale of property and other business affairs, Eustathios RHOMAIOS proclaimed that oral testimony was generally the most reliable. Byz. law thus paid much attention to exposing false documents (S. Troianos, *EEBS* 39-40 [1972-73] 181-200). The use of oaths contradicted the injunction of Matthew 5:33, and commentators on *Basil.* 22.5 tried to reconcile their practice with the Gospel ruling by quoting John Chrysostom. Byz. legal practice also accepted certain paralegal means of decision making: rhetorical arguments that could be more convincing than legal ones, the principle that the emperor's word is beyond law (this could be extended to those to whom the emperor delegated his authority), and mob pressure. The use of various ORDEALS as a means of establishing the truth emerged despite some strong resistance. Literary texts (e.g., hagiography) could be submitted as evidence, and references to Homer or Aristotle could be used to establish precedent.

LIT. F. Dölger, "Der Beweis im byzantinischen Gerichtsverfahren," *La preuve* 1 (Brussels 1964) 595-612. Simon, *Rechtsfindung*. S. Troianos, "Ho elenchos tes gnesiotetos ton apodeiktikon engraphon en te byzantine dike," in *Xenon: Festschrift für P. Zepos*, vol. 1 (Athens-Freiburg im Breisgau-Cologne 1973) 693-716. —A.K.

CIVIL WAR OF 1341-47. Following shortly after the conflict between Andronikos II and Andronikos III (1321-28), this war further divided and weakened the remnants of the Byz. Empire. When Andronikos III died in 1341, leaving his nine-year-old son JOHN V PALAIOLOGOS as heir to the throne, a struggle for the regency developed between JOHN (VI) KANTAKOUZENOS, the *meas domestikos*, on one side, and the empress ANNA OF SAVOY, Patr. JOHN XIV KALEKAS, and the *meas*

doux Alexios APOKAUKOS, on the other. Taking advantage of the absence of Kantakouzenos from Constantinople on military campaign, John XIV declared his own regency and confiscated Kantakouzenos's property in the capital. In Oct. 1341 Kantakouzenos was proclaimed emperor in Didymoteichon, triggering war. Kantakouzenos was generally supported by the provincial landed aristocracy and proponents of HESYCHASM, but there were numerous exceptions. At first Kantakouzenos fared poorly in the war as the result of anti-aristocratic rebellions in the towns of Macedonia and Thrace, notably the revolt of the ZEALOTS in Thessalonike. But after receiving assistance from UMUR BEG, emir of Aydın, and STEFAN UROŠ IV DUŠAN, king of Serbia, his fortunes improved and he gained control of Thessaly, Epiros, and parts of Thrace and Macedonia, despite Dušan's switch of allegiance to John V. The murder of Apokaukos in 1345 was a severe blow to the regency. After 1345 Umur was forced to withdraw his troops, but Kantakouzenos replaced them with Ottoman soldiers supplied by the emir ORHAN (E. Werner, *BS* 26 [1965] 255–76). In 1346 Kantakouzenos was crowned emperor at Adrianople, and the following year he entered Constantinople. An agreement that he and John V should rule as co-emperors ended the civil war. The prolonged struggle was disastrous for Byz., as it brought anarchy to the cities and devastation to the countryside. In Didymoteichon, for example, soldiers turned to BRIGANDAGE in order to secure the necessary provisions (C. Asdracha, *EtBalk* n.s. 7.3 [1971] 118–20). The war also permitted Dušan to expand his empire into Thrace and Macedonia. The victory of Kantakouzenos significantly affected the church, since it enabled the triumph of hesychasm.

LIT. Nicol, *Last Centuries* 191–216. Ostrogorsky, *History* 509–22. Matschke, *Fortschritt*. —A.M.T.

CLARENZA. See CHLEMOUTSI.

CLARISSIMUS (λαμπρότατος), honorific epithet applied to SENATORS that became an official title during the early Roman Empire. According to the EXCERPTA VALESIANA (ed. Moreau-Velkor 9.3), when Constantine I created the SENATE in Constantinople he granted new senators the title of

clari to distinguish them from the *clarissimi* of Rome. When the titles of ILLUSTRIS and SPECTABILIS were introduced in the second half of the 4th C., *clarissimus* began to designate the lowest category of senators. Between 450 and 530 use of the title *clarissimus* (as well as *spectabilis*) declined and ceased to be applied to senators at all. Jones (*LRE* 2:529) considers it still as hereditary, but Guiland (*Institutions* 1:68f) denies it. The title was not part of the Byz. bureaucratic hierarchy.

LIT. Dagron, *Naissance* 123f. Guiland, *Titres*, pt.I (1967), 27–36. —A.K.

CLASSE. See RAVENNA.

CLASS STRUCTURE. Class is a conventional sociological term designating extensive groups of people who have common characteristics with regard to their place in the system of production, their wealth, power, and prestige. The difficulty in defining Byz. class structure originates in the difference between Byz. stratification and the contemporary scholarly models (which in turn, vary according to schools of thought, Marxist or non-Marxist), from the lack of clear-cut boundaries between various classes, and from cases of social mobility. The Byz. resorted to several methods of social categorization: (1) slaves and free men, (2) "great" and "small," or "powerful" (*dynatoi*) and "poor," with a third category of men of moderate means (*mesoi*) introduced on occasion; (3) classification by profession, as in Psellos—senators, monks, the urban masses, and those involved in agriculture and trade; (4) a tripartite classification of Western type—soldiers, clergy, and ordinary people (Kazhdan-Franklin, *Studies* 142–44).

Four factors were taken into account by the Byz. in defining the elite or ruling class: good family background (this principle seems to have been reestablished by the 10th C.); wealth (including salaries, rewards, extortions, etc., in addition to property); hierarchical rank; and prestige or high moral reputation. The shift from an elite based on rank and position to an elite determined by family background and ownership of land was a crucial development of the Byz. class structure. Merchants probably emerged as an independent class by the 11th C. but were never legally defined

as a distinct category. The lower class encompassed various groups of rural and urban population: common soldiers, state and private peasants, craftsmen and peddlers, *misthioi*, slaves, beggars. The lower clergy (*paroikoi*—priests, working monks) in a certain sense belonged to this class. Intellectuals did not form a separate group until the 12th C.; before then they were part of the secular and ecclesiastical administration.

LIT. Beck, *Ideen*, pt.X (1965), 11–45. A. Kazhdan, *Social'nyj sostav gosподstvujuščego klassa Vizantii XI–XII vv.* (Moscow 1974), with a Fr. résumé by I. Sorlin, *TM* 6 (1976) 367–80. A. Kazhdan, I. Čičurov, "O strukture vizantijskogo obščestva VII–IX vv.," *VizOč* (Moscow 1977) 107–37. G. Weiss, "Beobachtungen zur Sozialgeschichte von Byzanz," *SüdostF* 34 (1975) 3–25. J. Gagé, *Les classes sociales dans l'Empire romain* (Paris 1964) 335–448. —A.K.

CLAUDIAN (Claudius Claudianus), wandering poet of late Roman Egypt; born Alexandria ca.370, died ca.404. After producing (in Greek) conventional panegyrics, *patria*, and epigrams (some preserved in the GREEK ANTHOLOGY), Claudian went to Italy, where he composed Latin panegyrics at Rome (395) for the consuls Probus and Olybrius and at Milan (396) for the third consulate of Emp. Honorius. From then until 404, he tirelessly manufactured more panegyrics for Honorius and most notably for STILICHO. A natural pendant to these works is Claudian's elaborately vicious attack on the Eastern courtiers RUFINUS and EUTROPIUS. His material rewards for this propaganda included the title *clarissimus*, a public statue whose inscription (*CIL* 6:1710) records his honors, and a rich bride chosen by Stilicho's wife Serena. Further poetic themes include the crushing of the rebel GILDO (398) and the mythological *De raptu Proserpinae* and *Gigantomachia*. Claudian, noted for his poetry and paganism by AUGUSTINE and OROSIUS, is essentially the culmination of classical Latin poetry. Prolix in praise and abuse, although polished overall, his poems are a major source for the military and political history of the years 395–404.

ED. *Carmina*, ed. J.B. Hall (Leipzig 1985). *De raptu Proserpinae*, ed. J.B. Hall (Cambridge 1969). *Claudian*, ed. M. Platnauer, 2 vols. (London–New York 1922), with Eng. tr. LIT. Al. Cameron, *Claudian: Poetry and Propaganda at the Court of Honorius* (Oxford 1970). J.B. Hall, *Prolegomena to Claudian* (London 1986). P.G. Christiansen, *The Use of Images by Claudius Claudianus* (The Hague–Paris 1969). H.L. Levy, *Claudian's In Rufinum. An Exegetical Commentary* (Cleveland, Ohio, 1971). —B.B.

CLAVIJO, RUY GONZÁLEZ DE, a high-ranking official of Henry III, king of Castile; died 2 Apr. 1412. With an embassy he journeyed to the court of TIMUR in Samarkand, which he described in detail. The embassy left Seville on 22 May 1403 and returned to Castile on 24 March 1406. Clavijo describes several islands of the Aegean Sea (Rhodes, Chios, Lesbos ["Metellin"]), mentions Mt. Athos ("Monteston"), and dwells at length on Constantinople and Pera. He was most interested in churches and monasteries (Hagia Sophia, St. John the Baptist, Blachernai ["de la Cherne"], etc.) and their treasures, relics, and ornaments; among others, Clavijo describes the Church of Mary "Peribelo" (PERIBLEPTOS), at whose entrance were represented 30 castles and towns allegedly granted to the church by an emperor Romanos; privileges listing the rights of the church to these castles and confirmed by wax and lead seals were displayed nearby. Clavijo also reports on the Hippodrome, the city walls, wells of sweet water, the money-changers' street, warehouses, and the fetters used to punish those who sold meat or bread with false weights. He noticed that many buildings were in a state of ruin. Clavijo visited Trebizond as well. He devotes considerable attention to relations within the imperial family and to the war between Venice and Genoa.

ED. *Embajada a Tamorlán*, ed. F. López Estrada (Madrid 1943). Eng. tr., *Narrative of the Embassy of Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo*, ed. C. Markham (London 1859; rp. New York 1970).

LIT. A. Bravo García, "La Constantinopla que vieron R. González de Clavijo y P. Tafur," *Erytheia* 3 (1983) 39–47. —A.K.

CLAVUS, a vertical stripe decorating the Roman TUNIC; the wide ones (*clavi lati*) were originally an indication of the senatorial rank of the wearer. The *clavi* were usually purple or gold and were woven into the tunic in pairs; they were visible on the shoulder even when the tunic was covered by an outer mantle. In Byz. art, *clavi* are primarily found decorating the tunics of Christ, the angels, and the apostles, figures who are regularly shown clad in ancient garb. *Clavi* embroidered with rows of flowers adorn the tunics of the female members of the imperial entourage and those of female martyrs in the 6th-C. mosaic processions of S. Vitale and S. Apollinare Nuovo, RAVENNA, and David's tunic in the 10th-C. Bible of LEO SAKEL-

LARIOS (fol.263). In Egypt, tapestry bands have been found decorated with comparable floral and figural designs; these were probably *clavi* for tunics. Simple, dark-colored *clavi* adorn the Byz. liturgical vestment called STICHARION, in which case they are called *potamoi* ("rivers").

LIT. M.G. Houston, *Ancient Greek, Roman and Byzantine Costume and Decoration*² (London 1947) 97, 138, 143. Papas, *Messgewänder* 107f. —N.P.Š.

CLEMENT III (Guibert of Ravenna), antipope (elected Mar. 1084); born Parma ca.1025, died Civita Castellana 8 Sept. 1100. Henry IV of Germany supported Clement against Popes GREGORY VII and URBAN II. Urban sought an accommodation with Byz., whereas Clement tried to gain the support of Byz.'s northern neighbors: on 8 Jan. 1089 he created a Serbian archbishopric under Roman jurisdiction. Around 1088 Clement sent envoys to JOHN II, metropolitan of Kiev.

LIT. J. Ziese, *Wibert von Ravenna* (Stuttgart 1982). —A.K.

CLEMENT V (Bertrand de Got), pope (from 5 June 1305); born in the Bordelais ca.1260, died Roquemaure, Comtat Venaissin, 20 Apr. 1314. Forced to leave Italy, Clement settled in southern France, residing from 1309 in Avignon. He advocated the idea of a new Crusade with limited objectives. While proclaiming the liberation of the Holy Land as the ultimate goal, the Crusaders' armies were directed to specific areas: Clement supported the attack of the HOSPITALERS on Rhodes, the official purpose of which was to protect Armenia and Cyprus from the infidel, to hinder trade with the Saracens and to prepare a universal crusade. Also under the banner of a crusade, Clement organized a war against Venice and managed to regain FERRARA for the papacy.

LIT. G. Mollat, *The Popes at Avignon, 1305–1378* (London–New York 1963) 3–8. F. Heidelberger, *Kreuzzugsversuche um die Wende des XIII. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin 1911) 24–62. L. Thier, *Kreuzzugsbemühungen unter Papst Clemens V.* (Werl, Westfalen, 1973). N. Housley, "Pope Clement V and the Crusades of 1309–1310," *JMedHist* 8 (1982) 29–43. —A.K.

CLEMENT VI (Pierre Roger), pope (from 7 May 1342); born Maumont (Corrèze), France, 1291,

died Avignon 6 Dec. 1352. Clement's pontificate coincided with the growth of national forces in western Europe and the decline of monarchies with a tendency to universalist power, so that the PAPACY remained the sole bearer of the idea of crusade. The kings of France, who were involved in the Hundred Years' War, withdrew from the project, and Clement had to seek the support of smaller Mediterranean states such as Aragon, Venice, Cyprus, and the kingdom of Cilicia. He also entered into negotiations with Byz. in expectation that the empire, weakened by the CIVIL WAR OF 1341–47, would accept UNION OF THE CHURCHES. In 1348 Emp. John VI Kantakouzenos sent ambassadors to Avignon; this mission left an important mark on cultural life, since one of its members, Nicholas Sigeros, gave Petrarch a codex of Homer. Clement's major achievement was the capture of SMYRNA by a Latin navy on 28 Oct. 1344, but the ensuing expedition inland failed. Union was not achieved, but the people of PHILADELPHIA, impressed by the Latin success at Smyrna, dispatched ambassadors to Avignon, accepting papal supremacy in exchange for assistance in their struggle against the Turks.

LIT. A. Pélissier, *Clément VI le Magnifique* (Paris 1951). G. Mollat, *DHGE* 12 (1953) 1129–62. J. Gay, *Le pape Clément VI et les affaires d'Orient* (Paris 1904; rp. New York 1972). R.J. Loenertz, *ByzFrGr I* 285–302. F. Giunta, "Sulla politica orientale di Clemente VI," in *Studi di storia medievale e moderna in onore di Ettore Rota* (Rome 1958) 149–62. —A.K.

CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA, more fully T. Flavius Clemens, early Christian philosopher; born Athens? ca.150, died Cappadocia before 215. Educated in Alexandria, he worked there as a teacher from ca.200 until he was forced to leave the city because of anti-Christian persecutions. Like ORIGEN, Clement belonged to a group of well-educated Christians who sought a certain reconciliation with pagan ideas and were influenced by Platonism. Clement's aim was the struggle against Gnosticism and radical extremists within Christianity: he argued that the rich could be saved, defended marriage, praised education, and took the concept of Logos (Reason), not Theos (God), as the basis of his doctrine. Clement laid the foundations for the ALEXANDRIAN SCHOOL and paved the way for the incorporation of pagan learning within Christianity; he was a foremost

proponent of the use of allegory in biblical exegesis.

Clement was not one of the more popular church fathers in Byz.: Prodomos (PG 133:1265AB), for example, criticized him for treating language as immaterial and rejecting the search for beauty and nobility of expression. Arethas of Caesarea was interested in Clement: at his instigation, a certain Baanes prepared in 914 a MS of two of Clement's works (*Protreptikos* and *Paedagogus*), which was provided with scholia by Baanes and Arethas (Paris, B.N. gr. 451). Some other writings have survived in MSS of the 11th and 12th C.

ED. PG 8–9. *Protrepticus und Paedagogus*³, ed. O. Stählin et al. (Berlin 1972). *Stromata, Buch I–VI*⁴, ed. O. Stählin et al. (Berlin 1985). *Stromata, Buch VII und VIII*², ed. O. Stählin et al. (Berlin 1970). *Register*, ed. U. Treu (Berlin 1980). G.W. Butterworth, *Clement of Alexandria* (London–New York 1919), with Eng. tr. CPG, nos. 1375–99.

LIT. S.R.C. Lilla, *Clement of Alexandria* (Oxford 1971). Quasten, *Patrology* 2:5–36. O. Stählin, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Handschriften des Clemens Alexandrinus* (Nürnberg 1895). Idem, *Untersuchungen über die Scholien zu Clemens Alexandrinus* (Nürnberg 1897). —T.E.G.

CLEMENT OF OHRID. See KLIMENT OF OHRID.

CLEMENT SMOLJATIČ. See KLIM SMOLJATIČ.

CLERGY (κληρος), term that initially designated the entire Christian community, the people of God (*laos*, LAITY) chosen to participate in God's inheritance or *kleronomia* (1 Pet 5:3). By the 3rd C. the term was restricted to those appointed as ministers of worship within the Christian community. Below the major orders (*hieromenoi*) of BISHOP, PRIEST, and DEACON were the minor orders (*klerikoi*) of SUBDEACON and ANAGNOSTES. Besides differences in functions, the two orders were distinguished by the method of ordination (CHEIROTONIA)—the ritual act that also served to separate clergy from laity. Their lives and responsibilities were fixed by ecclesiastical law. Ordination to the priesthood and episcopate was forbidden before age 30, whereas deacons and subdeacons could be consecrated at ages 25 and 20, respectively (Council in TRULLO, canons 13, 14). Once appointed to a city or church they could not transfer elsewhere (NICAEA I, canon 15). Equally, all were subject to episcopal jurisdiction and could sue each other only in episcopal courts (Council

of CHALCEDON, canon 9). Admitted to the office of DEACONESS, women were forbidden entry to both the priesthood and episcopate.

Generally, clergy were forbidden to participate in secular occupations such as trade, usury, or banking; nor were they allowed to become civil servants, although they could perform manual and agricultural labor (Nicaea II, canon 15) and serve as imperial advisers (like the monk Ioannikios in the court of ALEXIOS I). In practice, however, these restrictions were not always observed, as several 12th-C. synodal and patriarchal decrees illustrate (*RegPatr*, fasc. 3, nos. 1048, 1092, 1100, 1119). Clerical privileges included exemption from certain taxes, military service, and other municipal duties (*Cod.Theod.* XVI 2.1–47, 5.1; Council of Chalcedon, canon 7). Despite their social, judicial, and pecuniary exemptions, Byz. clergy never constituted a rigid sociological entity—a self-conscious antithesis of the laity—as in the West. Significantly, they rarely held high state office and were never the exclusive bearers of high culture. Except for bishops, they were also not separated from the laity by CELIBACY.

LIT. A.P. Lebedev, *Duchovenstvo drevnej vselenskoi cerkvi ot vremen apostol'skich do IX v.* (Moscow 1905). D.J. Constantelos, "Clerics and Secular Professions in the Byzantine Church," *Byzantina* 13.1 (1985) 373–90. E. Herman, "Die kirchlichen Einkünfte des byzantinischen Niederklerus," *OrChrP* 8 (1942) 378–442. T. Elliott, "The Tax Exemptions Granted to Clerics by Constantine and Constantius II," *Phoenix* 32 (1978) 326–36. —A.P.

CLICHÉ, in modern terminology, a trite or repeated phrase or idea. In Byz. literature two types of cliché can be distinguished. (1) In works written at a learned level of the language at all periods, the conventions of RHETORIC (which, learned in the schoolroom, underlay virtually every literary genre) imposed structures and sequences of ideas that most writers and audiences accepted as appropriate and followed. (2) In many works written in the POLITICAL VERSE at a popular level of the language in the 14th–15th C., large numbers of lines and half-lines were repeated virtually unchanged, both within a given poem and in others (see ROMANCE). Debate continues as to whether this is the result of plagiarism and quotation, or whether these "clichés" (phrases like *mikroi te kai megaloi*, "great and small") represent in written form the style of a traditional literature, originally disseminated orally. —E.M.J.

CLIMATE in Byz. was determined by the situation of the MEDITERRANEAN SEA, which is enclosed to the south and southeast by a band of deserts and to the north and northeast by mountain ridges (Pyrenees, Alps, and Caucasus). Winds, dry in summer and bringing rain in winter, blow primarily north to south; the strong winter winds, esp. dangerous along the southern Mediterranean shore, could bring navigation to a halt. The combination of rainy winters (from approximately Oct. to Apr.) and summer drought is typical of the Mediterranean. Summers were hot, but winters mild, except on elevated plateaus where considerable snow accumulated; permanent snow cover is found only on mountains at high elevations. The diverse climate was due partly to latitudinal situation (the hottest areas—North Africa, Egypt, and Palestine—were lost to the Arabs in the 7th C.) but also to elevation, with sharp contrasts between the coastal lowlands and interior highlands.

The coast was sufficiently warm for the cultivation of olives, mulberry, and, in some areas (Sicily, Crete), cotton. Vineyards and many FRUIT orchards could be found at higher elevations and farther to the north (including Thrace), but Bulgaria was considered by the Byz. to be a region that produced little fruit. Grain grew everywhere; the predominance of wheat in Asia Minor and of barley in the Balkans depended more on soil than on temperature. The plateaus (esp. Anatolia), with their cold winter nights and shortage of water, were best for cattle and flocks of sheep and goats, while the contrasts between lowland and highland contributed to the development of TRANSHUMANCE. Special climatic regions were the hinterland of the Black Sea, the Caucasus and the Armenian highlands, the Anatolian plateau, Egypt, and the valley of the Po—a transitional region between the Mediterranean and Central European climate.

The question of changes in the Mediterranean climate in historical times has been variously approached by historians, some of whom attribute the decline of the Roman Empire to climatic changes; climatologists, however, deny radical changes, even though some warming and desiccation ca. 1300 can be observed (F. Braudel, *La Méditerranée*² 1 [Paris 1966] 247). It is plausible that deforestation also took place over time, but neither its scale nor chronology can be established.

LIT. E.C. Semple, *The Geography of the Mediterranean Region* (London 1932) 83–101. A. Philippson, *Das Mittelmeergebiet* (Leipzig 1904) 93–138. J.H. Prior, *Geography, Technology and War* (Cambridge 1988) 15–24. A. Guillou, *La civilisation byzantine* (Paris 1974) 41–100. —A.K.

CLOCK. See HOROLOGION.

CLOISONNÉ. See ASHLAR; BRICKWORK TECHNIQUES AND PATTERNS; ENAMELS.

CLOSED DOOR or gate (πύλη κεκλεισμένη) of the sanctuary of the Temple, seen by Ezekiel (44:1–3) in a vision. This was not to be opened or traversed by any man, for God had entered in by it. The image was taken, for example, by Theodoret of Cyrrhus (PG 81:1233B), to symbolize the Virgin's womb. ROMANOS THE MELODE (*Hymnes* 2, ed. J. Grosdidier de Matons [Paris 1965] 10:9.4–10) describes Mary as the Closed Gate (ἀπαρανοικτος πύλη) who opened the door to the Magi that they might see the Door (thyra), the infant Christ. In the context of increased interest in PREFIGURATIONS of the Virgin, the Door is represented at the CHORA (S. Der Nersessian in Underwood, *Kariye Djami* 4:346) and other Palaiologan churches.

LIT. G. Babić, "L'image symbolique de la 'Porte fermée' à Saint-Clément d'Ohrid," in *Synthronon* 145–51. —C.B.T., J.H.L.

COATS OF ARMS. The use of heraldic INSIGNIA as a symbolic representation of families did not develop in Byz. The broad range of images (Christ, the Virgin, the cross, various saints) found on SEALS are personal rather than familial emblems. Certain "blazons" have, however, been interpreted by some scholars as official imperial or familial coats of arms. Soloviev (*infra*) considered the double-headed EAGLE as an emblem of the Komnenoi and the tetragrammic cross with four Bs as the blazon (from ca. 1327) of the Palaiologoi. G. Vikan (*ArtB* 63 [1981] 326) has connected other emblems (including a multipetal flower, a swastika, and four overlapping bars) with the Palaiologos family. Some of these symbols—whether blazons or not—were placed on imperial standards: thus, a 14th-C. ceremonial book (pseudo-Kod. 167.17–23) states that on ordinary warships the customary imperial banner (phlamoulon) was displayed, that is, the cross with pyrekbola (flints?)—

probably the tetragrammic cross—whereas the ship of the *megas doux* displayed the image of the mounted emperor. In Aug. 1439 John VIII Palaiologos conferred upon Giacomo de Morellis, a citizen of Florence, the right to place on his banner the imperial "blazon" (semeion); on the chrysobull, beneath the text, is pictured a double-headed eagle (*Reg* 5, no. 3489).

LIT. W.H. Rüdert von Collenberg, "Byzantinische Präheraldik des 10. und 11. Jhs.," *Recueil du 12e Congrès international des sciences généalogique et héraldique* (Stuttgart 1978) 169–81. D. Cernovodeanu, "Contributions à l'étude de l'héraldique byzantine et postbyzantine," *JÖB* 32.2 (1982) 409–22. A. Soloviev, "Les emblèmes héraldiques de Byzance et les Slaves," *SemKond* 7 (1935) 119–64. —A.K.

CODEX (δέλτος, πυκτίον, τεύχος, κώδιξ), the preponderant form of the Byz.—and modern—BOOK. It consists of QUIRES made of sheets of PAPYRUS, PARCHMENT, or, later, PAPER, which were prepared for copying by the application of RULING PATTERNS in order to guide the writing; the written quires were stitched, usually one to another, to form the smooth spine characteristic of Byz. BOOKBINDING. Unlike the earlier ROLL, the codex fitted more text into less space because each sheet was written on both sides. Moreover, since the codex could be immediately opened to any page, it allowed random consultation. In appearance, Byz. codices range from sumptuous illuminated MSS (see BOOK ILLUSTRATION AND ILLUMINATION) or lavish editions of the classics to tax registers or heavily annotated working texts produced by scholars for their personal use.

The codex probably derived from the Roman businessman's parchment notebook, itself inspired by the bound and waxed wooden tablets (*codices*) used as notepads in antiquity and Byz. Travelers seem to have been among the first to favor the new format, and the codex enjoyed unique prestige among Christians from the 2nd C., esp. for Scripture. Eusebios of Caesarea mentions the order issued by Constantine I that fifty codices of the Bible should be copied for liturgical use in Constantinople. From 300 onward, the codex replaced the roll as the chief vehicle for literary texts. The physical transformation of the book encouraged intellectual change as well. The capacity of and the ease of access within the codex now made practical the creation—and quick consultation—of vast works of reference, such as the

codification of Roman law at Constantinople in the 5th and 6th C. For artists the invention of the codex made possible the painting of full-page miniatures.

LIT. B. Atsalos, *La terminologie du livre-manuscrit à l'époque byzantine* (Thessalonike 1971) 88–128. C.H. Roberts, T.C. Skeat, *The Birth of the Codex* (London 1983). M. McCormick, "The Birth of the Codex and the Apostolic Life-Style," *Scriptorium* 39 (1985) 150–58. —E.G., M.McC.

CODEX CAROLINUS, collection of letters sent by popes (GREGORY III through HADRIAN I) and from the Byz. Empire to Charles Martel, Pippin, and CHARLEMAGNE, compiled at Charlemagne's command in 791. Only the papal letters survive. They constitute the chief source on Frankish involvement in Italy. Because the PAPACY acted as an intermediary between Byz. and the Franks, these letters shed valuable light on Byz. relations with the Carolingians (eps. 11, 25, 28–29, 36–37 on the negotiations of CONSTANTINE V with Pippin, and ep. 45 on the planned marriage of LEO IV with the king's daughter) and, above all, on Constantinople's projects to recapture its Italian holdings (eps. 15, 17, 30–31, 38, 57, 61, 64–65, 80, 82–84) and subdue the Iconodule papacy (eps. 20, 32). They also transmit general information deemed relevant to the Frankish court, for instance the Eastern patriarchs' attitude toward ICONOCLASM (ep. 99), Constantine V's death (ep. 58), an Arab invasion of Asia Minor (ep. 74), news from Byz. ISTRIA (ep. 63), and the activities of Byz. or Venetian merchants (eps. 59, 86).

ED. W. Gundlach, *MGH Epist.* 3:476–657. Facsimile—*Codex epistolaris Carolinus*, ed. F. Unterkircher (Graz 1962).

LIT. P. Kehr, "Über die Chronologie der Briefe Papst Pauls I. im codex Carolinus," *NachGött* (1896) 102–57. —M.McC.

CODEX EBNERIANUS, a 12th-C. illustrated New Testament in Oxford, Bodl. Auct. T. inf. 1. 10, named after its 18th-C. owner. Bound in a silver cover with a 10th-C. ivory fragment, the MS is decorated with ornate CANON TABLES and HEADPIECES, a double portrait of Eusebios of Caesarea and Karpianos, and ten portraits of New Testament authors. Accompanying most portraits are liturgically inspired narrative scenes. The MS was copied by the same scribe as Escorial X IV 17, but illuminated in the different style of the MSS of JAMES OF KOKKINOBAFOS. It is the product of

the preeminent school of Constantinopolitan illuminators during the second quarter of the 12th C. In 1391 the scribe Ioasaph of the HODEGON monastery added liturgical notations to the MS, and its evangelist portraits served as the model for the Palaiologan miniatures inserted into Venice, Marc. gr. I, 8. The MS is marked with Georgian quire signatures, but was still in Constantinople in the 16th C.

LIT. Hutter, *CBM* 1:59-67, 3.1:333f. H. Buchthal, "A Greek New Testament Manuscript in the Escorial Library," in *Byz. und der Westen* 86-94. -R.S.N.

CODEX GREGORIANUS, a collection of imperial rescripts issued sometime between 291 and 294 by a certain Gregory, who is otherwise unknown. It is impossible to determine whether it was prepared in the East (Berytus?) or elsewhere, or whether it was a private tool or an official document, for purposes of instruction or for practical use. It contains edicts from the year 196 to Diocletian; the latest law (of 295) is often considered a later addition. The material is organized, according to subject matter, in books and titles. It is possible that the original text of the edicts has here been contracted and paraphrased (N. van der Wal, *Bollettino dell'Istituto di diritto romano* 22 [1980] 7). The text has survived only in fragments—in the CODEX JUSTINIANUS and in various legal compilations, such as the *Fragmenta Vaticana*, scholia of the Sinai Library, and the *lex Romana Visigothorum*.

ED. P. Krüger, *Collectio librorum iuris anteiustiniani* 3 (Berlin 1890) 224-33, 236-42.

LIT. P. Jörs, *RE* 4 (1901) 161-64. J. Gaudemet, *La formation du droit séculier et du droit de l'église aux IV^e et V^e siècles* (Paris 1979) 44-48. W. Turpin, "The Purpose of the Roman Law Codes," *ZSavRom* 104 (1987) 620-30. -A.K.

CODEX HERMOGENIANUS, a collection of imperial rescripts published after the CODEX GREGORIANUS by a certain Hermogenianus, usually identified as a praetorian prefect of 304. The text has survived in fragmentary form in the same sources as the *Codex Gregorianus* (with the exception of the appendices to the *lex Romana Visigothorum*), but it differs from the latter in several respects: the *Codex Hermogenianus* is shorter, divided only into titles (not books), and contains primarily the edicts of Diocletian. The 5th-C. Christian au-

thor Sedulius notes that Hermogenianus had his work published three times; accordingly, Rotondi (*infra*) postulates that the first edition appeared in 295, the second in 305, and the third included three constitutions of 314-24. Seven rescripts of 364/5 are considered later additions.

ED. P. Krüger, *Collectio librorum iuris anteiustiniani* 3 (Berlin 1890) 234f, 242-45.

LIT. A. Cenderelli, *Ricerche sul 'Codex Hermogenianus'* (Milan 1965). D. Liebs, *Hermogenians Iuris epitomae* (Göttingen 1964). G. Rotondi, *Scritti giuridici* 1 (Milan 1922) 111-46. -A.K.

CODEX JUSTINIANUS, a collection of imperial constitutions (in the form of *leges*, *rescripta*, *sanciones pragmaticae*) from Hadrian to Justinian I, that, along with the DIGEST, the INSTITUTES, and the NOVELS OF JUSTINIAN I, constitutes the CORPUS JURIS CIVILIS. Executed at Justinian's request, the collection was intended to take the place of the CODEX GREGORIANUS, the CODEX HERMOGENIANUS, and the CODEX THEODOSIANUS and to provide a compilation of imperial law arranged according to subject and freed from contradictions and repetitions. To this end Justinian appointed a commission of ten lawyers under the direction of TRIBONIAN. The original collection, the so-called *Codex vetus*, which has been transmitted only in short fragments, was made public on 7 Apr. 529 through the introductory constitution "Summa." It soon stood in need of revision—not least because of Justinian's own legislative activity.

With the constitution "Cordi" of 16 Nov. 534 the so-called *Codex repetitae praelectionis* was promulgated and made authoritative. It contains 12 books that, in contrast to the *Institutes* and the *Digest*, reflect the socioeconomic and ecclesiastical problems of the time in the form of numerous administrative, penal, civil, and ecclesiastical regulations. The language of the constitutions is predominantly Latin. The regulations of the *Codex Justinianus* were introduced into the BASILIKA, esp. in the Greek version of THALELAIOS; treatments of the *Codex Justinianus* by the jurists ISIDORE, ANATOLIOS, and THEODORE SCHOLASTIKOS are also preserved. Revisions in the sequence of the laws of the *Codex Justinianus* are transmitted only in fragments. With a view to the integration of the *Codex Justinianus* into the *Basilika*, the individual titles were divided up according to subject and, where appropriate, attached to the *Basilika* chapters originating in the *Digest*.

ED. *CIC*, vol. 2.

LIT. Wenger, *Quellen* 569-72, 638-51, 688-92. D. Simon, "Aus dem Codexunterricht des Thalelaios," *ZSavRom* 86 (1969) 334-83; 87 (1970) 315-94; *Revue internationale des droits de l'antiquité* 16 (1969) 283-308; 17 (1970) 273-311. -M.Th.F.

CODEX SUPRASLIENSIS, the largest surviving Old Church Slavonic MS (found in 1823 in the Suprasl monastery in Poland), is a *menologion* for the month of March that contains saints' Lives and sermons for Holy Week and Easter. It was probably copied in central or eastern Bulgaria between 900 and 1050 on the basis of an original created in the circle of Tsar SYMEON OF BULGARIA. More than half of its 285 folia were lost during World War II; the other portions are in Ljubljana and Leningrad. Marguliés (*infra*) and some other scholars hypothesize that the original of the Codex was in GLAGOLITIC. The Codex was translated from a Greek pre-Metaphrastic *menologion* and contains 48 hagiographical texts; for some of them the Greek sources have not yet been identified. The work of the translator (or translators?) was difficult, since the original also contained the writings of some experienced rhetoricians (Basil the Great, John Chrysostom, Epiphanius of Salamis), and in some cases their language was misunderstood. The compiler of the Codex probably introduced stylistic alterations. The Codex is an important monument of Byz. intellectual influence upon Bulgaria ca.900.

ED. S. Sever'janov, *Suprasl'skaja rukopis'* (St. Petersburg 1904; rp. Graz 1956). *Suprasl'ski ili Rethov sbornik*, ed. J. Zaimov, M. Capaldo, 2 vols. (Sofia 1982-83).

LIT. R. Trautmann, R. Klostermann, "Drei griechische Texte zum Codex Suprasliensis," *ZSlavPhil* 11 (1934) 1-21, 299-324; 12 (1935) 277-94. K.H. Meyer, *Altkirchenslavische Studien* (Halle an der Saale 1939). Ph.A. Marguliés, *Der altkirchenslavische Codex Suprasliensis* (Heidelberg 1927). M. Capaldo, "Zur linguistischen Betrachtungsweise der Komposition des Codex Suprasliensis," in *Contributi Italiani all'VIII Congresso internazionale degli Slavisti* (Zagreb-Ljubljana 1978) 23-60. -A.K.

CODEX THEODOSIANUS, a Latin law book named after the emperor THEODOSIOS II. By a constitution of 26 Mar. 429, Theodosios, together with his co-emperor Valentinian III, established a nine-member commission to produce a collection of all of the imperial constitutions published since Constantine I (following the model of the CODEX GREGORIANUS and the CODEX HERMOGENI-

ANUS), integrating into the collection appropriate passages from the writings of the jurists. By a constitution of 20 Dec. 435, the same emperors set up a new commission of 16 people that was to collect all general imperial constitutions since Constantine I and, if necessary, to improve them by changing the text or dividing them into several titles. This work came to fruition and was published by a constitution of 15 Feb. 438. On 1 Jan. 439 the *Codex Theodosianus* went into force for the entire Roman Empire. The *Codex* contains more than 2,500 constitutions (from the years 311-437) and is divided into 16 books; the books are subdivided into titles within which the constitutions are arranged in chronological order. The MS transmission of the *Codex Theodosianus* is poor, esp. for books 1-5, which are only indirectly preserved, in the *Lex Romana Visigothorum*. For this *Lex* as well as for the *Codex Justinianus*, the *Codex Theodosianus* was the most important source. The *Codex Theodosianus* was provided with commentaries (F. Wieacker in *Symbolae Friburgenses in honorem Ottonis Lenel* [Leipzig 1935] 259-356). After approximately a century it was superseded by the CORPUS JURIS CIVILIS, esp. the *Codex Justinianus*.

ED. T. Mommsen, *Theodosiani libri XVI cum Constitutionibus Sirmondianis*, 1 vol. in 2 pts. (Berlin 1905; rp. Dublin-Zurich 1970-71). *Codex Theodosianus cum perpetuis commentariis Iacobi Gothofredi*, ed. A. Marvilius, with rev. and add. I.D. Ritter, 6 vols. (Leipzig 1736-43; rp. Hildesheim-New York 1975). Eng. tr. C. Pharr, *The Theodosian Code and Novels and the Sirmondian Constitutions* (Princeton 1952; rp. 1970).

LIT. G.G. Archi, *Teodosio II e la sua codificazione* (Naples 1976). T. Honoré, "The Making of the Theodosian Code," *ZSavRom* 103 (1986) 133-222. -A.S.

CODICIL. In classical Roman law, the codicil was at first a document strictly connected to a WILL, in which the testator addressed the heir of the will and requested that he execute a FIDEICOMMISSUM. The codicil had no required form; it had to be announced in the will or be authorized by a (later) will. When codicils independent of the will came into use, they began to compete with wills. A will was distinguished from a codicil in that it had a required form and by the circumstance that only in wills could heirs be appointed and disinheritance effected. The difference was weakened by the testator instructing that his will be maintained as a codicil in the case of invalidation. Justinian I further reduced the differences by his

regulation that a codicil must be drawn up in the presence of five witnesses (it was seven for wills). In the post-Justinianic period, the required number of witnesses for a will was reduced even further (*Nov. Leo VI* 41): five witnesses in the city, three in the country and while on journeys. Since already in late antiquity the significance of the appointment of heirs diminished with the decline of the Roman household structure, the codicil should have disappeared. If it is still mentioned in the legislation of the Macedonian period and in the legal literature that follows it until Harmenopoulos, this appears to be—as the lack of evidence from practice allows one to surmise—only a traditional reminiscence. —D.S.

Codicils in Administrative Terminology. Codicil (Lat. *codicillus*, Gr. *κωδικέλλος*) designated in Roman terminology the emperor's brief writing and particularly the diploma of appointment to a high office or the conferring of a high title. They are known from literary and legal texts of the 4th C. onward. At that time they were usually accompanied by ivory *diptychs* and probably put inside the diptych's sealed wings. Texts of the 8th–10th C. sometimes mention separately granting either the codicils or ivory *plakes* (tablets). The preparation of codicils in the late Roman Empire was the duty of the *primicerius notariorum* (the chief of the notaries), while in the 10th C. it was the responsibility of the *kanikleios*, who was paid by the grantee 16 nomismata per piece (Oikonomides, *Listes* 95.8).

LIT. O. Seeck, *RE* 4 (1901) 179–81. Dölger, *Diplomatik* 49. Dölger-Karayannopoulos, *Urkundenlehre* 113–15. Oikonomides, *Listes* 93, n.41. —A.K.

CODICOLOGY (lit. “the study of the *CODEX*”), the scholarly term coined by A. Dain (*Les manuscrits*¹ [Paris 1949] 71–86) as an equivalent of the German *Handschriftenkunde* (“the study of manuscripts”). Dain conceived of codicology as a discipline dealing with the history of MSS and their collections, research on their present location, and the compilation of catalogs and repertories of catalogs (*Les manuscrits*² [Paris 1964] 77); that is, with the history of books after their completion. The term, however, gradually has acquired a different meaning—the study of ancient *écrits* in contrast to that of *écriture* (F. Masai, *Scriptorium* 10 [1956] 286–92), that is, study of the hand-pro-

duced book as an archaeological object rather than of its script. Thus it has become identical with the German *Buchwesen* (“the structure of the book”), one of the two divisions of *PALAEOGRAPHY*.

Codicology examines the book's size, material (*PAPYRUS*, *PARCHMENT*, *PAPER*), physical properties of *INKS* and pigments, preparation for writing (*RULING PATTERNS* and systems), structure (*QUIRES*, their signatures, sewing, *BOOKBINDING* and re-bindings), ownership markings, and so forth, all of which changed over time and place. In so doing, it often determines characteristics specific to various production centers (*SCRIPTORIA*) and *LIBRARIES*. The use of the neologism *codicology* can be justified by the fact that recent study puts more and more emphasis on the book as a material vector of culture, unlike traditional palaeography, which tended to study the book in a cultural vacuum.

LIT. *PGEB* (Paris 1977) 27–91. R.H. & M.A. Rouse, *DMA* 3:475–78. *Griechische Kodikologie und Textüberlieferung*, ed. D. Harlfinger (Darmstadt 1980). G. Cavallo, “Le tipologie della cultura nel riflesso delle testimonianze scritte,” *SettStu* 34 (1988) 467–529. —M.McC., E.G.

COERCION, NONECONOMIC, an application of moral or physical compulsion to force people to work. It was based primarily on political, social, and personal relations (esp. dependency) and only secondarily on market values. The tendency of the landlord was to exact the maximum benefit from the laborer without ruining the existence of the slave/serf or his dependent household; the tendency of the laborer was to perpetuate his household. Accordingly, *RENT* was established in Byz.—in practice, not in theoretical calculations—not only on the basis of the actual quantity and quality of the soil (arable land, vineyards, olive trees, gardens), livestock, yokes of oxen, number of family members, but primarily on the basis of intangible factors of social status and personal relations. Thus a curious phenomenon arose: poorer peasants could be compelled to pay a proportionately higher rent than their wealthier counterparts (in another or even in the same village) and, on the average, the poorer tenants would fulfill heavier obligations than the wealthier householders—in contrast with the modern system of progressive taxation. The numerous tax exemptions granted to churches and monasteries, officials and courtiers, originated from the same

principle. This principle was extended to land prices, variations in which went beyond the usual market conditions. Noneconomic coercion in Byz. was shaped not only through landlord-tenant relations reflected in local customs but also through the state with its elements of state ownership of property (see *STATE PROPERTY*), *MONOPOLY*, and the concept of the “enslavement” of the entire population to “the father and the lord,” that is, the emperor.

LIT. Patlagean, *Structure*, pt.III (1975), 1371–96. Kazhdan, *Agrarnye otnosheniya* 138–364. —A.K.

COINAGE, FOREIGN. The circulation of foreign coinage played no role in the Byz. Empire during the greater part of its existence. During the early centuries the only coin-producing state with which Byz. was in contact was Persia, and although there is literary evidence for Sasanian silver drachmae circulating on the frontier (e.g., at Nisibis) hoard evidence shows that such coins did not penetrate into the interior. The thin, broad fabric of Umayyad dirhems certainly determined the appearance of the silver *MILIARESION* introduced by Leo III, and *miliaresia* later in the 8th C. are sometimes found overstruck on ‘Abbasid dirhems (G.C. Miles, *MN* 9 [1960] 189–218). Only in the last two centuries of the empire, after the Fourth Crusade and the occupation of most of the former imperial territories in the Aegean by Westerners, did foreign coins come to be used on a large scale in the empire and to influence the designs of Byz. coins. The most important of the intruders were initially the Venetian silver ducat, copied as the *BASILIKON*, and the Frankish *TORNESE*. Later the Venetian gold ducat, imitated at Chios and at Fogliavecchia on the neighboring mainland and by the Genoese at Pera in the suburbs of Constantinople itself, replaced the Byz. gold *HYPERPYRON*, which ceased to be minted in the 1350s. From ca.1380 onward the small change of Constantinople seems to have largely consisted of Turkish *akçes*, minted mainly at Bursa, which supplemented the locally produced *ASPERS* and were of about the same value.

LIT. T. Bertelè, “Moneta veneziana e moneta bizantina,” in *Venezia e il Levante fino al secolo XV* (Florence 1973) 3–146. —Ph.G.

COIN FINDS are customarily classed into three categories: hoards, site finds, and casual or iso-

lated finds. These categories are not exclusive, however; most hoards come to light by chance. A hoard is defined as a group of coins concealed or lost as a unit. Site finds are those brought to light by archaeologists in the course of excavation. Isolated finds are those turned up by chance in digging a field, preparing a road surface, or as the result of some similar activity.

Hoards. Finds of this type are valuable partly as sources of material, partly because of their size. In addition, sometimes the presence of a container tends to ensure the survival of their contents in good condition. They are also useful because they show what coins were in circulation or at least were available at the time of concealment or loss. Their interpretation is often delicate: a savings hoard will differ in composition from one buried in an emergency. Also, although coins have been hoarded at all periods, usually they were recovered by their original owners except in times of unrest. Then too, since a single hoard may have belonged to a traveler from outside the area where it was found, its contents are not necessarily a reliable guide to the local circulating medium. Comparing several hoards whose contents overlap is the surest means of determining the order of issue of undated coins. In many periods hoards are virtually limited to gold and silver coins of substantial inherent value, but in the Byz. world, as in Roman times, there are also many hoards of low-value coins. Much of Hendy's work on the coinage of the 12th–13th C. was made possible by the great number of (mainly) Bulgarian hoards of billon and trachea of the period. Unfortunately the reporting of hoards in most former Byz. lands is inadequate, and the only comprehensive bibliography (Mosser, *infra*) is long since out of date. Byz. coin hoards in the USSR throw much light on trade routes (see Kropotkin, *infra*), while inside former imperial territories they have been helpful in documenting Slavic penetration of the Balkans (J. Juroukova, *BBulg* 3 [1969] 255–63) and the military situation in the Aegean area under Herakleios (D.M. Metcalf, *ABSA* 57 [1962] 14–23).

Site Finds. These consist mainly of low-value coins that were easily lost and not worth their owners' trouble to recover. The older excavation reports often neglected to take proper note of them, and in particular failed to find the great numbers of tiny 5th- and 6th-C. copper *NUMMI*

that require systematic sieving of the soil. A new standard in this respect was set by the American excavations at Athens, Corinth, Antioch, and other sites, mainly from the 1920s onward. The reports of these have made possible the study of fluctuations in coin use between different periods, though their interpretation presents many problems. Simple comparisons between the numbers found for different rulers, as was common in the older reports and historical works based on them, can only mislead, for coins will normally have remained in circulation many years after they were struck, and denominations of different sizes and values are not equally likely to be lost. The coins themselves are usually in poor condition as a result of prolonged burial. They are so corroded or worn as to be of little use for the study of types and inscriptions and of no use at all for metrological purposes. They are, on the other hand, essential to archaeologists for dating associated objects and the buildings or excavation strata in which they were found.

Casual Finds. This type of find generally occurs in the countryside and is usually of single coins. In most former Byz. lands these tend to be inadequately reported. The scholarly value of such finds comes mainly from the light they throw on the areas over which coins circulated, esp. outside the cities, and occasionally for the identification of local mints.

LIT. P. Grierson, *Numismatics* (London 1975) 124–39. V.V. Kropotkin, *Klady vizantijskikh monet na territorii SSSR* (Moscow 1962). Hendy, *Coinage* 325–404. P. Grierson, "The Interpretation of Coin Finds," *NChron* 5 (1965) i–xiii; 6 (1966) i–xv. S.McA. Mosser, *A Bibliography of Byzantine Coin Hoards* (New York 1935). —Ph.G.

COINS. Byz. coinage derived from that of the later Roman Empire, and there is no sharp division between them. Nevertheless, in many respects they are very different. It has long been customary to start the Byz. series with Anastasios I, since a separate line of emperors in the West had come to an end with JULIUS NEPOS (died 480) and because Anastasios's creation of the copper FOLLIS in 498 determined much of the pattern of minting for the future, but the older books begin with Arkadios, since from 395 there were separate lines of emperors in East and West.

Metals. Metals for coins were mainly the three



COINS. Gold coin (solidus) of Emp. Justinian II (687–92) showing the bust of Christ on the obverse.

standard ones used in the ancient world—gold, silver, and copper—but the proportion and form of coins in each metal has varied greatly over the centuries. Heavy copper coins were not struck in the 5th C. (their place being taken by tiny NUMMI), nor were they struck after the late 11th C. A coinage in silver barely existed in the 5th–6th C., and between the late 11th and the late 13th C. the traditional silver MILIARESIA were replaced by TRIKEPHALA of electrum (a gold-silver alloy) for higher values and TRACHEA of billon (that is, a silver-copper alloy containing less than 50 percent silver) for lower ones. The trachea also substituted for the heavy folles of copper no longer minted. The gold remained of high quality until the 1030s, when a half century of progressive debasement began. NOMISMATA of good quality were revived by ALEXIOS I in 1092 as part of a general coinage reform which reestablished a currency on whose quality users could rely, but these HYPERPYRA were only 20.5 carats fine (85.4 percent) instead of 24 carats as previously. The use of good quality silver coins was revived only with the creation of the BASILIKON in the first years of the 14th C. Gold hyperpyra were no longer struck after the mid-14th C. Lead was occasionally used, e.g., for ten-nummus pieces in 6th-C. Italy (C. Morrisson, *Rivista italiana di numismatica* 83 [1981] 119–30)

and for Alexios I's first tetartera or half-tetartera of 1092.

Thematic Content. The thematic content of Byz. coins differed markedly from that of Roman ones, as did the way the emperor was represented. Beginning with the reign of Constantine I all coin types of a positively pagan character disappeared, although for the next two-and-a-half centuries representations of Victory and of Roma and Constantinopolis (see also PERSONIFICATION) continued to be tolerated because it was possible to regard them as symbolic and not as objects of worship. The cross began to be used as a main type in the mid-5th C., though only on a few denominations; only under Tiberios I did it become the main reverse type of the gold coins. A bust of Christ, first shown on coins of Justinian II (843), but from then on representations of Christ, of the Virgin (first under Leo VI), and of the saints (first under Michael IV) are normal. A bust or standing figure of the emperor was almost always present, except on the so-called Anonymous Folles (970–1092), which have religious types and inscriptions only. But the personality of the emperor was eclipsed by the greatness of his office. Characterized portraits in high relief, a distinctive feature of Roman coinage during the Principate, were replaced by formalized frontal effigies in low relief, usually with no attempt at reproducing an individual likeness. Instead, the status of the emperor was shown by his costume (CHLAMYS, FIBULA, CROWN) and insignia (SCEPTER, globus cruciger, AKAKIA).

Language. The language of the coin inscriptions was initially Latin, as were the elements of the emperor's style (DN for *dominus noster*, PE or PF for *perpetuus* or *pius felix*, AVG for *augustus*), but Greek legends began to be used in the 7th C. (EN TOVTO NIKAI on folles of Constans II) and Greek titles such as *basileus*, *despotes*, and so forth in the 8th. After a long period in which Greek and Latin characters were used indiscriminately and might even appear together in the same word, the use of letters in a specifically Latin sense disappeared in the 11th C., so the C was henceforward invariably a sigma and H an eta.

Collections. Byz. coins are found by the thousand every year, some in regular excavations, in

which case they are preserved as part of the record, but the majority pass through dealers' hands to collectors and some in due course to museums. The major collections are those of Paris (Bibliothèque Nationale), London (British Museum), Berlin (Staatliche Museen), Leningrad (Hermitage), and the Dumbarton Oaks Center of Byzantine Studies in Washington, D.C. The British Museum catalog of 1908 was for a half century the standard work of reference on the subject, but it has now been largely superseded, other than as a collection of material, by the catalogs of the Paris collections (to 1204) and of Dumbarton Oaks, three volumes (to 1081) out of a projected five having been published to date. Much Hermitage material is available in the unfinished work of Tolstoj (to 886). For the period 491–720 these have to be supplemented by a synoptic survey published under the auspices of the Numismatic Commission of the Austrian National Academy of Sciences. For coins of the 4th C., from the accession of Diocletian (284) to the death of Theodosios I (395), the standard reference work is vols. 6–9 of *Roman Imperial Coinage*; since vol. 10 has not yet appeared, there is no satisfactory work covering the century from 395 to 491.

LIT. Grierson, *Byz. Coins*. Hendy, *Economy*. W. Wroth, *Catalogue of the Imperial Byzantine Coins in the British Museum*, 2 vols. (London 1908). C. Morrisson, *Catalogue des monnaies byzantines de la Bibliothèque Nationale (491–1204)*, 2 vols. (Paris 1970). A.R. Bellinger, P. Grierson, *Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and in the Whittemore Collection*, 3 vols. (Washington, D.C., 1966–73). W. Hahn, *Moneta Imperii Byzantini*, 3 vols. (Vienna 1973–81). I. Tolstoj, *Vizantijskie monety*, 9 fasc. (St. Petersburg 1912–14). H. Mattingly, E.A. Sydenham, *The Roman Imperial Coinage* (London 1923–), vol. 6 (by C.H.V. Sutherland, 1967), vol. 7 (by P. Bruun, 1966), vol. 8 (by J.P.C. Kent, 1981), and vol. 9 (by J.W.E. Pearce, 1951). —Ph.G.

COIN SCALES, conventional name for small bronze implements for weighing coins or small amounts of precious material in granulated or powdered forms. Invented by the Romans, a coin scale is a lever balance with fixed fulcrum at midpoint; it is supported from above either by a hinged bracket or by a cord or wire (Davidson, *Minor Objects*, no.1466). The coin is placed in a small pan at the end of one arm, and balance is achieved either by the predetermined weight of the other arm, through a counterpoise placed in

a corresponding pan, or by a tiny weight that may be slid across a scale in an open channel along the other end.

LIT. B. Kisch, *Scales and Weights* (New Haven-London 1965) 56-66. -G.V.

COISLIN NOTATION. See NEUMATA.

COLLECTIO 25 CAPITULORUM, a 6th-C. collection of canon law prescriptions, mainly those of Justinian I, divided into 25 chapters. The work consists of 21 Greek constitutions reproduced verbatim from titles 1-4 of the first book of the *Codex Justinianus* as well as from the Justinianic novels 120, 131 (chs. 13-14), 133, and 137. The most recent piece in the collection is novel 137 of March 565. However, since the work is sometimes transmitted without the four novel chapters, these may represent a later addition. This was the opinion of Zachariä von Lingenthal, who also conjectured that the original compilation was composed soon after the completion of the *Codex Justinianus* (a.534) as an appendix to the *Synagoge of Sixty Titles*.

ED. G.E. Heimbach, *Anekdotai*, vol. 2 (Leipzig 1840; rp. Aalen 1969) 145-201.

LIT. Zachariä, "Nomokanones" 2f (615f in reprint). Be-nešević, *Sinagoga v 50 titulov* 290f. -A.S.

COLLECTIO 87 CAPITULORUM, a 6th-C. collection of canon law prescriptions of Justinian I, divided into 87 chapters. The work consists of excerpts, most of them verbatim, from 12 Justinianic novels that were published between 535 and 546. Since Justinian I is referred to as deceased in the rubric and in the short note between the *pinax* (table of contents) and the main text, the work cannot have been produced before 11 Nov. 565. The sporadic attribution in MSS of the collection to Patr. JOHN III SCHOLASTIKOS is perhaps plausible; on the other hand, the hypothesis that the work (in its "first edition") was composed soon after 546 as an appendix to the *SYNAGOGUE OF FIFTY TITLES* is insufficiently substantiated.

ED. I.B. Pitra, *Iuris ecclesiastici graecorum historia et monumenta*, vol. 2 (Rome 1868; rp. 1963) 385-405.

LIT. Zachariä, "Nomokanones" 5 (618 in reprint). Be-nešević, *Sinagoga v 50 titulov* 288-92. -A.S.

COLLECTIO AVELLANA (6th C.), a dossier of 243 letters and edicts of emperors, popes, bishops,

and magistrates, spanning the years 367-553. Many of them belong to Pope Hormisdas (514-23). This collection derives its name from Fonte Avellana, Italy, where a MS of it was found. Its documents are often valuable sources for both ecclesiastical and secular affairs, esp. when the two come together: a dispute of 384 about Lucifer of Cagliari (died between 364 and 375), a supporter of Athanasios of Alexandria; allegations by Pope GELASIUS I of a pagan revival at Rome; and controversy over THEOPASCHITISM involving Justinian and SEVEROS of Antioch are three such examples. A Latin translation of the treatise of EPIPHANIOS of Salamis, *On the Twelve Precious Stones*, is appended to the end of the collection.

ED. *Epistulae imperatorum pontificum aliorum inde ab a. CCCLXVII usque ad a. DLIII datae Avellana quae dicitur collectio*, ed. O. Guenther, 2 vols. (Vienna 1895-98).

LIT. O. Günther, *Avellana-Studien* (Vienna 1896). E. Posner, *Archives in the Ancient World* (Cambridge, Mass., 1972) 216f. -B.B.

COLLECTIO TRIPARTITA, a collection of canon law prescriptions taken from the *Corpus Iuris Civilis*, divided into three parts. The work, which aims at a comprehensive coverage of the relevant material, consists of (Greek) résumés of norms originally written in Latin or Greek. The first part is taken from the *Codex Justinianus* (I, 1-13), the second from the *Digest* and the *Institutes* (regulations on the *res sacrae*, etc.), and the third from the *Novels of Justinian* (in the paraphrase of Athanasios of Emesa, titles 1-3). The latest prescription (reproduced in paraphrase) is novel 144 of Justin II from the year 572 (3.3.3). According to Zachariä von Lingenthal, the collection was produced shortly thereafter (ca.580) as an appendix to a *Syntagma of Fourteen Titles* (see NOMOKANON OF FOURTEEN TITLES). Stolte has suggested the younger ANONYMOUS, "ENANTIOPHANES" as the author of the *Collectio Tripartita*.

ED. PG 138:1077-1336.

LIT. Zachariä, "Nomokanones" 7f (620f in reprint). B.H. Stolte, "The Digest Summa of the Anonymus and the Collectio Tripartita," *SubGr* 2 (1985) 47-58. -A.S.

COLOBIUM (κολόβιον), a form of TUNIC, ampler than the *chiton*, and either sleeveless or short-sleeved. Its use is particularly associated with the monks of Egypt, where it was sometimes adorned with colored stripes (DOROTHEOS OF GAZA, ed.

Regnault-Préville, 168.28-170.24; see also CLAVUS). It is the garment in which Christ is clad in early representations of the CRUCIFIXION (e.g., the RABBULA GOSPELS of 586).

LIT. Oppenheim, *Mönchskleid* 95-103. -N.P.S.

COLONUS (κολωνός). The Latin term *colonus*, like the Greek γεωργός (PEASANT), literally means "tiller of the soil," in contrast to the *pastor*, herdsman. In late Roman legislation the term became the designation of a perpetual tenant. The term covers various categories of peasants, primarily *liberi coloni*, free tenants, and *ADSCRIPTICII*. The status of *coloni* differed in different provinces, and different sources stress different aspects of their condition, legislation emphasizing their fiscal bonds to the soil, while in documents (e.g., the correspondence of SYMMACHUS, the ALBERTINI TABLETS) they appear relatively independent. The term *colonus* is used in legislative acts (e.g., *Cod.Theod.* XII 1.33) to denote the condition of the rural population.

The origin of the colonate is debatable. The institution probably developed from various roots and was assimilated under the pressure of the economic and fiscal conditions of the late Roman Empire, although it never attained real homogeneity. In the East it may have been drawn from Hellenistic (and even pre-Hellenistic) forms of dependency and at any rate was determined by the state fiscal requirements; in the West the increasing role of landed magnates contributed to the strengthening of bonds between the *colonus* and his master.

On the one hand, the *coloni* were construed as free people and Roman citizens; at the same time they were liable to service or serfdom—*servitute dediti* (*Cod.Just.* XI 50.2 pr.). They possessed some property, but it was treated as a *PECULIUM*; they could not give anything away without their master's permission. They could marry both free people and slaves and were able to litigate, even against their own master. They were not allowed to leave their *origo*, the land they lived on—but their master was also prevented from evicting them from this land. One became a *colonus* by birth (if both parents were *coloni* or the mother alone), or by a long residence as a tenant on a lord's land (in the East); barbarians could be settled as *coloni*, as could BEGGARS, if healthy. Free

peasants under the PATROCINIUM VICORUM could be transformed into *coloni*. The colonate could be terminated by emancipation, by long service in a different status (e.g., as a *decurion*) in another province, or by entering religious orders.

By the end of the 4th C. the *coloni* were often mentioned together with slaves (e.g., *Cod.Just.* XI 48.12 of 396), but it is improbable that the colonate originated from the mass settlement of slaves on the land. The evolution of the colonate after the 6th C. is far from clear. There is no evidence of dependent peasants in the East in the late 7th-9th C., and it is impossible to prove that the later PAROIKOI were descendants of Roman *coloni*. In the West the term *coloni* continued to designate dependent peasants (e.g., in the correspondence of Pope Gregory I the Great). The Western *coloni* were probably of various conditions: in Visigothic Spain they seem to have merged with servile tenants, while in France they maintained a status between freemen and *servi*.

LIT. H. Clausen, *The Roman Colonate, the Theories of its Origin* (New York 1925). M. Rostovtzeff, *Studien zur Geschichte des römischen Kolonates* (Leipzig 1910). A.H.M. Jones, "The Roman Colonate," in *Studies in Ancient Society*, ed. M.I. Finley (London-Boston 1974) 288-303. *Colonato e otras formas de dependencia no esclavistas* (Oviedo 1980). D. Eibach, *Untersuchungen zum spätantiken Kolonat in der kaiserlichen Gesetzgebung unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Terminologie* (Cologne 1980). -A.K.

COLOPHON (κολοφών, lit. "summit, finishing touch"), or subscription, a note on a MS (usually at the end) with information on its date, the place where it was written, and sometimes the SCRIBE. Colophons are not only the main source of information about copyists but also are important for social and political history, prosopography, the economics and technology of book production and BOOK TRADE (prices, wages, length of time needed to copy a MS), and the history of copying centers (SCRIPTORIA). Dates and places mentioned in colophons are basic to the study of the development of the Greek script (mostly MINUSCULE) and of regional MS production. As a genre, Greek colophons are less informative than Syriac or Armenian ones.

LIT. K. Treu, "Griechische Schreibernotizen als Quelle für politische, soziale und kulturelle Verhältnisse ihrer Zeit," *BBulg* 2 (1966) 127-43; rp. in Harlfinger, *Kodikologie* 310-36. K. Treu, "Byzantinische Kaiser in den Schreibernotizen griechischer Handschriften," *BZ* 65 (1972) 9-34.

Ph. Euangelatou-Notara, "Semeiomata" *Hellenikon kodikon* (Athens 1978), rev. H. Hunger, *JÖB* 36 (1986) 370-72.
—E.G., I.Š.

COLOR, a functional and aesthetic element associated with earthly and heavenly splendor and therefore central to Byz. CEREMONY, both courtly and ecclesiastical. Brilliance of color was prized for its own sake, but varieties of hue also underlay hierarchical distinctions in COSTUME. Primary colors are specified in DE CEREMONIIS and the pseudo-KODINOS, although some names of colors, such as *atrabatika*, are unidentifiable. The color of the emperor's garb was sometimes left to his pleasure (*De cer.* 187.13).

No equivalents to Western treatises on the making of colors (Roosen-Runge, *infra*) are known, but a passion for polychrome brilliance shines through the taste for JEWELRY, ENAMELS, and colored MORTAR. In monumental painting, islands of brilliant color, set in fields of gold, green, or white are juxtaposed from the 6th C. onward. LANDSCAPES and architectural BACKGROUNDS employed secondary hues—purples, greens, ochres. In and after the 10th C. complementary colors were used, such as blue to highlight a purple area or red for the shadows of a green garment. Generally, carbon-black was used for shadows, and chalk or gypsum for white highlights. Blacks and whites were mixed with pigments to darken or lighten them. By the 12th C., a "three-tone" scheme had been evolved in FRESCO TECHNIQUE. At the same time, hard, opaque colors, esp. in BOOK ILLUSTRATION, aspired to the effect of enamel. The late 13th and 14th C. saw the introduction of unusual pinks and a great variety of greens.

No thorough analysis of the palette of Byz. painters has been made, but it is known that they relied more heavily on organic pigments than did Armenian artists. Mineral sources used included ultramarine and vermilion; cochineal seems to have been a source of red (M.V. Orna et al., *Archeological Chemistry* 4 [1989] 265-88). Vegetable sources yielded red-lake as well as orpiment and saffron for yellows. Colors were rarely blended; the separation of hues helps to explain the predominance of LINE AND CONTOUR in painting.

The palette of Byz. writers, with some exceptions (e.g., Eustathios of Thessalonike in his commentary on Homer), is relatively poor, limited to black, white, gold, and purple. Some authors,

however, masterfully used colors for their political and moral purposes. Thus Niketas Choniates applied "multicolored" characterizations to Andronikos I, whose instability he wanted to stress; Niketas violates the chromatic convention when he construes the gold of imperial garb as "the color of bile" predicting defeat and the purple of the emperor's ink as the color of the blood of innocent victims (Kazhdan-Franklin, *Studies* 257-63).

Symbolism and Significance of Color. Throughout the Byz. period, color choice remained among the most powerful expressions of SYMBOLISM, affecting the palettes of painters, the choice of INK, PARCHMENT, SEALS, and COSTUME. The color of imperial garments and crowns varied according to the occasion on which they were worn; sometimes, as in the case of the DIVETESION worn in Holy Week, it was clearly symbolic. The highest state ranks were connected with particular colors: with rare exceptions gold and PURPLE were exclusive to the emperor, blue was typical of the *sebastokrator*, green of the caesar. Pseudo-Kodinos carefully indicates the color of the footwear, dress, and hats assigned to each rank of officials on special occasions. Occasionally, symbolic color yielded to practical considerations. Though all emperors down to Marcian had had purple sepulchres, Justin I and Theophilos were buried in green marble tombs, Michael III in white, perhaps because supplies of PORPHYRY were exhausted.

Conventions rather than rigid rules governed choices of color in painting. In the TRANSFIGURATION, Christ's robe is usually white, as are the tunics of martyrs; in Miracle and PASSION scenes, he often wears imperial purple. The Virgin's garments are usually purple or blue but in the Nativity, where the Child receives "courtly" gifts, it may be gold (e.g., at the Cappella Palatina, PALERMO). ANGELS frequently have haloes of celestial blue; Hades and demons often have gray flesh while PERSONIFICATIONS such as Slander in Klimax MSS display this tonality as well as bluish-gray clothing.

LIT. Winfield, "Painting Methods" 99-131. J.J. Tikkanen, *Studien über die Farbgebung in der mittelalterlichen Buchmalerei* (Helsinki 1933). H. Roosen-Runge, *Farbgebung und Technik frühmittelalterlicher Buchmalerei*, 2 vols. (Munich-Berlin 1967). V.V. Byčkov, "Estetičeskoe značenie cveta v vostočnochristianskom iskusstve," *Voprosy istorii i teorii estetiki* (Moscow 1975) 129-45. O.J. Lindsay, "Some Remarks on the Colour System of Medieval Byzantine Painting," *JÖB* 32.5 (1982) 85-91. U.M. Rūth, "Die Farbgebung in der

byzantinischen Wandmalerei der spätpaläologischen Epoche (1341-1453)" (Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität Bonn 1977).
—A.C.

COLUMN (κίων, στῦλος). The chief and definitive support in trabeate architecture from ancient to modern times, the classical column consists of a base with horizontal moldings, a cylindrical shaft (monolithic or in segments called drums), and a CAPITAL, carved to articulate the juncture of weight (superstructure) and support (the column's shaft). In the columnar basilicas, stoas, colonnades flanking streets, and open courts of the Hellenistic, Roman, and Byz. city, the column, by its size and spacing, determined the scale of the structure and the urban character of the city. In the arcuate, domical architecture of Rome and Byz., heavy piers carried the principal loads of the building; in these structures columns formed a secondary support system, screening side aisles from central naves, or became decorative additions to the piers themselves (Early Christian and Byz. baptisteries; vaulted chambers in imperial palaces; domed basilicas like St. John's, Ephesus; Hagia Sophia, Constantinople; San Marco, Venice).

Stone columns have great compressive strength and can carry heavy loads; hence they remain useful after the building has fallen into disuse. Reused ancient columns (SPOLIA) have been identified in Early Christian and Byz. structures, for example, S. Sabina and S. Maria in Trastevere, Rome, and St. Demetrios, Thessalonike. Byz. builders, particularly under Justinian I, exploited quarries of varied colored marble (unlike their ancient Greek predecessors); they also developed a new form of capital (IMPOST CAPITAL, IMPOST BLOCK) to provide a better juncture between heavy masonry arches and the column shaft than that offered by the traditional Ionic or Corinthian capital. The shafts were normally undecorated, although spirally fluted columns were esp. popular in the 6th C. (J.L. Benson, *Hesperia* 28 [1959] 254-72). In all periods inscriptions might be carved upon them or votives attached. Columns were represented on sarcophagi, in MS illumination, on ivories, and in other media where they served to frame figures of importance who are often shown standing beneath an arch. A few ascetics (called STYLITES) chose to take up residence on the top of large column shafts.

In metaphorical and symbolic vocabulary *stylos*

(not *kion*) was often used to designate a moral pillar or support; the word was employed for the apostles and Christ, for saints (esp. Peter and Paul), for the church. According to John Chrysostom (PG 62:554.30-37), the church is the *stylos* of the *oikoumene* and truth is the *stylos* of the church. The biblical image of "the pillar of fire" (Ex 13:21) was combined with the concept of support. Christ, says Epiphanius of Cyprus (*Panarion* 69.35.2, ed. Holl 3:183.23-26), is the way that we follow, the *stylos* as the support of the truth, the cloud sheltering the children of Israel, and (again) the *stylos* as the fiery pillar in the desert. (See also COLUMNS, HONORIFIC.)

—W.L., T.E.G., A.C.

COLUMN CHURCHES. The term is used for three closely related ROCK-CUT CHURCHES, Karanlık Kilise (Dark Church), Elmalı Kilise (Apple Church), and Çarıklı Kilise (Sandal Church) clustered in GÖREME. All three imitate the CROSS-IN-SQUARE plan of built churches, although the western corner bays in Çarıklı were never excavated. Each was ornamented with a DEESIS in the apse and a conventional feast cycle (see CHURCH PROGRAMS OF DECORATION) in the nave, augmented by images derived from earlier churches in the valley, for example, Tokalı Kilise's Ascension/Blessing appears in the barrel vault of Karanlık's narthex. Four donor PORTRAITS are preserved in Karanlık (Basil and the priest Nikephoros in the apse and Genethleos and John *entalmatikos* [a patriarchal functionary?] over the entrance) and three in Çarıklı (Theognostos, Leo, and Michael on the west wall). The paintings have been dated to the mid-11th C. (Jerphanion, Epstein) and to ca. 1200 (Restle). (For ill., see next page.)

LIT. Jerphanion, *Églises rupestres* 1.1:393-473. Restle, *Wall Painting*. A.W. Epstein, "Rock-cut Chapels in Göreme Valley, Cappadocia: The Yılanlı Group and the Column Churches," *CahArch* 24 (1975) 115-35.
—A.J.W.

COLUMNS, HONORIFIC, large freestanding columns erected for commemorative purposes. The practice of erecting such columns was a continuation of Roman custom and esp. common in the capital in the 4th-5th C. (see CONSTANTINOPLE, MONUMENTS OF). Honorific columns were of two basic types. The first consisted of a monolithic shaft standing on a base and supporting a capital



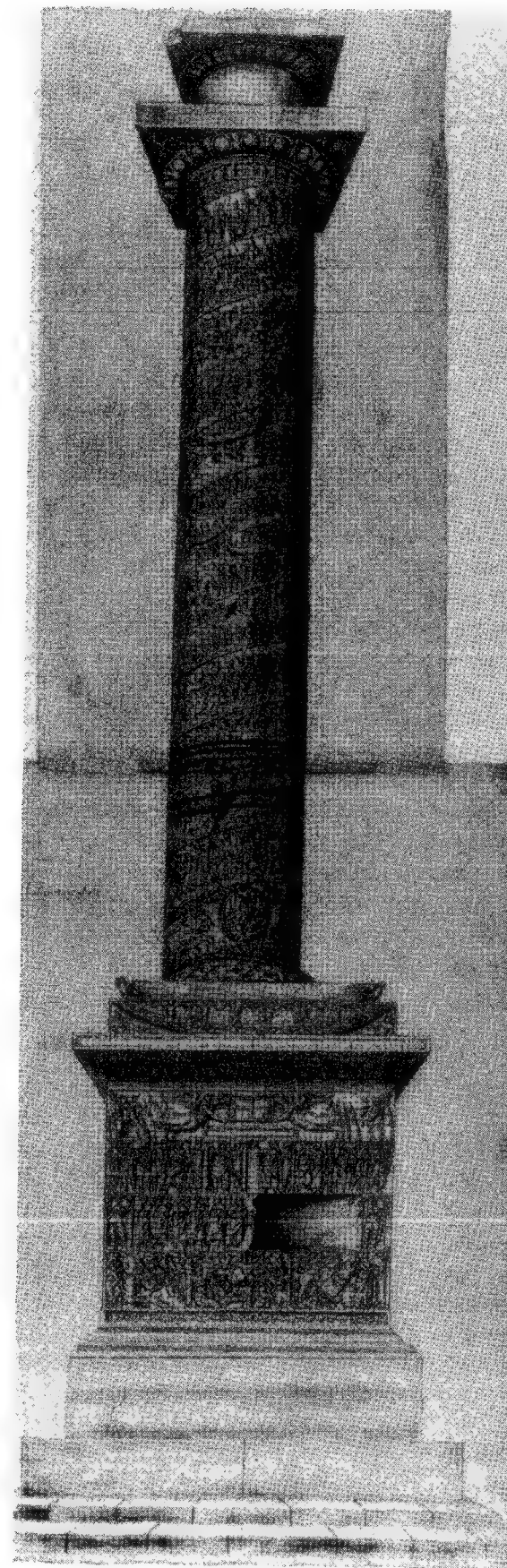
COLUMN CHURCHES. Column church of Elmalı Kilise, Göreme. View of the interior, looking east. In the dome, Christ Pantokrator.

that in turn held a statue of the honoree. Among such monuments erected in Constantinople were the so-called Porphyry Column of Constantine I and the Column of Marcian, both of which remain standing, as well as others known only from literary accounts and drawings. The second type was derived from the Column of Trajan in Rome and consisted of a shaft composed of drums resting on a base and supporting a capital and statue. Both base and shaft were carved in relief, and the figures on the shaft were set in a spiral frieze. Two such columns existed in Constantinople: the Column of Theodosios I, fragments of which survive, and that of Arkadios, its shaft and carvings known only from drawings. Although the practice of erecting honorific columns was abandoned after

the 6th C., it was revived in a fashion by Michael VIII, who erected a column near the Church of the Holy Apostles. It was topped by a bronze statue of the archangel Michael and the emperor offering him a model of the city (Pachym., ed. Bekker, 2:234.17). Whether such columns influenced the cult of *STYLITE* saints appears not to have been investigated.

LIT. Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon* 52–55. G. Becatti, *La colonna coclide istoriata* (Rome 1960). Janin, *CP byz.* 73–86, 105. —M.J.

COMES (κόμης, lit. “companion”), Lat. designation for the personal adviser or retainer of an emperor or barbarian king. Constantine I gave the term a technical sense (first mentioned in



312); early terminology, *comes domini nostri* or *comes Augustorum nostrorum*, emphasized the personal link to the emperor or his family. The term was employed for officials of different ranks or *ordines* (of which there were three at the time of Constantine); it presupposed a special assignment and encompassed various meanings. As an honorary title it was bestowed on some of the highest state functionaries, such as the *MAGISTER OFFICIORUM* or *QUAESTOR*; it became part of bureaucratic denominations, such as the *COMES SACRARUM LARGITIONUM* or *COMES RERUM PRIVATARUM*. Besides this upper echelon of the *comites consistoriani* there were other *comites* who were not members of the *CONSISTORIUM*. Some *comites*, such as the *comes Africae* (B.H. Warmington, *BZ* 49 [1956] 55–64) or *comes Aegypti*, were provincial administrators, while others fulfilled fiscal or economic functions or acted as guardians and overseers. In later times *komes*, the Greek form of the term, continued to be used for officials with various functions such as the *KOMES HYDATON*, *KOMES TES KORTES*, and others; *komites* were also subaltern officers of the army and navy units. The office or function of a *comes* was termed a *comitiva*.

LIT. O. Seeck, *RE* 4 (1901) 629–79. Jones, *LRE* 1:104–06. G. De Bonfilis, *Il comes et quaestor dell'età della dinastia costantiniana* (Naples 1981). —A.K.

COMES RERUM PRIVATARUM (κόμης τῆς ἰδικῆς παρουσίας, lit. “of the private fortune”), high-ranking official of the later Roman Empire who administered the imperial estates. The office—like that of the *COMES SACRARUM LARGITIONUM*—was created ca.318 and first mentioned ca.342–45. The responsibility of this *comes* was to control income from the land of the emperor as opposed to that of the state; this distinction, however, was not consistently applied. The functions of the *comes* encompassed collecting rents and accepting land grants given to the emperor as well as forfeitures and escheats, and protection of the fisc from the intrusion of private owners. The *comes* also handled the sale of movable and immovable imperial properties and was a member

COLUMNS, HONORIFIC. Drawing of the Column of Arcadius; from a sketchbook dated 1575. Trinity College Library, Cambridge. The shaft of the column illustrates conflicts between the Byz. and the Goths.

of the CONSISTORIUM. His officers were called *palatini rerum privatarum*; in 399 their number was 300 (*Cod.Theod.* VI 30.16). By the end of the 4th C. the Cappadocian estates were transferred from the control of the *comes* to that of the PRAEPOSITUS SACRI CUBICULI. Anastasios I created, before 509, a separate office of the *comes patrimonii* to manage the imperial estates, while the *comes rerum privatarum* preserved functions connected with grants and forfeitures. Thus he was transformed from a financial into a judicial official; he acquired duties that went far beyond his former obligations, for example, serving as a judge in cases involving grave-robbing and marriage. The office disappeared in the 7th C., some of its functions assumed by the SAKELLARIOS.

LIT. O. Seeck, *RE* 4 (1901) 664–70, 675–77. Jones, *LRE* 1:412–17. M. Kaplan, *Les propriétés de la couronne et de l'Église dans l'Empire byzantin* (Paris 1976) 10–12. —A.K.

COMES SACRARUM LARGITIONUM (κόμης τῶν θείων θησαυρῶν, lit. “of the sacred largess, of the sacred treasures”), high-ranking financial official of the late Roman Empire, created probably ca.318 and first mentioned between ca.342 and 345. The *comes sacrarum largitionum* replaced the former *rationalis* and obtained administration of those taxes that did not come to the department of the PRAETORIAN PREFECT, that is, CHRYSARGYRON, taxes on senators, customs duties, and the so-called “voluntary payments.” Income from the emperor’s private land passed from this *comes* to the COMES RERUM PRIVATARUM as early as 379. The *comes sacrarum largitionum* also controlled mines, the production of state mills and dyeworks, and minting. The *comes* had a central office divided into several *scrinia* (bureaus) and a large staff in the dioceses and provinces. He enjoyed some judicial rights in cases related to taxation and after 425 also had jurisdiction over the officials of his staff. He was a member of the CONSISTORIUM. From the end of the 5th C. the role of the *comes sacrarum largitionum* decreased, esp. after the abolition of the *chrysargyron*; the last *comes* is mentioned under Emp. Phokas. In the 7th C. the office was replaced by the SAKELLARIOS. Insignia of the *comes sacrarum largitionum* are shown in the NOTITIA DIGNITATUM, while his control stamps are found on numerous silver objects (see SILVER STAMPS).

LIT. J.P.C. Kent, “The comes sacrarum largitionum,” in Dodd, *Byz. Silver Stamps* 35–45. Jones, *LRE* 1:427–38. O. Seeck, *RE* 4 (1901) 671–75. A. Masi, “La giurisdizione del ‘comes sacrarum largitionum’ e del ‘comes rei privatae’ sui rispettivi funzionari ‘palatini,’” *Studi economico-giuridici* 45 (1965–69) 253–61. —A.K., A.C.

COMETS (sing. κομήτης, lit. “with long hair,” ἄστὴρ). Byz. records refer frequently to indefinable astronomical phenomena, thereby making it difficult to be certain that it is a comet that is being described because, except for Halley’s Comet, the observation cannot be verified astronomically. Generally, a comet was called a *semeion* and sometimes it was qualified by a particular shape, such as that of a swordfish. Although some Byz. scholars followed Aristotle in stressing a natural scientific explanation for comets, the majority of the Byz. population understood a comet to be an omen predicting disaster. As a result an elaborate ritual of prognostication for comets was developed (JOHN LYDOS, *On Omens* 10–15). Some comets, however, such as the one used to foretell the Arab irruption of 632 (Theoph. 336.21–24), were merely invented. Like EARTHQUAKES, ECLIPSES, and FIRES, the appearance of some comets was commemorated by an annual liturgy (*Synax.CP* 154.24–26). The most reliably attested Byz. sighting of comets were in 389, 418, 422, 442, 466, 518, 734, 744, 974, 1042, and 1345. Halley’s Comet was sighted in 451, 530, 837, 912, 989, 1066, 1145, 1222, 1301, and 1456.

LIT. Grumel, *Chronologie* 469–75.

—B.C.

COMIC, THE, a mode intended to excite LAUGHTER, is rare in preserved Byz. art. Excluded almost by definition from Christian representation, comic elements do appear in the peristyle mosaics of the GREAT PALACE at Constantinople that show, for example, a man thrown from a donkey. If their content is correctly read, it survives on some late glazed CERAMICS. Otherwise HUMOR as we know it is hard to trace in art after the 6th C. A possible exception is the antics of the children in some 14th-C. representations of the Baptism of Christ (D. Mouriki in *Okeanos* 460–62). The CARICATURE found in psalter illustration and the PARODY of classical and mythological images evident on bone caskets and boxes are functionally different from the comic mode.

—A.C.

COMITATENSES (from *comitatus*, military retinue), late Roman field army or mobile troops as opposed to the LIMITANEI or border troops. The creation of the body of *comitatenses* was attributed to Diocletian by T. Mommsen (*Hermes* 24 [1889] 195–279) and O. Seeck (*RE* 4 [1901] 619f), despite the direct evidence of Zosimos (Zosim. bk.2, ch.34), who ascribed the innovation to Constantine I. It is likely that before Constantine the *comitatus* was only a body of imperial guards (W. Seston, *Historia* 4 [1955] 295). In the 4th C. the *comitatenses* consisted of about 110,000–120,000 men (Hoffmann, *infra* 1:304) including infantry (*legiones*), cavalry (*vexillationes*), auxiliary troops of foreign soldiers, and SCHOLAE PALATINAE. The infantry and cavalry stood in theory under the command of different MAGISTRI MILITUM. In 364 each unit of *comitatenses* was divided into two parts: those called *seniores* served primarily in the West, *juniores* in the East. After 373 some units of *limitanei* were assigned to serve with *comitatenses*; Theodosios I restructured the *comitatenses*, uniting cavalry and infantry regiments under individual *magistri utrius militiae*. Circa 395 eastern contingents consisted of five armies, two attached to the court and three stationed in Oriens, Thrace, and Illyricum. *Comitatenses* were considered more privileged troops than *limitanei*. R. MacMullen (*Klio* 62 [1980] 459) suggests that the number of well-trained *comitatenses* declined in the second half of the 4th C., and later the difference between *comitatenses* and *limitanei* disappeared.

LIT. D. Hoffmann, *Das spätrömische Bewegungsheer und die Notitia dignitatum*, 2 vols. (Düsseldorf 1969–70). H.M.D. Parker, “The Legions of Diocletian and Constantine,” *JRS* 23 (1933) 175–89. R. Tomlin, “*Seniores-Juniores* in the Late-Roman Field Army,” *AJPh* 93 (1972) 253–78. —A.K.

COMITIVA. See COMES.

COMMANDERS, MILITARY. In theory, the emperor was supreme commander of the army, but only a few (such as Constantine V, Nikephoros II Phokas, Basil II, or the Komnenoi) personally led armies in the field. MAGISTRI MILITUM were supreme commanders of the empire’s armies until the 7th C. By the early 8th C. the DOMESTIKOS TON SCHOLON had become chief commander, seconded by the STRATEGOS of the Anatolikon; after the 11th C. the rank of MEGAS DOMESTIKOS des-

ignated supreme military commander. Despite the high number of MERCENARIES in the Byz. army, supreme command was rarely given to a foreigner.

High military command was not necessarily entrusted to capable soldiers. The assignment, duration, and independence of military command was subject to considerations other than proven ability, and emperors were careful to bestow command on a temporary basis to loyal courtiers or family members, regardless of their actual military experience or ability. During the 10th and 11th C., when practically every successful general (Bardas SKLEROS, George MANIAKES) made a bid for the throne, command assigned on the basis of loyalty was particularly evident, as was the ensuing deleterious effect of loyal but incompetent commanders on the army’s performance. EUNUCHS, automatically precluded from the throne, frequently received command of armies; while some were effective generals (e.g., the 6th-C. NARSES), many brought disaster on their men. Constantine Gongyles, for example, led the impressive expeditionary army to Crete in 949, which was annihilated as a result of his carelessness (Skyl. 245.35–246.52).

LIT. Guiland, *Titres*, pt.V (1966), 133–39; pt.VI (1973), 44f. Idem, *Institutions* 1:380–468, 498–521. —A.K., E.M.

COMMANDS, MILITARY. The *Strategikon of Maurice* (*Strat.Maurik.* 3.5, pp.152–54) provides a detailed description of commands issued by a MANDATOR during the army’s training exercises. The soldiers began to march upon hearing the blast of a trumpet (*boukinon* or *touba*) or seeing an ensign wave a banner (*phlamoulon*); the striking of a shield or hand signals brought them to a stop. The *Strategikon* lists all oral commands in Latin; a 9th-C. chronicler (Theoph. 258.15–19) records an order given by KOMENTIOLOS “in the ancestral language” (i.e., Latin), “*torna, torna, fratre*,” during an expedition against the Avars in 586, but by the end of the 9th C. Latin commands had apparently been discarded, as Leo VI lists the same commands in a Greek version in his TAKTIKA (e.g., 7.65–69). The 10th-C. PRAECEPTA MILITARIA indicates that battle commands were taught in training, and that most were signaled by trumpet (4.1–2; 15.22–23).

Daily orders were issued to officers in writing

(DE RE MILITARI 32.4–12). The emperor, in theory the supreme military commander, likewise transmitted written commands to his generals. A 12th-C. historian (Nik.Chon. 154.43–48) relates that Manuel I sent a letter (*grammata* or *biblion*) to Andronikos Kontostephanos on the eve of a battle with the Hungarians (8 July 1167) forbidding him to engage the enemy because he found the day unpropitious. Kontostephanos, however, disregarded the command, hid the letter under his cloak, gave battle, and won the day. (See also BATTLE STANDARD AND FLAG.)

LIT. G. Reichenkron, "Zur römischen Kommandosprache bei byzantinischen Schriftstellern," *BZ* 54 (1961) 18–27. H. Mihăescu, "Torna, torna, fratre," *Byzantina* 8 (1976) 21–35. —A.K., E.M.

COMMENDATIO ANIMAE (Lat., lit. "commending of a soul"), popular prayer for the dead in Western ritual, known from the 3rd C. onward and influential in art and hagiography. It contains 13 petitions on the model of "Free his soul, Lord, as you freed Daniel from the lions' den." The Old Testament events cited include Noah and the Flood, Job's sufferings, the sacrifice of Isaac, Jonah and the whale, and the rescue narratives of the Book of Daniel: Daniel in the Lions' Den, the Three Hebrews in the Fiery Furnace, and Susanna and the Elders. St. Thekla is the only non-biblical figure included. A. Baumstark (*OrChr*, n.s. 4 [1914–15] 298–305) identified early Byz. analogues to the *Commendatio* in the Great Euchologion.

Scenes referred to in the *Commendatio* recur in the CATACOMBS and elsewhere. For instance, a 3rd-C. cup from Diokleia includes the three Daniel scenes (with all figures ORANT), Jonah and Isaac, with quotations from the *Commendatio* (H. Leclercq, *DACL* 3:3009–11, fig.3336). Frescoes in the necropolis at El-Bagawat include the three Daniel scenes, Noah, and Thekla (Idem, *DACL* 4:439f). The Brescia casket (Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten*, no.107) juxtaposes images of Jonah and of the rescue narratives of Daniel. Often hagiographers ascribe a version of the *Commendatio* to saints about to face torture (e.g., Lukillanos—ed. F. Halkin, *AB* 84 [1966] 16f, 26), esp. if the approaching torture is by fire (e.g., Juliana—PG 114:1444D, 1448f).

ED. *Liber sacramentorum Gellonensis*, ed. A. Dumas [= CChr, ser. lat. 159] (Turnhout 1981) 460–62.

LIT. K. Stuber, *Commendatio animae: Sterben im Mittelalter* (Bern-Frankfurt 1976). Seeliger, "Drei Jünglinge" 301, 317–19, 328. J. Ntedika, *L'évocation de l'au-delà dans la prière pour les morts* (Louvain-Paris 1971) 72–83. —C.B.T.

COMMENTARIES (pl. *μυσταγωγίαι*), mystagogy, interpretations of liturgical rites that apply to LITURGY the multilevel patristic method of scriptural EXEGESIS. Developed systematically in 4th-C. instructions for the CATECHUMENATE and first applied extensively to EUCHARIST by Theodore of Mopsuestia, homilies 15–16 (ed. R. Ton-neau, R. Devreesse, *Les Homélies catéchétiques de Théodore de Mopsueste* [Vatican 1949] 461–605) and pseudo-Dionysios the Areopagite, *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* (PG 3:369–569), mystagogy matured with the Byz. commentaries of MAXIMOS THE CONFESSOR, GERMANOS I, the *Protheoria* (PG 140:417–68) of ca.1085–95 (cf. J. Darrouzès, *REB* 32 [1974] 199–203), the spurious 12th-C. *Liturgical Commentary*, wrongly attributed to SOPHRONIOS of Jerusalem (PG 87:3981–4001), Nicholas KABASILAS, and SYMEON OF THESSALONIKE.

Differing methods of interpretation were inherited from the two schools of patristic exegesis, Alexandrian and Antiochene. For the more spiritualizing ALEXANDRIAN SCHOOL (Dionysios, Maximos, Symeon to some extent), the contemplation (*theoria*) of liturgical rites raises the soul to the realities of the invisible world. Here anagogy takes precedence over biblical typology, and the liturgy becomes an allegory of the soul's progress from sin to divine communion via a process of purification symbolized in the rites. This Alexandrian system left little room for the saving mediatorship of Jesus' earthly life, death, and resurrection. By contrast, the exegesis and mystagogy of the ANTIOCHENE SCHOOL, more attentive to *historia* than to *theoria*, emphasized the relationship between liturgical rites and the historic saving actions of Christ, of which the sacramental rites are an "imitation" (*mimesis*: Cyril) and "memorial" (*anamnesis*: Chrysostom), as well as being an initiation and foretaste of the heavenly worship.

Patr. Germanos I, joining both methods, added the more literal Antiochene mystagogy to the Alexandrian heritage of pseudo-Dionysios transmitted to Byz. via Maximos. Thus for Germanos the church is not only, as for Maximos, "Heaven on earth, where the God of heaven dwells and moves." It also "images forth the crucifixion and burial

and resurrection of Christ" (Germanos, *Liturgy*, par.1). The GREAT ENTRANCE not only shows "the entrance of all the saints and righteous ahead of the cherubic powers and the angelic hosts. . . . It is also in imitation of the burial of Christ" (par.37). This synthesis reached classical expression in the more extensive and complete commentary of Kabasilas, which represented a return to the balanced method of Germanos after the exaggerated allegorical historicism of the *Protheoria*.

LIT. Taft, "Liturgy of Great Church." R. Bornert, *Les commentaires byzantins de la divine liturgie du VIIIe au XVe siècle* (Paris 1966). H.-J. Schulz, *The Byzantine Liturgy* (New York 1986) 184–92. —R.F.T.

COMMERCE AND TRADE. The role of trade in Byz. changed over time, depending on political circumstances and on general economic development. In the period through the 6th C., among the factors facilitating economic exchange within the empire were the existence of cities, a common currency, the low internal duties of 2 to 2.5 percent, and the relative openness of the MEDITERRANEAN, even after the creation of a VANDAL fleet. Among the factors inhibiting exchange were state exactions, the fact that the needs of the army and the provisioning of Constantinople were met by levies or payments in kind thus obviating trade, the difficulties of transportation, and a certain degree of self-sufficiency on the large estates. Modern scholars tend to stress these inhibiting factors; nevertheless, the evidence for the existence of internal trade is clear: WINE and OIL (commodities for mass consumption) were objects of relatively long-distance trade, as were wool, metals, MARBLE, timber, and manufactured goods, esp. cloth and luxury products, the last having a MARKET that was diffused geographically but restricted in size. Great periodic markets (FAIRS), such as those of Aigai (in Cilicia) and EDESSA, catered to this internal long-distance trade. At the local level, markets were small and so was the radius of activity. The fairs outside Antioch served the needs of local villages; small towns exchanged products with the countryside, forming local networks of exchange within a system of relative self-sufficiency. Trading activity was greater in the eastern part of the empire, while in the West the process toward self-sufficiency was more advanced. It is impossible to quantify the importance

of trade in the economy of this period; Jones's statement (*LRE* 2:872) that the *collatio lustralis*, a tax on trade and manufacturing, accounted for 5 percent of imperial revenue, is a fiscal, not an economic calculation.

In terms of international trade, its most important expression was the importation of SPICES, silks, jewelry, and other luxury products from China, Persia, and India; these commodities arrived at the stations of the Persian frontier, the Syrian cities, or Clysma and Aila, and then were transported to both the eastern and the western part of the empire. Foreign trade appears to have been particularly active in the 5th–6th C. It was somewhat hampered by the fact that trade in the most important item of exchange, SILK, was highly regulated.

The political, demographic, and military troubles that afflicted Byz. in the 7th C. brought about economic changes that affected trade. The tendency toward self-sufficiency became much stronger than in the previous period, while urban decline reduced the level of exchange between town and countryside. Land routes became very difficult and communications along the Mediterranean, although they never completely stopped, were disrupted by PIRACY. Trade declined but did not cease, the provisioning of big cities, esp. Constantinople, acting as an impetus to it. Large fairs, like that of EPHEBUS, continued to exist. The RHODIAN SEA LAW testifies to the survival of maritime trade. It was probably in order to stimulate such trade that Emp. Nikephoros I imposed a forced loan on the large shipowners of Constantinople. Locally, exchange took place in small markets where an element of BARTER was also to be found. International trade was reoriented to some extent toward the north and to the Black Sea. In the 8th C. the Byz. had trade relations with Bulgaria and in the 10th C. with the Rus'. The silk trade, now taking place primarily within the empire, may have been considerable. Quantifiable information is, once again, lacking.

By the 10th C., there is evidence of a strong revival of trade. The BOOK OF THE EPARCH, along with other sources, shows a large number of different trades and crafts in Constantinople. The state regulated and circumscribed, to some extent, the activities of the various guilds. At the same time, Constantinople appeared as a center of international trade, with Syrian, Italian, Rus', and

Bulgarian MERCHANTS, whose contact with Byz. merchants was also regulated. The market of Constantinople stocked spices, which arrived by way of TREBIZOND, cloth from Syria (also mentioned in Thessalonike), and linen cloth from Bulgaria and the Pontus. Trade relations with the Muslims became very active in the middle of the 10th C. The internal market also appeared active. The size of mercantile enterprises remained small.

In the 11th–12th C. a number of general changes combined to activate the economy of exchange. Urban growth acted as a stimulant, as did the rise of an important Italian market and, possibly, the general quickening of economic activity in the Mediterranean, partly the result of the activities of Italian merchants. Byz. traders from Constantinople appear in the documents of the Cairo Geniza, importing into Egypt brocades and luxury textiles as well as furniture: chests, cupboards, and bedsteads of Rūm. Constantinople and Thessalonike were still the most important trade centers. The TIMARION attests to the vitality of the commerce of Thessalonike, while BENJAMIN OF TUDELA (p.20) says of Constantinople, "It is a busy city, and merchants come to it from every country by sea or land, and there is none like it in the world except Baghdad." A number of smaller centers of exchange developed: HALMYROS, DEMETRIAS, Preveza, and others. Michael CHONIATES speaks of the dependence of Athens on trade. The Black Sea witnessed important commercial activity throughout the period. Byz. aristocrats still shied away from commerce, at least in their normative statements; and large economic units (e.g., the Kosmosoteira monastery at BERA) tried to buy necessities such as oil directly from the producer, rather than through middlemen. At the same time, monks themselves participated in trade, primarily, perhaps, by selling their produce, but also, it seems, by sometimes acting as middlemen.

The acquisition of trade privileges first by VENICE (at the end of the 11th C.) and then by PISA and GENOA played an important role in these developments. The chrysobulls to the Venetians gave them access to an increasing number of markets, both in Constantinople and in provincial cities. Venetian merchants were interested not only in trade with the East, but also in the internal trade of the Byz. Empire; this is also evident in the chrysobull of 1198 (the date is under discussion), which greatly expanded the markets acces-

sible to the Venetians. Venetian involvement in domestic trade was facilitated by the fact that, after 1126, the Byz. paid no KOMMERKION on their transactions with the Venetians. This may have acted as a stimulant to trade and may even have profited some Byz. merchants; in the long term, however, it subsidized the Venetian middleman to the detriment of the Byz.

During the Palaiologan period, the trade of the Byz. Empire functioned under very different conditions from the past. The dominant factor in the eastern Mediterranean in this period was the presence of Western merchants, primarily the Italians, who had turned the terms of trade in their favor. By the late 13th C., they had created a network of exchange that resembled an international trade network; within it they were dominant, since they controlled communications, information, exclusive access to Western markets, and privileges in the marketplaces of the Levant, including the Byz. Empire. Through their colonies and trade stations, Western merchants exercised overwhelming influence on trade. Byz. trade formed part of this complex and served the needs of Western markets. Food and raw materials were exported to the West, from which manufactured products, primarily Italian and French cloth, were imported. Constantinople was a particularly important pivot in this system when the *Pax Mongolica* (mid-13th–mid-14th C.) made it easier for merchandise from the Far East to reach the Mediterranean by way of the Black Sea. By contrast, after the mid-14th C. the relative importance of Constantinople declined, to the advantage of Cyprus, Ayas (Lajazzo in Lesser Armenia), and eventually Alexandria and Berytus.

Throughout this period trade was active, esp. along the coasts of the Aegean and the Black Sea, the islands, the inland route from Thessalonike to Prizren and other Serbian towns, and the Danube delta. MONEMVASIA, Thessalonike, and Trebizond were major commercial centers. Indeed, it may be said that commercial activity was greater in this period than ever before. Byz. merchants and sailors participated in this activity quite substantially, as did members of the aristocracy. They were primarily active in local or interregional trade, however, rarely gaining access to international trade, which was the most lucrative. Only in the late 1340s did the Byz. try to capture the profitable Black Sea trade for themselves. It was an

abortive effort, which came to an end in 1350. For the rest, their activities remained important, extensive but subsidiary, until the establishment of the Ottoman Empire changed the terms of trade once again.

LIT. W. Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant au moyen âge*², 2 vols. (Leipzig 1936). M. Hendy, *Studies in the Byzantine Monetary Economy c. 300–1450* (Cambridge–New York 1985). N. Oikonomides, "Silk Trade and Production in Byzantium from the Sixth to the Ninth Century: The Seals of Kommerkiarioi," *DOP* 40 (1986) 31–53. Kazhdan, *De revnja i gorod* 250–300. A.E. Laiou-Thomadakis, "The Byzantine Economy in the Mediterranean Trade System; Thirteenth-Fifteenth Centuries," *DOP* 34–35 (1980–81) 177–222. S.D. Goitein, "Mediterranean Trade in the Eleventh Century," in *Studies in the Economic History of the Middle East*, ed. M.A. Cook (London 1970) 51–62. —A.L.

COMMODATUM (τὸ εἰς χρῆσιν διδόμενον), a loan for use free of charge. As a type of contract *commodatum* was already under Justinian I (*Digest* 13.6) manifestly an artificial term that can be distinguished from LOAN and MISTHOSIS only with difficulty because of the unclear terminology of the Byz. with regard to ownership. Even so, it is treated in detail in the *Basilika* (13.1) and is still found in Harmenopoulos (*Harm.* 2.10). In practice it was confused with a wide variety of other types of transmission for use: in *Peira* 46.5 it is characterized as "polymorphic." In fact, CHRESIS is also readily used as a term for rights of use (USUFRUCT), for example, the rights of a widow over the property of her deceased husband (*Nov. Just.* 22) or for LONGI TEMPORIS PRAESCRIPTIO (cf. *Harm.* 1.16.5). —D.S.

COMMUNION (μετάληψις), the eating and drinking in common of the consecrated bread and wine (Jesus' body and blood), climax of the rite of the EUCHARIST, as sign of the spiritual communion (*koinonia*) of Christians with one another in Christ, and, through him, with the Father in the Holy Spirit. The FRACTION and distribution of one loaf (1 Cor 10:16–17) and the drinking from one cup, as well as the old requirement that each receive the consecrated elements from the hand of another, symbolized the fellowship involved. Communion in both Eucharist and prayer was restricted to the baptized who had not been excluded by EXCOMMUNICATION or grave sin. Communion among churches was symbolized by invit-

ing visiting bishops to join in celebrating the Eucharist.

Originally all church members in good standing communicated at every Eucharist, but by the end of the 4th C. the church fathers complained of a decline in the reception of communion, though they themselves were scaring people away by calling communion a "dread" mystery to be received only by those worthy, in fear and trembling. By the Middle Ages, laity communicated at most a few times a year, on the GREAT FEASTS, esp. Easter. Monks, however, continued to receive communion more often: daily communion was a rarity in Byz. monasteries, but weekly communion, though not universal, remained common.

LIT. W. Elert, *Eucharist and Church Fellowship in the First Four Centuries* (St. Louis 1966). L. Hertling, *Communio, Church and Papacy in Early Christianity* (Chicago 1972). Taft, *East & West* 61–80, 101–09. E. Herman, "Die häufige und tägliche Kommunion in den byzantinischen Klöstern," in *Mém.L.Petit* 203–17. —R.F.T.

COMMUNION OF THE APOSTLES. See LORD'S SUPPER.

COMMUTATION (Lat. *adaeratio*). Following the monetary reform of Constantine I, Byz. constantly favored the commutation of fees or contributions in kind and of services and CORVÉES into monetary payments. In the early centuries, the ANNONA as well as the CAPUT or the levies of animals (horses, pigs) or weapons were commuted into cash contributions at such a variety of rates (often arbitrarily established) that the fiscal burden of contributors and the illicit gains of some tax collectors could also vary considerably. In the FISCAL SYSTEM of the Macedonian period, the *adaeratio* of services due to the state as well as of *sportulae* (see SYNETHIA) in kind due to officials was common: for example, the military obligation (STRATEIA) of a farmer-soldier for one year could be replaced, in the 10th–11th C., by a cash payment of 4–6 nomismata; similar arrangements were possible for peasants attached to the DROMOS and for most SECONDARY TAXES in kind, some of which were claimed in cash so often that new names had to be invented (*antikaniskon*, *antimitikion*, etc.). In the late 11th C. and afterward, in times of monetary instability TAX COLLECTORS increased their revenues by playing with the ex-

change rates of the various coins. In the 14th C. the KANISKION was commuted to 6 keratia per year.

LIT. Jones, *LRE* 207f, 460f, 625f, 670f, 702–04. Morrison, "Logariké" 419–64. Kazhdan, *Agrarnye otnošenija* 120. –N.O.

COMPUTUS. The date of EASTER in Byz. was determined by a set of simple rules and a variety of cycles, collectively called the computus. The rules are essentially that Easter falls on the first Sunday that follows both the 14th day of the Paschal lunar month (Passover) and 21 March in the Julian calendar. The two cycles in common use were of 19 years (19 solar years = 235 months; the years of intercalation [embolismic years] were numbers 3, 6, 8, 11, 14, 17, and 19 of the cycle) and, from the 5th C. onward, 532 years (= 19 × 28). The 28-year solar cycle is the product of a four-year leap-year cycle and seven weekdays. The combination of the 19-year lunar cycle and the 28-year solar cycle results in the precise recurrence of the sequence of Julian calendar dates of Easter in each 532-year cycle. The so-called "reforms" of the computus in general consisted simply of changing the epoch at which the 19-year or 532-year cycles begin, or of changing the one year in each cycle in which the *saltus lunae* or "leap of the moon" (an epact of 12 instead of 11 days) occurs. It is true that, following the Islamic value for the length of a solar year that had been known in Byz. since the 11th C., Nikephoros GREGORAS proposed a reform of the calendar (Pingree, "Chionides & Astronomy" 138f), but this proposal was not accepted. The immense Byz. literature on computus includes treatises by Isaac ARGYROS and Nicholas RHABDAS.

Ready-made computus tables (or paschal tables) indicating the dates of Easter for the observable future survive in many MSS. Usually compiled by the readers/owners, their earliest date gives the terminus ante quem for the completion of the MS.

LIT. Grumel, *Chronologie* 31–55, 98–110, 129–39, 265–77. O. Neugebauer, *Ethiopic Astronomy and Computus* (Vienna 1979). –D.P.

CONCEȘTI TREASURE, dated to ca.400?, found at Concești in Moldavia in 1812 and now in the

Hermitage Museum, Leningrad. It includes six Byz. silver objects, Hunnish gold jewelry, and horse fittings (see CHARIOT MOUNTS AND HORSE FITTINGS). Three silver objects have decorations from classical mythology: the amphora, one of the most elaborate silver vessels of the late antique period, has relief decoration of a hunt, a battle between Greeks and Amazons, and a marine *thiasos* (Dionysiac revelry); the SITULA has a frieze incorporating Hylas, Leda, Apollo, and Daphne; and the plate, one of the largest known (diam. 55 cm), is decorated on its rim with gilded and niello-inlaid portrait medallions and hunt scenes, comparable in technique to the SUTTON HOO TREASURE plate and a *trulla* in the MYTILENE TREASURE. The other silver objects in the treasure include a ewer, of a well-known type; a folding stool that resembles others from Ostia and the LAMPSAKOS TREASURE; and a helmet of a type introduced by Constantine I (see ARMOR). It has been suggested that the treasure belonged to a Hunnish prince who may have acquired the silver objects as booty during a campaign in the Danube region and that the burial took place between 400 and 410.

LIT. Matzulewitsch, *Byz. Antike* 123–37. Kent-Painter, *Wealth* 138f. –M.M.M.

CONCH (κόγχη, lit. "mussel shell"), a half-dome covering a niche or APSE. Its shell-like or ribbed form, which appeared behind and above the seats of magistrates in Roman basilicas, was taken over into Christian iconography (Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten*, nos. 137, 150, 153f). In Byz. churches a conch was usually decorated with mosaic or fresco as a focus for the interior decoration. In early basilican churches the conch of the apse normally contained an image of Christ; in later, domed churches the conch of the apse became, after the dome, the most conspicuous location in the building and was reserved for the image of the Virgin. Conches were also used for other visually and structurally prominent roles—for example, in the supporting system for the dome in certain domed octagon churches (as at the NEA MONE on Chios), for the covering of subsidiary apses in triconch and tetraconch churches, and for covering EXEDRAE of polyconch churches and other buildings (e.g., *triklinia* and refectories). Smaller-scale conches

were also used in conjunction with niches as exterior decorative devices (H. Buchwald, *JÖB* 26 [1977] 265f, 290–95).

LIT. K. Wessel, *RBK* 1:268–93. Demus, *Byz. Mosaic* 21f. –M.J.

CONCUBINAGE (παλλακεία, *agaphos gamos* in *Ecloga* 2.6), a stable sexual relationship, frequently of a married man with a woman of lower status, was considered legal in Roman law (Ph.J. Thomas in *Huldigungsbundel P. van Warmelo* [Pretoria 1984] 230–36). Church fathers attacked concubinage, equating it with PROSTITUTION. In 326 Constantine I prohibited married men from keeping concubines (*Cod. Just.* V 26.1) and in 336 he threatened with infamy and deprivation of Roman citizenship any men of high rank who tried to treat as legitimate their children by bond-maids, freedwomen, actresses, or tavern keepers (*Cod. Theod.* IV 6.3 pr.). Anastasios I and Justinian I were more tolerant toward concubines and their offspring, and the *Ecloga* still protected concubines against the arbitrariness of their "husbands." Leo VI abolished this institution (nov.91); the previous opinion that this action was initiated by Basil I was questioned by N. Oikonomides (*DOP* 30 [1976] 173–93) who interpreted *Procheiron* 4.26 as an interpolation of a section of Leo VI's novel of 907. Concubinage evidently survived this abolition, and in the 13th C. Demetrios CHOMATENOS mentions *pallakeia* and concubines (*pallakai*) kept by men of various status and in various areas of Epiros.

The status of the children of concubines, *fili naturales*, posed a problem for legislators who tried to distinguish them from offspring resulting from casual intercourse (with prostitutes, etc.); their attitude toward these children kept shifting, as they sometimes granted and sometimes withdrew their rights to the property of their fathers. In reality many ILLEGITIMATE CHILDREN of emperors and noblemen by their concubines assumed high ranks and social importance.

LIT. A. Laiou, "Contribution à l'étude de l'institution familiale en Epire au XIII^e siècle," *FM* 6 (1984) 284–300. G. Prinzing, "Sozialgeschichte der Frau im Spiegel der Chomatenos-Akten," *JÖB* 32.2 (1982) 453–62. Ritzer, *Marriage* 93f, 133, 169f. M. Niziolek, *Legal Effects of Concubinage in Reference to Concubines' Offspring in the Light of Imperial Legislation of the Period of the Dominate* (Krakow 1980). –J.H., A.K.

CONFESSIO (ἐξομολόγησις), the solemn act of acknowledgment of one's sins, was considered by the church fathers as indispensable in the search for SALVATION. As Athanasios of Alexandria (PG 27:481A) states, "Confession is the beginning of salvation." John Chrysostom (PG 57:426.35–37) asserts that sin is such a stain that even thousands of springs of water cannot remove it, only tears and confession. The early church encouraged public confession, but from the end of the 4th C. this practice declined, and the right of hearing confession and imposing PENANCE was entrusted to the church as an institution and individually to priests. The Byz. church, however, placed less emphasis on the institutional and legalistic approach to confession than did its Western counterpart: confession was not included in the list of SACRAMENTS established by Theodore of Stoudios. John Chrysostom (PG 49:292.34–44) stresses that there are many different ways of repentance (*metanoia*) and none are difficult: "Are you a sinner? Enter a church, confess your sins, and receive absolution." The informal character of Byz. confession is evident from a text ascribed to Anastasios of Sinai (PG 89:372A): "If you find a spiritual man, experienced and capable of curing you, confess before him without shame and full of faith, as if before God and not a human being."

In the monastic milieu confession to a PATER PNEUMATIKOS, a spiritual father, was a regular practice. At the BEBAIAS ELPIDOS NUNNERY daily confession was prescribed (*Typikon*, chs. 105–11). But in the secular world it was not common, except during LENT or as acknowledgment of serious sins. Byz. PENITENTIALS do not suggest a rigid format for absolution or a strict scale of penances (EPITIMIA); absolution was expressed mostly in the form of PRAYER and the remission of sins was attributed to God rather than to the priest.

LIT. Meyendorff, *Byz. Theology* 195f. M. Jugie, *Theologia dogmatica christianorum orientalium* 3 (Paris 1920) 331–89. A. Almazov, *Tajnaia ispoved' v pravoslavnoj vostočnoj cerkvi* (Odessa 1894), rev. I. Sokolov, *VizVrem* 4 (1897) 675–82, 692. –A.K.

CONFESSOR (ὁμολογητής), an honorific title designating primarily those who, during the persecutions of the 3rd–4th C., overtly proclaimed themselves Christians; the feminine form, *homo-*

logetria, is rare—for example, EPIPHANIOS of Salamis (PG 42:192B) mentions an anchorite, Paphnoutios, who was the son of a *homologetria*. The difference between the confessor and MARTYR was still vague in the 3rd C.; ORIGEN applied the term martyr to all who witnessed to the truth, although he knew that the term was generally reserved for those who proved their faith by shedding their blood. After the victory of Christianity, the term acquired the metaphorical sense of “pious Christian,” as in the 5th-C. inscription of “Domnos homologetes” (W. Ramsay, *JHS* 25 [1905] 172). It was also specifically applied to some ardent defenders of Orthodoxy, such as MAXIMOS THE CONFESSOR and THEOPHANES THE CONFESSOR, who suffered exile or imprisonment, but not death, for their beliefs. (For confessor as one who hears CONFESSION, see PATER PNEUMATIKOS.)

LIT. H. Delehay, “Martyr et confesseur,” *AB* 39 (1921) 20–49. —A.K.

CONFISCATION. Legislation of the 4th–6th C. prescribed confiscation as punishment for traitors, heretics, pagans, and parties contracting illegal marriages; in addition, the property of pagan temples, certain municipal estates, and individuals who died intestate without legally recognized heirs, was subject to confiscation. While several of these categories ultimately fell into disuse, confiscation for both intestacy and treason persisted in modified forms throughout later periods: the *Ecloga* (6.2) stipulates that the fisc could recover half the estate of a husband who died intestate and was survived only by his wife (see ABIOTIKION); the *Peira* (60.1) documents a complicated division of property between the fisc and the heirs of a proscribed member of the Bourtzes family; Manuel STRABOROMANOS (P. Gautier, *REB* 23 [1965] 183.30–31) describes how his father was punished with confiscation under Alexios I, adding that the victims were allowed to retain a portion of their property and that many subsequently received aid from the emperor himself. Confiscated lands became state property, administered until the 7th C. by the COMES RERUM PRIVATARUM.

Alongside such practices sanctioned in civil law, confiscation also developed certain extrajudicial forms based largely upon administrative regulations of the army and fisc. In the 10th C., military

officers were permitted during foreign invasions to seize private cash to purchase supplies (DE OBSIDIONE TOLERANDA 49.20–22), and several emperors appropriated ecclesiastical treasure to meet urgent military expenses. Lands abandoned for 30 years might become classified as KLASMA and revert to the fisc, while STRATIOTIKA KTEMATA could be withdrawn from their original possessors for transfer to more reliable soldiers. THEOPHYLAKTOS of Ohrid (ep.26, ed. Gautier, *Lettres* 215–17) mentions widespread confiscation by imperial officials in Bulgaria. In addition, emperors progressively obtained the right to confiscate any landholding in exchange for its JUST PRICE or the equivalent in land (vita of John Chrysostom, PG 114:1156A), and both Nikephoros I (Theoph. 487.27–488.1) and Basil II (Skyl. 340.88–95) appear to have appropriated private property without any compensation. Such widespread application rendered confiscation a continual threat in Byz. society, and a number of writers (e.g., Skylitzes, Kekaumenos, and esp. Niketas Choniates) express disapproval and fear of its frequently unjust or arbitrary nature.

LIT. G. Monks, “The Administration of the Privy Purse,” *Speculum* 32 (1957) 748–63. Kazhdan-Constable, *Byzantium* 144f. —A.J.C.

CONFRATERNITY (ἀδελφότης, “brotherhood,” or διακονία, “diaconate”), a private association of laymen and clergy, men and women, established for devotional purposes (e.g., the veneration of a particular icon) and for mutual assistance among members (e.g., in cases of sickness, for funeral or memorial services). One function of a confraternity was to hold a procession with cult icons on feastdays, a scene depicted in the Blachernai monastery at ARTA. Such lay confraternities had charters, strict regulations for members, and other similarities to the confraternities found in the medieval West. There is evidence for Byz. confraternities from the 6th C. until the end of the empire, with perhaps a discontinuity during the Iconoclastic era. A late 11th- or early 12th-C. TYPICON exists for a confraternity at Thebes.

LIT. J. Nesbitt, J. Wiita, “A Confraternity of the Comnenian Era,” *BZ* 68 (1975) 360–84. Beck, *Kirche* 138f. P. Horden, “The Confraternities in Byzantium,” in W.J. Sheils, D. Wood, *Voluntary Religion* (Oxford 1986) 25–45. —M.B., A.C.

CONRAD III (Κορράδος) of Hohenstaufen, king of Germany (1138–52), never crowned Western Emperor; born 1093, died Bamberg 15 Feb. 1152. Begun in 1140, negotiations with JOHN II KOMNENOS for an alliance against ROGER II of Sicily culminated in 1142 with the dispatch of BERTHA OF SULZBACH to Constantinople as bride for MANUEL I. Conrad led the German contingent on the Second Crusade in 1147. Because of clashes with Byz. forces, he feared to enter Constantinople, but crossed the Bosphoros with his army. Defeated in Anatolia by the Turks, Conrad joined LOUIS VII, leader of the French Crusaders. From Ephesus, ill and exhausted, Conrad sailed to Constantinople (ca. Jan. 1148), where Manuel entertained him; he continued by sea to the Holy Land. Returning after the Crusade's failure, Conrad landed at Thessalonike, where, at Christmas 1148, he and Manuel agreed on a joint attack on Roger. Manuel was to receive Apulia and Calabria as Bertha's dowry. Because of ill health and preoccupations in Germany, Conrad failed to execute these plans.

LIT. V.G. Vasil'evskij, *Trudy* 4:18–105. Lamma, *Comneni* 1:33–115. H. Vollrath, “Konrad III. und Byzanz,” *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 59 (1977) 321–65. —C.M.B.

CONRAD OF MONTFERRAT, claimant king of Jerusalem (1190–92); died Tyre 28 Apr. 1192. Son of the marquess William VI of Montferrat, Conrad and his brothers BONIFACE OF MONTFERRAT and RENIER OF MONTFERRAT allied with Emp. Manuel I against FREDERICK I BARBAROSSA in 1179. Conrad captured Frederick's representative, Archbp. Christian of Mainz (Sept. 1179), then went to Constantinople to confer with Manuel; he was there at Manuel's death. In 1186 Isaac II offered the hand of his sister Theodora and Conrad accepted. He reached Constantinople about Apr. 1187, and the marriage occurred immediately. Conrad became caesar. During the subsequent revolt of Alexios BRANAS, Conrad enlisted Western cavalry and infantry as well as Turkish and Georgian merchants; his generalship was crucial in defeating Branas. Conrad soon became discontented, however, and perhaps learned of the threats posed by Saladin in the Holy Land. Around late June 1187 (or Sept., according to R.-J. Lilie in *Varia* 1 [Bonn 1984] 163–74), he abandoned Theodora and sailed to Tyre. There he

helped organize the defense of the city and preserve the remnants of the kingdom of JERUSALEM. In 1190 he married Isabel (daughter of AMALRIC I and Maria Komnene) and claimed the kingdom.

LIT. Th. Ilgen, *Markgraf Conrad von Montferrat* (Marburg 1880). Brand, *Byzantium* 18–20, 80–84. —C.M.B.

CONSANGUINITY. See RELATIONSHIP, DEGREES OF.

CONSCIENCE (συνείδησις), a term rarely found in ancient philosophy. Taken literally, *syneidesis* originally meant personal knowledge or understanding shared with another; eventually it came to mean self-awareness. From the 1st C. B.C. the term appears more frequently, often with a negative connotation, in reference to an attitude that approaches our notion of conscience. In the New Testament, while the term does not occur in the Gospels, it appears 30 times throughout the remaining books, but only in the Pauline epistles is it understood in an ethical sense as the stage at which the self feels either justified or condemned.

In Christian sources *syneidesis* primarily denotes either self-justification or self-condemnation, even though its alternative meanings are not wholly absent. For example, in Ignatius of Antioch and Clement of Rome conscience becomes more authoritarian, emphasizing faithful obedience to the authority of the church. The Philonic or Pauline notion is evident in JOHN CHRYSOSTOM, for whom conscience is the highest authority next to the command of God, an understanding that unites him with JOHN OF DAMASCUS, for whom the law of God is embedded in human conscience, called the law of the mind (*Exp. fidei* 95.8–10, ed. Kotter, *Schriften* 2:222). It is the impulse, the tension that maintains the life of ascetic spirituality, for the conscience demands satisfaction. The ascetic life of the saints shows conscience as a form of martyrdom, while it may also refer to the monastic life: “Let conscience serve as a reflection of your obedience” (John Klimax, PG 88:712B). In this tradition, the formation of conscience requires certain spiritual qualities, “vigilance of the heart” and “sobriety” (*nepsis*).

LIT. C.A. Pierce, *Conscience in the New Testament* (London 1955). J. Stelzenberger, *Syneidesis bei Origenes* (Paderborn 1963). Idem, “Conscientia in der ost-westlichen Spannung

der patristischen Theologie," *Tübinger Theologische Quartalschrift* 141 (1961) 174–205. M. Pohlenz, "Paulus und die Stoa," *ZNTW* 42 (1949) 69–104. Idem, *Die Stoa*³, 2 vols. (Göttingen 1948–49).
—K.-H.U.

CONSISTORIUM (θεῖον συνέδριον), the body of imperial advisers that replaced the former *consilium* in the late Roman Empire. The term *consistorium* was derived from the hall in which the meeting was convened; W. Kunkel (*ZSavRom* 85 [1968] 295, n.96) rejects the traditional derivation of the name from the obligation of participants to stand during its sessions. The mention of the *consistorium* in a decree of Diocletian (*Cod. Just.* IX 47.12) is probably a later "correction" of the scribe, and the first secure evidence comes only from 347, although it is plausible that the *consistorium* was a creation of Constantine I. Membership in the *consistorium* was never fully regularized, but by the end of the 4th C. the *consistorium* was composed of two groups of members or *comites consistoriani*: (1) the chiefs of the central administration (MAGISTER OFFICIORUM, *quaestor sacri palatii* [see *QUAESTOR*], COMES SACRARUM LARGITIONUM, and COMES RERUM PRIVATARUM), and in some cases the PRAETORIAN PREFECT and certain military commanders, and (2) advisory officials with minor rights. The functions of the *consistorium* included promulgation of imperial laws, reception of foreign ambassadors, and discussion of high policy (although sometimes this was discussed within a narrower and less formal circle of the emperor's *proximi*, including the empress) and high justice. A session of the *consistorium* was called a SILENTIUM. The *consistorium* never developed into an independent institution, remaining a consultative and ceremonial body. By the end of the 4th C. emperors rarely participated in the *consistorium*, as the emperor's "inner cabinet" came to play a growing role as the advisory board. Senators actively participated in the judicial work of the *consistorium* from the 5th C.; in the 6th C. Justinian I essentially abolished the distinction between the *consistorium* and the SENATE.

LIT. W. Kunkel, "Consilium, Consistorium," *JbAChr* 11–12 (1968–69) 242–48. P.B. Weiss, *Consistorium und comites consistoriani* (Würzburg 1975). Jones, *LRE* 1:333–41.
—A.K.

CONSTANS I (Κώνστας), caesar (from 25 Dec. 333) and augustus (from 9 Sept. 337); born ca.323,

died fortress of Helena, Pyrenees, Jan. 350. The youngest son of CONSTANTINE I and Fausta, he was initially given control of Italy, Africa, Pannonia, Dacia, and Macedonia. In 340, after CONSTANTINE II's death during an attack on him, Constans became master of the entire West. He opposed ARIANISM and persuaded CONSTANTIUS II to participate in the ill-fated Council of SERDICA (342/3). He continued to support ATHANASIOS of Alexandria and was probably responsible for his return from exile in 346. In 350 Constans was overthrown and killed in a plot led by MAGNENTIUS.

LIT. Jones, *LRE* 112–15. Barnes, *New Empire* 8, 45.
—T.E.G.

CONSTANS II, emperor (641–68); son of HERAKLEIOS CONSTANTINE and grandson of Herakleios; born Constantinople 7 Nov. 630, died Syracuse 15 July 668 (Grierson, "Tombs and Obits" 49f). Christened Flavios Herakleios, Constans was crowned co-emperor as Constantine (Constantine III, according to Stratos) by his uncle, HERAKLONAS, in Sept. 641. He became sole emperor after Heraklonas and MARTINA were deposed in winter 641/2, ruling officially as Constantine (his coins bear the name) but popularly known as Constans. His thick beard earned him the nickname "Pogonatos." With his wife Fausta, daughter of VALENTINOS ARŠAKUNI, he had three sons: Constantine (IV), Herakleios, and Tiberios.

Throughout his reign, Constans was occupied by the empire's external enemies. Against the Arabs he probably organized the themes of ANATOLIKON and OPSIKION and personally campaigned in Asia Minor and Armenia. The first Greek inscriptions on Byz. coins ("In this, conquer") are found, together with Constans holding a cross, on folles of his reign. Evoking the success of Constantine I at the Milvian Bridge, this slogan was intended to urge the army to victory over the Muslims. He suffered defeats, however, esp. at the naval battle of Phoenix (mod. Finike in Turkey) in 655, and twice (651, 659) accepted peace treaties (see MU'AWIYA). He had more success against the Slavs, personally invading SKLAVINIA in 658 and resettling captives in Asia Minor. He also probably organized the theme of HELLAS.

Anxiety over external threats led him to leave Constantinople for the West ca.660. Arriving in

Italy in 663, he campaigned against the Lombards before settling in Sicily, where he created a theme and raised a navy and army. Constans's measures to finance his military activities were unpopular, esp. in Italy, where high taxes and confiscations of church vessels antagonized the local nobility and clergy. He faced numerous rebellions (e.g., those of SABORIOS, OLYMPIOS, and GREGORY, exarch of Carthage). His religious policy attempted to end Christological arguments, but his TYPOS only angered Western bishops, partly resulting in the trials of Pope MARTIN I and MAXIMOS THE CONFESSOR. He also infuriated Pope VITALIAN in March 668 by decreeing the independence of the archbishop of Ravenna. Constans was murdered while bathing, either struck in the head by a servant or stabbed by the conspirators who proclaimed MEZIZIOS emperor. His body was returned to Constantinople, perhaps personally by Constantine IV, and buried in the Church of the Holy Apostles.

LIT. J. Kaestner, *De imperio Constantini III (641–668)* (Leipzig 1907). Stratos, *Byzantium* 3:1–282. P. Corsi, *La spedizione italiana di Costante II* (Bologna 1983). Idem, "La politica italiana di Costante II," *SettStu* 34 (1988) 751–96.
—P.A.H., A.C.

CONSTANTIA (Κωνσταντ(ε)ία), Constantiana, and other variants, name of several sites (towns and/or strongholds), primarily in the northern Balkans.

CONSTANTIA IN THE RHODOPE MOUNTAINS, a town destroyed by Kalojan in 1201 (Nik.Chon. 532.22–23). It is probably the Constantia listed in a notitia of Patr. Nicholas I Mystikos as a suffragan of Philippopolis (*Notitiae CP*, no.7.592). Excavations at Assara (near Marica in Bulgaria) have revealed the remains of a late Roman and medieval town (coins of Anastasios I, Phokas, and Leo VI were found) that has been identified as Rhodopian Constantia.

LIT. W. Gjuselev, "Forschungen zur Geschichte Thrakiens im Mittelalter," *BBulg* 3 (1969) 155–69. Asdracha, *Rhodopes* 151f. Z. Aladžov, "Archeologičeski proučvanija na Konstancija (1967–1977 g.)," *Izvestija na nacionalnija istoričeski muzej* 3 (1981) 253–333.

CONSTANTIA ON THE DANUBE, 5th-C. fortress (*phrourion*) mentioned by Priskos (*FHG* 4:72.16), probably to be identified with the 11th-C. *phrourion* of Constantia, referred to by Skylitzes (Skyl.

301.2–3). It was near modern Belgrade, at the juncture of the Morava and the Danube.

CONSTANTIA ON THE BLACK SEA. See TOMIS.

CONSTANTIANA IN SCYTHIA. A notitia (*Notitiae CP*, no.3.656) lists Constantiana as a bishopric of the *eparchia* of Scythia; its identification is questionable (E. Popescu, *BZ* 66 [1973] 359–82, and I. Barnea, *SCIV* 25 [1974] 427–29).

CONSTANTION NEAR OHRID, a *phrourion* erected by Basil II (Skyl. 359.40–42).

OTHER CONSTANTIAS. Cities also possessing this name existed in Calabria, Cyprus (anc. Salamis), and Phoenicia, and infrequently this name was given to Constantinople. CONSTANTINA (now Viranşehir in Turkey) in northern Mesopotamia was called Konstantia by Theophanes the Confessor.
—A.K.

CONSTANTIANA. See CONSTANTIA.

CONSTANTINA (Κωνσταντίνη, Syr. Tella), city in northern Mesopotamia, now Viranşehir in eastern Turkey. Constantina was the headquarters of the *doux* of Mesopotamia in 363–527 and 532–40 and a bishopric of OSRHOENE subject to Edessa (L. Dillemann, *Haute Mésopotamie orientale et pays adjacents* [Paris 1962] 75, 107f). Malalas (Malal. 323.14–19) states that Constantina was rebuilt by Constantine I on the site of ancient Maximianoupolis, which had been destroyed by a Persian attack and an earthquake. Constantina, also called Konstantia by Theophanes, should be distinguished from the Konstantia in Phoenicia, previously called Antarados, that was rebuilt by Constantius II (Theoph. 38.8–9). In the 6th C. Constantina was headquarters of General PRISKOS and an important point of contention during the Persian wars. JACOB BARADAEUS was born near Constantina and was a monk at the monastery of Phesiltha outside the city. Constantina fell to the Arabs in 639.

Parts of city walls, a large-aisled, centralized church (the "Octagon"), and an entire (?) warehouse of 543 were still standing in 1972; other remains of the 4th–6th C., including Greek inscriptions, are recorded by travelers. A tetrapylon disappeared in this century.

LIT. Bell-Mango, *Tur 'Abdin* 154–57. —M.M.M.

CONSTANTINE (Κωνσταντῖνος), personal name. It is uncertain whether the name was used before **CONSTANTINE I THE GREAT**; a certain Aurelius Constantine is named in an undated inscription (*CIL* 3294). The name may have been coined on the basis of Constantius, Constantine the Great's father; at any rate, in the 4th C. Constantius was more popular than Constantine (*PLRE* 1:223–28). The relative frequency seems to have changed in the 5th C.: *PLRE* 2:311–25 lists 24 Constantines and 20 Constantii. Prokopios mentions only four Constantines, but thereafter the frequency increased: 28 in Theophanes, 60 in Skylitzes, 15 in Anna Komnene (in the last two cases Constantine is the most popular name). Niketas Choniates has 22 Constantines, third after JOHN (35) and ALEXIOS (24). In *Lavra*, vol. 1, encompassing the period of the 10th–12th C., 37 Constantines are listed, third only to JOHN (90) and NICHOLAS (42), but in the later *Lavra*, vols. 2–3 (13th–15th C.), Constantine occupies only the seventh place. Constantius seems to have almost disappeared after Theophanes, but the vernacular form Konstas, rare in *Lavra* 1, occurs 30 times in *Lavra* 2–3. Constantine was the most popular name for emperors; 11 bore the name between the 4th and 15th C. and it should be noted that Leo V changed the name of his son Symbarios to Constantine (*E. Patlagean in Byz. Aristocracy* 27). Four patriarchs had this name but there are very few saints named Constantine in the Byz. calendar. —A.K.

CONSTANTINE, co-emperor; eldest son of BASIL I by his first wife Maria, although some sources name EUDOKIA INGERINA as his mother (see G. Ostrogorsky, *SemKond* 5 [1932] 28); born ca.859 (Vogt, *infra*) or 863/4 (E. Kislinger, *JÖB* 33 [1983] 129), died 3 Sept. 879 (P. Karlin-Hayter, *Byzantion* 36 [1966] 624–26). Constantine was proclaimed co-emperor in 867/8, and his name is included with Basil's in the title of the PROCHEIRON. Basil planned his betrothal to a daughter of LOUIS II, and the question was discussed with Frankish envoys in 869 (A. Gasquet, *L'empire byzantin et la monarchie franque* [Paris 1888] 412). Constantine accompanied Basil in his expedition against the Arabs in 879 (Vasiliev, *Byz. Arabes* 2.1:88–91, 93–94).

Constantine always appears beardless on his father's coins (Grierson, *DOC* 3.2:474 and nos. 1–

4, 8, 10–11). Spatharakis's view (*CahArch* 23 [1974] 97–105) that Constantine was depicted in the well-known Paris MS of the Homilies of GREGORY OF NAZIANZOS (Paris B.N. gr. 510, fol.8v) was corrected by I. Kalavrezou-Maxeiner (*JÖB* 27 [1978] 19–24).

LIT. Vogt, *Basile Ier* 58f.

—A.K., A.C.

CONSTANTINE. See also KONSTANTIN.

CONSTANTINE I THE GREAT, augustus (from 25 July 306); born Naissos 273/4, died Nikomedeia 22 May 337; feastday 21 May. Son of **CONSTANTIUS CHLORUS** and **HELENA**, he was proclaimed as augustus in Britain upon the death of his father. He was subsequently acknowledged as caesar by GALERIUS and as augustus by MAXIMIAN,

CONSTANTINE I THE GREAT. Bronze head of the emperor; 4th C. National Museum, Belgrade.



and his imperial position was confirmed at the Conference of Carnuntum in 308. He defeated MAXENTIUS at the battle of the MILVIAN BRIDGE in 312, thus becoming sole ruler of the West. Alliance with LICINIUS turned to hostility, and after victory over his rival at Chrysoupolis in Bithynia in 324 Constantine became ruler of the whole empire. He associated his sons with him as caesars—CRISPUS (317), **CONSTANTINE II** (317), **CONSTANTIUS II** (324), and **CONSTANS I** (333)—but he remained sole augustus until his death. He had two consorts, Minervina (perhaps a concubine) and Fausta (see genealogical table).

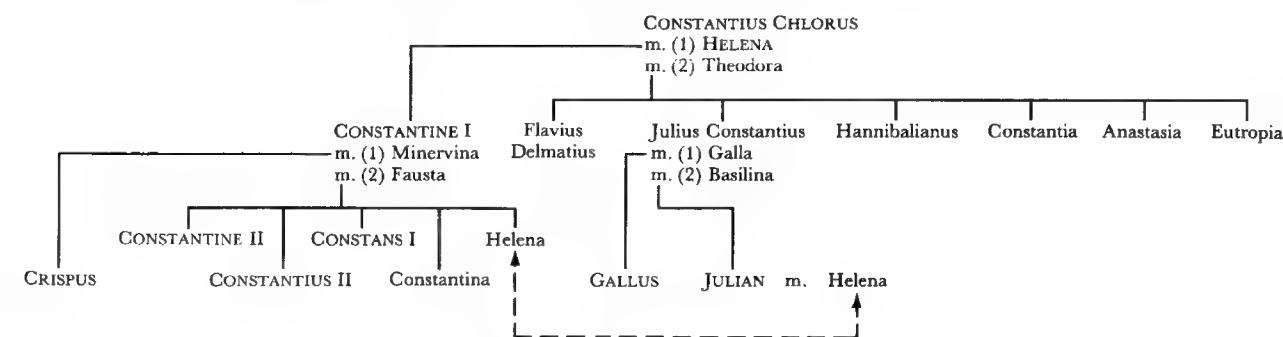
Constantine carried out important administrative and military reforms, completing and/or reversing those of **DIOCLETIAN**. He organized the entire empire into three or four prefectures, each under its own **PRAETORIAN PREFECT**, below whom were provinces and the cities. At court, officials such as the *comes rei privatae*, *comes sacrarum largitionum*, and *magister officiorum*, wielded great power as heads of large amorphous bureaus, while *magistri militum* commanded the army, increasingly dominated by the **COMITATENSES**. Constantine reformed the coinage, issuing a gold **SOLIDUS** that remained the standard coin through the 11th C. To celebrate his victory over Licinius he founded a new city on the site of ancient Byz.; **CONSTANTINOPLE** was inaugurated on 11 May 330, not so much a “new capital” as an imperial residence and monument to the emperor's greatness. According to the **CHRONICON PASCHALE** (1:527–29), his huge building program consisted almost entirely of secular structures, whereas **EUSEBIOS OF**

CAESAREA emphasizes the churches and martyria that Constantine built in the capital and at **NIKOMEDEIA**, **ANTIOCH**, and **JERUSALEM**.

Like most of his predecessors, Constantine sought divine support for his rule and ultimately came to base his power on a special connection with the Christian God. This concept developed slowly, augmented by the emperor's victories, and culminating in the image of Constantine in the works of Eusebios of Caesarea, esp. the **VITA CONSTANTINI**. In the latter work (*VC* 4.15) Eusebios interprets the upward gaze exhibited by Constantine on his coins as a gesture of piety. In fact, his numismatic portraits exhibit a remarkable range of types (D.H. Wright, *DOP* 41 [1987] 493–507). It is still debated whether Constantine actually issued the so-called **EDICT OF MILAN**. Constantine became involved in the controversies surrounding **DONATISM** and **ARIANISM**, convoked the first ecumenical council at **NICAEA**, and approved its decisions, although he later came to support Arianism. He was baptized on his deathbed by **EUSEBIOS OF NIKOMEDEIA**. The so-called **DONATION OF CONSTANTINE** is a forgery, probably of the 8th C.

As the first Christian emperor and the founder of Constantinople, Constantine set the style that was followed by nearly all Byz. emperors. Despite his very real human failings, Constantine was very quickly heroized as founder of the new politico-religious order and regarded as a saint; he was commonly pictured, frequently along with his mother, in figural representations of rulers in church decoration.

SELECTED GENEALOGY OF THE FAMILY OF CONSTANTINE I



Based on A.H.M. Jones, *Constantine and the Conversion of Europe* (New York 1962) 211.

LIT. A.H.M. Jones, *Constantine and the Conversion of Europe* (London 1948; rp. New York 1962). T.D. Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius* (Cambridge, Mass., 1981). J. Vogt, *Constantin der Grosse und sein Jahrhundert*² (Munich 1960). M. MacMullen, *Constantine*² (London-New York-Sydney 1987). *Konstantin der Grosse*, ed. H. Kraft (Darmstadt 1974). A. Kazhdan, "Constantin imaginaire: Byzantine Legends of the Ninth Century about Constantine the Great," *Byzantion* 57 (1987) 196-250. —T.E.G., A.C.

CONSTANTINE II, caesar (from 1 Mar. 317) and augustus (from 9 Sept. 337); born Arles, Feb. 317, died Aquileia 340. He was the son of Constantine I, perhaps illegitimate. In the arrangements made after his father's death Constantine II ruled Britain, Gaul, and Spain. He was, however, apparently regarded as the senior emperor. A strong opponent of ARIANISM, he returned ATHANASIOS of Alexandria from exile in Gaul despite the opposition of CONSTANTIUS II. In 340 Constantine responded to a perceived slight from CONSTANS I by invading Italy, where he was killed.

LIT. Jones, *LRE* 112-14. *PLRE* 1:223. Barnes, *New Empire* 8, 44f. —T.E.G.

CONSTANTINE III, usurper in Britain and Gaul (407-11). He is described as a common soldier but was a man of ability who was proclaimed emperor in Britain in 407. He made himself master of much of Gaul, being able to mint coins extensively at Trier, Lyons, and Arles. In September 411 he surrendered to Honorius's army and was put to death. He is not to be confused with either HERAKLEIOS CONSTANTINE, son and successor of HERAKLEIOS, or with CONSTANS II, both of whom have been called Constantine III by some historians.

LIT. E. Demougeot, "Constantin III, l'empereur d'Arles," in *Hommage à André Dupont* (Montpellier 1974) 83-125. —Ph.G.

CONSTANTINE III LEICHOUDS (Λειχούδης), patriarch of Constantinople (2 Feb. 1059-9/10 Aug. 1063); born Kouzenas (Psellos in Sathas, *MB* 5:300.10) or Constantinople (Sathas, *MB* 4:390.18-19) ca.1000, died Constantinople. The statement of later chroniclers that he was a eunuch is probably incorrect. Together with John MAUROPOUS, Leichoudes was the leader of the young intellectuals who came to power under Constantine IX; he became MESAZON (Beck, *Ideen*, pt.XIII [1955],

329) but had to retire ca.1050. The question of the *pronoia* that Constantine IX granted to Leichoudes over the MANGANA monastery is under discussion; it was apparently an administrative function (A. Hohlweg, *BZ* 60 [1967] 291-94), rather than a semifeudal property (K. Juzbašjan, *VizVrem* 16 [1959] 24-28). He returned to political activity only when Michael VI sent him and Psellos as envoys to the rebellious Isaac I Komnenos, who eventually chose Leichoudes to replace MICHAEL I KEROULARIOS on the patriarchal throne.

The policy of Leichoudes as patriarch is little known: he evidently resumed negotiations with Pope Alexander II (1061-73) concerning the FILIOQUE (PL 145:633B). His hostility toward the Monophysites was relentless: MICHAEL I THE SYRIAN mentions the patriarchal decree of 1063 to burn all the sacred books "of the Syrians" (tr. Chabot, 3:166). Leichoudes regulated the right of ASYLUM in such a way that a priest involved in a murder was proclaimed free, whereas a slave (*oiketēs*) Demetrios, guilty of murder, was extradited to his owner in exchange for the payment of 24 nomismata (PG 119:853-56). On his seals Leichoudes retained the title of ecumenical patriarch (Laurent, *Corpus* 5.1, no.17). Psellos devoted to him an *enkomion* praising his friend as a talented administrator and even military commander.

SOURCE. Sathas, *MB* 4:388-421. It. tr. U. Criscuolo, *Michele Psello: Orazione in memoria di Costantino Lichudi* (Messina 1983).

LIT. *RegPatr*, fasc. 3, nos. 887-92. Ljubarskij, *Psell* 56-58. A. Michel, "Schisma und Kaiserhof im Jahre 1054: Michael Psellos," *L'Église et les églises*, vol. 1 (Chevetogne 1954) 361-65, 426-28. Skabalanovič, *Gosudarstvo* 390-96. —A.K.

CONSTANTINE IV, emperor (668-85); born ca.650, died Constantinople 10 July (?) 685. In the 19th C. many scholars identified Constantine IV with "Constantine Pogonatos," who in reality was his father, CONSTANS II (E.W. Brooks, *BZ* 17 [1908] 460-62). Proclaimed co-emperor in April 654 by Constans II, Constantine avenged his father's murder by going to Sicily in early 669 and defeating MEZIZIOS (E.W. Brooks, *BZ* 17 [1908] 455-59, rejects Constantine's personal participation). Constantine ruled with his younger brothers Herakleios and Tiberios until 681, when he deposed and mutilated them, probably because of a

conspiracy (E.W. Brooks, *EHR* 30 [1915] 42-51). With them and his son Justinian (II) he is shown in an apse mosaic in S. Apollinare in Classe, presenting privileges to that church (Beckwith, *ECBA*, fig.96).

Throughout his reign Constantine faced external pressures but preferred diplomatic to military responses. The Arabs raided Byz. territory yearly and in 674-78 besieged Constantinople itself, but their defeat compelled MU'AWIYA to sign a 30-year truce on terms favorable to Byz. Shortly thereafter Constantine signed treaties with the Lombards, who had captured Brindisi and Taranto (after 671), and the Avars (*Reg*, nos. 241, 240). In the Balkans Constantine unsuccessfully campaigned against ASPARUCH and formally recognized the Bulgars' settlement south of the Danube, in response to which he created the theme of THRACE. He hoped to end the empire's religious disputes by summoning the Council in TRULLO and personally presided at 12 of its 18 meetings. He also attempted to revalue the bronze coinage by minting an 18-gram FOLLIS. He died of dysentery and was survived by his wife Anastasia and their sons Justinian and Herakleios.

LIT. D. Missiou, "Who was the Constantine in the Inscription no. 8788 CIG IV?" *Byzantina* 13 (1985) 1477-86. I. Barnea, "Sceau de Constantin IV empereur de Byzance trouvé à Durostorum," *Revue roumaine d'histoire* 20 (1981) 625-28. Stratos, *Byzantium* 4:1-171. Kulakovskij, *Istorija* 3:228-52. —P.A.H., A.C.

CONSTANTINE V, emperor (741-75); born Constantinople 718, died Strongylon 14 Sept. 775. Leo III crowned his son Constantine as co-emperor in 720 and in 732 married him to the Khazar khagan's daughter, who took the name Irene and bore him Leo (IV). Constantine's second wife, Maria, died shortly after their marriage ca.750. By a third wife, Eudokia, whom he crowned in 769, Constantine had five sons (including Caesar NIKEPHOROS) and a daughter. After succeeding Leo in 741, Constantine was briefly driven from Constantinople by ARTABASDOS, but regained the throne in Nov. 743. Byz. sources displayed their hostility toward his zealous support of ICONOCLASM by nicknaming him "Kaballinos" ("groom") and "Kopronymos" ("dung-named") for supposedly having defecated while being baptized. Constantine convened a church council at HIERIA in 754 and thereafter persecuted ICONOPHILES in the

bureaucracy, army, and church; his attacks on monks evolved into a campaign against monasticism as an institution. He also rejected the cult of saints, including the intercessory power of the Theotokos, and was hostile to RELICS, except those of the True Cross. In the Life of St. Stephen the Younger (PG 100:1120C), Constantine is indicted for scraping the holy pictures off the walls of the Church of the Virgin at BLACHERNAI. In the provinces he relied on *strategoi* like Michael LACHANODRAKON to execute his iconoclastic and fiscal policies. Constantine wrote treatises on Iconoclasm that survive as his fragmentary *Questions* (*Peuseis*, ed. Ostrogorsky, *Bilderstr.* 7-45).

An outstanding general, Constantine served in 740 with his father at AKROINON. He campaigned frequently against the Slavs and Bulgarians, winning decisive victories at Anchialos in 763 and over TELERIG at LITHOSORIA in 773. He also campaigned successfully against the Arabs, capturing Germanikeia in 746 and Theodosiupolis and Melitene in 752. For resettling captives from Armenia in Thrace, he was blamed for introducing PAULICIANS into the empire (Theoph. 429.19-22). He repopulated Constantinople with families from Greece after a plague in 747. Constantine transferred Sicily, Calabria, and ILLYRICUM from papal to Byz. ecclesiastical jurisdiction, but, by neglecting northern Italy and the Lombards' seizure of Ravenna, he drove the papacy closer to the FRANKS. He created the BOUKELLARION theme and restored the aqueduct of Valens during a drought in Constantinople in 767. He financed his campaigns and enriched the treasury by raising taxes and selling confiscated monastic properties. Constantine was buried in the Church of the Holy Apostles, but in the 9th C. his bones were exhumed, burned, and cast into the sea (Grierson, "Tombs and Obits" 53f).

LIT. S. Gero, *Byzantine Iconoclasm during the Reign of Constantine V* (Louvain 1977). A. Lombard, *Constantin V, empereur des Romains (740-775)* (Paris 1902). C. Zuckerman, "The Reign of Constantine V in the Miracles of St. Theodore the Recruit (*BHG* 1764)," *REB* 46 (1988) 191-210. C. Mango, "St. Anthusa of Mantineon and the Family of Constantine V," *AB* 100 (1982) 401-09. —P.A.H.

CONSTANTINE VI, emperor (780-97); son of Leo IV and Irene; born Constantinople 14 Jan. 771, died before 805 (E.W. Brooks, *BZ* 9 [1900] 655). Leo crowned Constantine VI as co-emperor

in 776, but after Leo's death IRENE ruled as Constantine's regent with STAURAKIOS. In 782 she betrothed Constantine to Rotrud, the daughter of CHARLEMAGNE, but broke the engagement in 788 and married Constantine to Maria from Amnia in the Armeniakon. This reportedly upset Constantine (Theoph. 463.24-27) and likely contributed to his growing animosity toward his mother. He signed the acts of the Second Council of NICAIA (787) condemning ICONOCLASM, but his close association with Michael LACHANODRAKON, with whose help he deposed Irene in Dec. 790, may indicate Iconoclastic leanings. He was an ineffectual ruler, fruitlessly campaigning against the Bulgarians and Arabs in 791 and being severely defeated by the Bulgarians at MARKELLAI in 792. His restoration of Irene in 792 disappointed his supporters. In 792-93 he thwarted a conspiracy in favor of his uncle, Caesar NIKEPHOROS, and at Irene's urging blinded Alexios MOSELE, thereby aggravating an uprising in the Armeniakon, which he cruelly suppressed. He instigated the MOECHIAN CONTROVERSY in 795 by divorcing Maria, who had given him two daughters, and marrying his mistress Theodote. Undermined by Irene and Staurakios, he was dethroned and blinded on 19 Apr. 797 (S. Pétridès, *EO* 4 [1900-01] 72-75). He died in exile and was buried in Irene's monastery of St. Euphrosyne (Grierson, "Tombs and Obits" 54f). Constantine's only recorded monumental portrait was a mosaic at the Church of the Virgin of PEGE, together with one of his mother.

LIT. Treadgold, *Byz. Revival* 60-110. D. Misiou, "Stadia basileias Konstantinou ΣΤ' kai Eirenes kai ta nomismata tous," *Byzantiaka* 1 (1981) 139-56. P. Speck, *Kaiser Konstantin VI*. (Munich 1978). Ostrogorsky, *History* 176-81.
-P.A.H., A.C.

CONSTANTINE VII PORPHYROGENNETOS, emperor of the MACEDONIAN DYNASTY (945-59); born 17 or 18 May 905, died Constantinople 9 Nov. 959. His birth to LEO VI and ZOE KARBONOPSINA provoked the conflict over the TETRAGAMY OF LEO VI. Crowned co-emperor probably on 15 May 908 (P. Grierson-R. Jenkins, *Byzantion* 32 [1962] 133-38), he was excluded from power for almost four decades, successively dominated by ALEXANDER, NICHOLAS I MYSTIKOS and Zoe, and ROMANOS I, whose daughter Helen married Constantine in May 919. His independent rule



CONSTANTINE VII PORPHYROGENNETOS. The emperor crowned by Christ; ivory, 10th C. State Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow.

began only after Romanos's sons were deposed on 27 Jan. 945. Dismissing Romanos's supporters, Constantine sought the assistance of aristocratic families such as PHOKAS. A contemporary source (TheophCont 456.14-16) asserts that Constantine surrounded himself with noblemen (*eugeneis*) on whom he bestowed titles and gifts, while another (Skyl. 237.14) reports that the emperor chose his functionaries regardless of their noble merits (*ouk aristinden*).

In his legislation Constantine proclaimed a complete rupture with his predecessor's policy: he called Romanos's officials and generals venal and unwarlike (Zepos, *Jus* 1:226.5) and tried to alleviate (*kouphisai*) the tax burden that his father-in-law had required the peasantry to bear

(TheophCont 443.13-18). In fact, however, Constantine's novels, written predominantly by THEODORE OF DEKAPOLIS, retained principles of Romanos I's legislation, such as the concept of the protection of the poor from the DYNATOI; he made, however, certain concessions to small *archontes* and small monasteries. Especially important in this respect was a novel (now lost) mentioned in Theodore's decision of 960/1: in it, Constantine, responding to the request of the military *archontes* (Zepos, *Jus* 1:239.19), obliged even the poorest peasants to compensate the illegal buyers of their allotments; they were allowed, however, five years for this repayment.

Constantine fought against the Arabs without great success. The expedition to Crete in 949 was a failure, and although his armies seized GERMANIKEIA in 949 and crossed the Euphrates in 952, they were subsequently defeated by SAYF AL-DAWLA. NIKEPHOROS (II) PHOKAS led the offensive from 954 and in 957 captured Hadat; in 958 JOHN (I) TZIMISKES conquered Samosata. Despite the baptism of OL'GA, princess of Kiev, and her visit to Constantinople, Constantine was unable to establish a strong alliance with the Rus'.

Constantine contributed much to the systematization of knowledge and encouraged the compilation of encyclopedic works such as *Excerpta de legationibus* (see EXCERPTA) and *GEOPONIKA*; he also encouraged historical writing intended to eulogize BASIL I and thereby present Basil's predecessors as inept villains. This aim was achieved by the anonymous author of the *Imperial Histories*, ascribed to a certain GENESIOS, and by a collection conventionally called THEOPHANES CONTINUATUS. Constantine collaborated in several works on the empire's administrative system and foreign relations that are preserved under his name: *DE ADMINISTRANDO IMPERIO*, *DE THEMATIBUS*, and *DE CEREMONIIS*. To his literary heritage also belong several speeches, letters (e.g., correspondence with THEODORE OF KYZIKOS), and specimens of liturgical poetry.

Constantine's reputation as guiding spirit of the so-called Macedonian Renaissance is based on the *prooimion* of the continuators of Theophanes (TheophCont 3.15-4.1), who declare that the emperor brought a *palinzoia* ("new life") and *palin-genesia* ("rebirth") to what had been lost in the course of time. The same source (450.12-20) tells of Constantine's "accurate" painting and his role

as "corrector" of stonemasons, carpenters, goldsmiths, silversmiths, etc., and attributes numerous works to his hand (447.1-450.11). LIUTPRAND OF CREMONA (*Antapodosis* 3.37) confirms also that Constantine engaged in *zograpia*, that is, that he worked as a painter. Constantine's portrait is found on an ivory plaque in Moscow (Goldschmidt-Weitzmann, *Elfenbeinskulpt.* II, no.35) and perhaps on a MANDYLION icon at Sinai.

LIT. A. Toynbee, *Constantine Porphyrogenitus and His World* (London 1973). A. Rambaud, *L'empire grec au dixième siècle, Constantin Porphyrogénète* (Paris 1870; rp. New York 1963). A. Kazhdan, "He epoche tou Konstantinou Z' Porphyrogennetou," *Diabazo* 129 (1985) 17-20. J. Ripoché, "Constantin VII Porphyrogénète et sa politique hongroise au milieu du Xe siècle," *SüdostF* 36 (1977) 1-12. Lemerle, *Humanism* 309-46.
-A.K., A.C.

CONSTANTINE VIII, emperor (1025-28); born 960/1, died Constantinople 12 Nov. 1028, according to YAHYA. Son of Romanos II, Constantine was crowned co-emperor probably 30 Mar. 962 (Oikonomides, *Documents*, pt.XIII [1965], 173-76). During the reign of his elder brother BASIL II, he lived in idleness. He married Helena, daughter of Alypius, who bore him three daughters: Eudokia (who became a nun), ZOE, and THEODORA. Upon succeeding his brother, Constantine continued his devotion to chariot racing and theatrical spectacles, although he did enjoy the imperial duty of receiving embassies. He was strongly influenced by his household EUNUCHS, capricious, and prone to inflict blinding on the slightest excuse. Among his apparently innocent victims were Constantine BOURTZES, Nikephoros Komnenos, and Basil SKLEROS. Because Basil II had allowed two years of tax arrears to accrue, Constantine collected the taxes for five years in three. He considered annulling the ALLELENGYON that Basil had imposed but did not live to do this. His general Constantine Diogenes repelled an attack by PECHENEGS, and George Theodorakanos defeated a Muslim naval incursion. On his deathbed, Constantine married Zoe to the future Romanos III.

Generally accepted as portraits of Constantine and Basil II are the co-emperors in the Bari Exultet Roll (Archivio della Cattedrale 1). If this is so, it is, apart from his coins, the only portrait known of Constantine.

LIT. M. Canard, "Les sources arabes de l'histoire byzantine aux confins des X^e et XI^e siècles," *REB* 19 (1961)

284–314. Skabalanovič, *Gosudarstvo* 1–14. S.A. Kamer, "Emperors and Aristocrats in Byzantium, 976–1081" (Ph.D. diss., Harvard Univ., 1983) 158–73. —C.M.B., A.C.

CONSTANTINE IX MONOMACHOS (*Μονομάχος*), emperor (1042–1055); born ca.1000, died Constantinople 7/8 Jan. (*Kleinchroniken* 1:159, 167) or 11 Jan. (Grumel, *Chronologie* 358; Ostrogorsky, *History* 337) 1055. From a distinguished family, Constantine was exiled to Mytilene by MICHAEL IV. He was recalled to wed ZOE (11 June 1042) and crowned the next day; their mosaic portraits survive in Hagia Sophia, Constantinople. He enjoyed the support of the commercial classes of Constantinople; leading merchants became senators. He also gathered around him such intellectuals as future Patr. CONSTANTINE (III) LEICHOUDS, future Patr. JOHN (VIII) XIPHILINOS, Michael PSELLOS, and John MAUROPOUS, whose epigrams describe two images of Constantine. A law school was established under Xiphilinos, and Psellos became HYPATOS TON PHILOSOPHON.

Constantine extravagantly maintained his mistress, SKLERAINA, and her successor, an "Alan" (Georgian) princess. He converted into taxpayers peasants in "IBERIA" who had owed military service and substituted mercenaries. A moderately adulterated NOMISMA perhaps facilitated commerce (Morrisson, "Dévaluation" 6f). These policies alienated the military aristocracy. The revolts of George MANIAKES and Leo TORNIKIOS were overcome with great difficulty.

Constantine experienced some successes over foreigners: the Rus' of JAROSLAV of Kiev were defeated (Shepard, "Russians Attack" 147–212), and GAGIK II yielded Ani. Nonetheless, the frontiers proved porous: the Turks of TUGHRUL BEG devastated eastern Anatolia, the PECHENEGS occupied the Danubian plain and ravaged Thrace, and the NORMANS advanced in southern Italy. Late in his reign, these disasters caused Constantine to dismiss Xiphilinos and other intellectuals. He turned to the eunuch John, who instituted harsh taxation. In his final year, Constantine could not control Patr. MICHAEL I KEROULARIOS.

Psellos's *Chronographia* vividly depicts Constantine's personality; later Byz. writers blamed his extravagant policies for the ensuing collapse of Byz. Among his lavish foundations were the monastery of the NEA MONE on Chios and the monastery at MANGANA, built near the house where

Skleraina lived. MSS presumably commissioned by Constantine include a rich copy of the homilies of John Chrysostom (Sinai gr. 364) that contains a frontispiece showing the emperor between Zoe and THEODORA (Spatharakis, *Portrait*, fig.66).

LIT. Lemerle, *Cinq études* 268–71, 285–90. Ohnsorge, *Abend. & Byz.* 317–32. Idem, *Ost-Rom und der Westen* (Darmstadt 1983) 207–18. Mouriki, *Nea Moni* 24–29. —C.M.B., A.C.

CONSTANTINE X DOUKAS, emperor (1059–67); born ca.1006, died Constantinople 22/3 May 1067. An Anatolian magnate, Constantine was briefly imprisoned, then retired to his estates when his father-in-law Constantine DALASSENOS was arrested (1034). In 1057 Constantine supported the rebellion of the future ISAAC I KOMNENOS. Through his second wife, EUDOKIA MAKREMBOLITISSA, a niece of Patr. MICHAEL I KEROULARIOS, he was allied to the opponents of MICHAEL VI STRATIOTIKOS within Constantinople. During Isaac's reign, Constantine supported those hostile to Isaac's reforms (E. Stănescu, *RESEE* 4 [1966] 55–69). Nevertheless, through the influence of Michael PSELLOS, Constantine was designated emperor by the dying Isaac and crowned on 23/4 Nov. 1059. He undid Isaac's reforms, restoring many to office and promoting leading guild members to the senate. Soldiers who felt neglected sought to enter the civil hierarchy (Attal. 76.10–12). He avoided a plot (Apr. 1061) led by the eparch of Constantinople (D. Polemis, *BZ* 58 [1965] 61f). His generosity to monasteries and individuals required heavy taxation, which inspired rebellion (1066) in northern Greece (G. Litavrin, *VizVrem* 11 [1956] 123–34). Constantine could barely rally 150 soldiers to oppose an incursion of UZES across the Danube (1064–65). Turkish raiders overran the eastern boundaries, and ALP ARSLAN seized Ani. Constantine's reign was deemed disastrous by Attaleiates; even Psellos was critical. At his death, the augusta Eudokia took power on behalf of her sons (N. Oikonomides, *Documents*, pt.III [1963], 102). She had already held the place of honor (the spectator's left) on FOLLEIS of Constantine's reign. Their joint portraits appear in a badly damaged miniature in a copy of the *Sacra Parallela* (Spatharakis, *Portrait*, fig.68). Constantine's best-preserved likeness, again with Eudokia, is on a reliquary of St. Demetrios in Moscow (*Iskusstvo Vizantij* 2, no.547).

LIT. Polemis, *Doukai* 28–34, no.12. M. Angold, *The Byzantine Empire 1025–1204* (London–New York 1984) 16–32, 53–56, 61–74. —C.M.B., A.C.

CONSTANTINE XI PALAIOLOGOS, emperor (12 Mar. 1449–29 May 1453); born Constantinople 8 Feb. 1405, died Constantinople 29 May 1453. Last member of the Palaiologan dynasty and final ruler of the Byz. Empire, Constantine was the fourth son of MANUEL II and Helena Dragaš. He is sometimes called Constantine XII because of the erroneous supposition that Constantine Laskaris was crowned emperor in Apr. 1204 (cf. Brand, *Byzantium* 258 and 381, n.58). Constantine came to the Morea in 1428 to share the despotate with his brothers THEODORE II and THOMAS PALAIOLOGOS; he ruled as *despotes* for 20 years. He significantly strengthened the Byz. position by the restoration of the HEXAMILION (1444) and the conquest of Patras (1429), Athens, and Thebes (1444). His dream of reasserting control over Greece, however, was destroyed by the Ottoman campaign of 1446. Since both of Constantine's older brothers, Theodore and Andronikos, predeceased him, he inherited the throne upon the death of the childless JOHN VIII. He was crowned at Mistra on 6 Jan. 1449 and began his reign in March when he reached Constantinople. He did not receive a second coronation in Hagia Sophia.

As a pragmatist Constantine accepted the Union of Florence, in the hope of gaining military assistance from the West. During his short reign he made several desperate appeals to European rulers (R. Guillard, *EEBS* 22 [1952] 60–74 and *BS* 14 [1953] 226–44). He did not implement the Union, however, until 12 Dec. 1452. Constantine fought bravely during the Ottoman siege of Constantinople and was killed on the ramparts during the final Turkish assault. He died without heir, since his two marriages were childless.

LIT. Papadopoulos, *Genealogie*, no.95. Zakythinos, *Despotat* 1:204–47. M. Carroll, "Constantine XI Palaeologus: Some Problems of Image," in *Maistor* 329–43. —A.M.T.

CONSTANTINE BODIN (*Βοδίνος*), called Peter by the Bulgarians, king of Duklja (DIOKLEIA) after ca.1081; died 1101 or 1108. In 1072 Constantine was sent by his father, Michael, son of Stephen VOISLAV, to support George VOITECH. At Prizren

Constantine was acclaimed *basileus* of Bulgaria, but the Byz. defeated and captured him. Rescued or ransomed, he returned to Duklja ca.1078. When ROBERT GUISCARD attacked Dyrrachion, Constantine led an army purportedly to assist Alexios I, but at the battle on 18 Oct. 1081 he withheld his troops until the Norman triumph was clear, then led them away unscathed. Between 1085 and 1091, John Doukas, governor of Dyrrachion, defeated Constantine and according to Anna Komnene captured him. In 1092–94 Alexios I waged campaigns in Raška and ZETA, which weakened Constantine's realm. The PRIEST OF DIOKLEIA mentions Constantine's strife with his relatives, which also contributed to the weakening of his power.

LIT. A. Petrov, "Knjaz' Konstantin Bodin," *Sbornik V. I. Lamanskogo* (St. Petersburg 1883) 239–64. B. Radojčić, "Peri tes exergeseos tou Konstantinou Mpontin," 12 *CEB* (Belgrade 1964) 2:185–87. —C.M.B., A.K.

CONSTANTINE DRAGAŠ (*Δραγάσης*), Serbian nobleman and autonomous ruler; died 17 May 1395. Together with his brother John Dragaš (died 1378/9), he ruled a large region of north-eastern Macedonia, inherited from their father the *sebastokrator* and *despotes* Dejan (Ferjančić, *Despoti* 168–70). He was called *gospodin* (lord) in Serbian documents, *kyr* (*Koutloun.*, no.40.15) or *authentes* (MM 2:260.8) in Greek texts. It is a matter of dispute whether he was ever given the title "despotes of Serbia" (cf. J. Darrouzès, *REB* 27 [1969] 62.72–73 and n.; Ostrogorsky, *infra* 288f). With their mother Theodora-Eudokia, sister of Stefan Uroš IV Dušan, the Dragaš brothers generously endowed monasteries on Mt. Athos, esp. Hilandar, Panteleemon, and Vatopedi (S. Novaković, *Zakonski spomenici* [Belgrade 1912] 446–48, 452–57, 510–15, 676, 738–40). After the battle of MARICA in 1371, Constantine and John were forced to become vassals of Murad I; Constantine was fighting on the side of the Turks when he fell in battle at ROVINE. His lands were subsequently annexed by the Ottoman Empire.

Despite their Ottoman vassalage, the Dragaš brothers maintained close relations with Byz. Probably after 1386, Constantine took as his second wife Eudokia Komnene, daughter of Alexios III of Trebizond (I. Djurić, *ZRVI* 22 [1983] 259–72), and in 1392 he gave Helena, his daughter by his first wife, in marriage to Manuel II Palaiologos. Their son Constantine XI bore the family

name Dragases in addition to Palaiologos. Helena died on 13 Mar. 1450 as the nun Hypomone; several Byz. rhetoricians wrote funeral orations in her memory.

LIT. Soulis, *Dušan* 100–102. G. Ostrogorsky, "Gospodin Konstantin Dragaš," *ZbFilozFak* 7.1 (1963) 287–94. H. Matanov, *Jugozapadnité bulgarski zemi prez XIV vek* (Sofia 1986) 115–28. —J.S.A.

CONSTANTINE LASKARIS. See under **CONSTANTINE XI PALAIOLOGOS**.

CONSTANTINE OF KERKYRA, theologian condemned in Jan. and Feb. 1170 for his heretical interpretation of John 14:28, "The Father is greater than I." Stressing the hypostatical unity of the Father and the Son, Constantine denied that the Son was inferior on account of the real and concrete humanity which he assumed in the incarnation (*RegPatr*, fasc. 3, no.1113). According to V. Grumel (*EO* 28 [1929] 283–94), Constantine wrote the treatise *On the Orthodox Creed* (*Napisanie o pravoj vere*) preserved in Old Church Slavonic and ascribed to **CONSTANTINE THE PHILOSOPHER**; S. Kos (*De auctore expositionis verae fidei S. Constantino Cyrillo adscriptae* [Ljubljana 1942]; cf. B. Schultze, *OrChrP* 9 [1943] 229–31) rejects this identification and considers the author a disciple of **METHODIOS**, perhaps **KLIMENT OF OHRID**. Even more questionable is the identification of Constantine with Constantine Bykinator, an official (*kanstrisios*) of Hagia Sophia and archbishop of Bulgaria mentioned by Michael Gazes in 1203 (C. Giannelli, *EEBS* 23 [1953] 224–32).

LIT. J. Gouillard, "Synodikon" 221f. —A.K.

CONSTANTINE OF RHODES, poet; born ca.870 or 880 at Lindos, Rhodes, died after 931. Constantine began his civil career as secretary of **SAMONAS** and his literary career as a satiric poet, accusing **LEO CHOIROSPHAKTES** of paganism and mocking a eunuch called Theodore the Paphlagonian. Later, as Constantine VII's *asekretis*, he produced an *ekphrasis* (surviving perhaps in an unfinished form) consisting of two sections: descriptions of the Seven Wonders of Constantinople and of the Church of the **HOLY APOSTLES**. In full conformity with the encyclopedic tendencies

of 10th-C. literature, his descriptions are a catalog of elements rather than an emotional perception of the achievements of architects and painters (A. Epstein, *GRBS* 23 [1982] 81f). Constantine's description of the Seven Wonders was used by **KEDRENOS**, probably through an intermediary source. His satiric poems are inelegant, being essentially lists of the base qualities of his opponents.

ED. E. Legrand, "Description des oeuvres d'art et de l'Église des saints Apôtres à Constantinople par Constantin le Rhodien," *REGr* 9 (1896) 36–65. G. Begleri, *Chram svjatykh Apostolov i drugie pamjatniki Konstantinopolja po opisaniju Konstantina Rodija* (Odessa 1896), corr. G. Bartelink, *Byzantion* 46 (1976) 425f. Matranga, *AnecGr* 2:624–32.

LIT. G. Downey, "Constantine the Rhodian: His Life and Writings," *LCMS* 212–21. —A.K.

CONSTANTINE OF SICILY, 9th-C. poet, named also *grammatikos* and philosopher. He wrote *Anacreontic* verses to which Krumbacher (*GBL* 723) ascribes a vivid naturalness. Constantine mentions Arab attacks on Sicily. Lemerle (*Humanism* 199–200, n.95) attributes to him, although reluctantly, a poem in which the author regards **PHOTIOS** as his teacher. Constantine was also involved in a polemic against his teacher, **LEO the Philosopher**; his vitriolic verses charge **LEO** with paganism and threaten him with Hell, where he will meet his friends, ancient poets and scholars. The identification of both Constantine and **LEO** is difficult: Lipšic (*Očerki* 355) is inclined to see in **LEO the Philosopher** **LEO CHOIROSPHAKTES** and to connect Constantine's invectives with the polemic of **ARETHAS** and **CONSTANTINE OF RHODES** against the latter; Lemerle identifies Constantine's teacher with **LEO the MATHEMATICIAN**. M.D. Spadaro (*infra* 183–92) hypothesizes that the author of the polemical verses was **CONSTANTINE THE PHILOSOPHER**.

ED. M.D. Spadaro, "Sulle composizioni di Costantino il Filosofo del Vaticano 915," *SicGymn* 24 (1971) 198–202. Cramer, *Anec.Gr.Paris.*, vol. 4 (Oxford 1841) 380–83. Matranga, *AnecGr* 2:689–98.

LIT. R. Anastasi, "Costantino Siculo e Leone il Filosofo," *SicGymn* 16 (1963) 84–89. —A.K.

CONSTANTINE THE JEW, saint; born Synada, Phrygia, died on Bithynian Mt. Olympus 26 Dec., after 886. Born to a Jewish family, Constantine adopted Christianity. His conversion began when he spontaneously imitated a merchant who crossed

his mouth while yawning; "the power of the sign" was such that Constantine without baptism acquired a fervent belief in Christ (cols. 629F–630A). Constantine's relatives forced him to marry, but on his wedding night he fled to the Phlouboute monastery near Nicaea, where he was baptized, became a monk, and stayed 12 years. He was ordained a priest and tried to convert Jews living in Nicaea. When Constantine attempted to move to Olympos, he was brought back as a fugitive and put in chains. Prompted by St. Spyridon in a vision, Constantine traveled via Attaleia to Cyprus and returned with a relic, the right hand of Palamon (an otherwise unknown martyr), which he gave to the monastery of St. Hyakinthos at Nicaea. Although he settled on Olympos (at Atroa, later at Bolion-Balaïos), he still attempted to influence affairs in Constantinople: he supposedly reconciled the emperors Basil I and Leo VI.

His anonymous Life, apparently written during **LEO's** reign, eulogizes the emperor (648F); since the author, in describing the region of Nicaea, speaks of "our desert" (645C), he must have belonged to a Nicaean monastic community. He sympathizes with the upper stratum of the provincial population and stresses that Constantine found support first of all among "those who were noble by nature and fortune and earthly distinction" (644A–B). The hagiographer avoids vivid detail, but the miracles are unusual—a girl who tried to seduce Constantine fainted at the sign of the cross; some books fell from Constantine's pouch into a torrent, but were brought to his feet undamaged. No mere humble compiler, the author incessantly comments upon his story, asserts that his hero deserves an exquisite *logos*, not a mediocre composition (628C), and boasts that no one could have done the job much better than himself (651C).

SOURCES. AASS Nov. 4:628–56. *Synax.CP* 345f.

LIT. BHG 370. Starr, *Jews* 119–22. —A.K.

CONSTANTINE THE PHILOSOPHER (monastic name Cyril), missionary to the Slavs and saint; born Thessalonike 826/7, died Rome 14 Feb. 869; feastday 14 Feb. Constantine and his brother **METHODIOS** were the sons of the *droungarios* **LEO** and **MARIA**, who may have been a Slav. Displaying remarkable intelligence as a youth (he reputedly memorized the works of Gregory of Nazianzos),

ca.842 Constantine journeyed to Constantinople, where he gained the favor of the eunuch **THEOKTISTOS** and received an advanced education; the tradition that he studied philosophy under **LEO the MATHEMATICIAN** and **PHOTIOS** is, however, disputed (Lemerle, *Humanism* 185–91). He was ordained priest and became *chartophylax* of Hagia Sophia under Patr. Ignatios, but was later appointed a teacher of philosophy at the school of the **MAGNAURA**. His legendary erudition brought him prominence: he reportedly defined **PHILOSOPHY** in secular terms for Theoktistos (I. Ševčenko in *For Roman Jakobson* [The Hague 1956] 449–57), bested **JOHN VII GRAMMATIKOS** in a debate over **ICONOCLASM**, learned Hebrew, disputed Muslim theologians at the caliph's court at Samarra, and debated Jewish spokesmen before the khagan of the **KHAZARS**.

In 863 Michael sent him and his brother **METHODIOS** to **MORAVIA** to comply with the request of **RASTISLAV** for missionaries. In preparation, Constantine devised the **GLAGOLITIC** alphabet and a literary language, **CHURCH SLAVONIC**, into which he translated numerous Greek works, including the so-called liturgy of John Chrysostom, selected daily offices, the Psalter, the New Testament, and perhaps **LEO III's ECLOGA**. In Moravia, Constantine and **METHODIOS** organized a native church using the local Slavic tongue, but under pressure from the Frankish clergy they journeyed to Rome in 867, where Constantine died, having been tonsured shortly before his death. He was buried in the Church of St. Clement, whose relics he had discovered in Cherson in 860 and brought to Rome. His 9th-C. Church Slavonic vita, perhaps composed by **METHODIOS**, draws heavily on Greek sources (I. Ševčenko in *To Honor Roman Jakobson*, vol. 3 [The Hague 1967] 1817). The existence of Constantine's original Greek works, esp. concerned with St. Clement's relics, can only be deduced from references or surviving fragments in Church Slavonic sources.

SOURCES. T. Lehr-Splawiński, *Żywoty Konstantyna i Metodego* (Poznań 1959) 3–93. F. Grivec, F. Tomšić, *Constantinus et Methodius Thessalonicenses: Fontes* (Zagreb 1960).

LIT. *Kirilometodiuska bibliografija 1940–1980*, ed. I. Dujčev et al. (Sofia 1983). V. Vavřínek, B. Zástěrová, "Byzantium's Role in the Formation of Great Moravian Culture," *BS* 43 (1982) 161–88. F. Dvornik, *Les légendes de Constantin et de Méthode vues de Byzance*² (Hattiesburg, Miss., 1969). Idem, *Byzantine Missions among the Slavs* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1970) 53–145. Vlasto, *Entry* 26–66. —P.A.H.

CONSTANTINE TICH, Bulgarian monarch (1257-77), whose reign coincided with a period of bitter internal feuding and repeated foreign invasions. After the murder of Tsar Michael Asen and the brief reign of Sebastokrator Koloman (probably murdered), Constantine was proclaimed tsar by a group of boyars. No sooner had he suppressed a revolt by a certain Mico, son-in-law of John Asen II, than he was faced by a Hungarian invasion, in which he lost much of northwestern Bulgaria to the Hungarians. By dynastic marriages, successively to Irene, daughter of Theodore II Laskaris, and to Maria, niece of Michael VIII, Constantine sought in vain to assure himself of Byz. support. In 1263 the Byz. invaded Thrace, took PHILIPPOLIS, and advanced toward Sofia, but the Hungarians drove them back. In desperation Constantine made an alliance with the MONGOL Golden Horde in southern Russia. Their combined forces advanced nearly to Constantinople, but when the Mongols withdrew with their booty, Constantine had to fall back empty-handed. Exploiting Bulgarian weakness, the Hungarians extended their rule and that of their Bulgarian puppet Svetoslav. All that was left to Constantine was the territory between the Danube and the Balkan range east of the river Iskŭr, and from 1271 even that was regularly raided by the Mongols, with whom Michael VIII had allied. By the end of his reign Constantine was a virtual vassal of the Mongols.

LIT. Fine, *Late Balkans* 172-183. P.S. Srećković, "Rasprijava o Konstantinu Tehu," *Srpska Kraljevska Akademija, Glas* 2 (1888) 1-90. Zlatarski, *Ist.*, vol. 3 (1940) 476-551.
-R.B.

CONSTANTINOPLE. [This entry treats the history and development of the city of Constantinople. For a discussion of its public monuments, city walls, and cisterns, see **CONSTANTINOPLE, MONUMENTS OF**. The capture of the city by the Turks is treated in **CONSTANTINOPLE, SIEGE AND FALL OF**. Individual monasteries and churches are the subject of independent entries.]

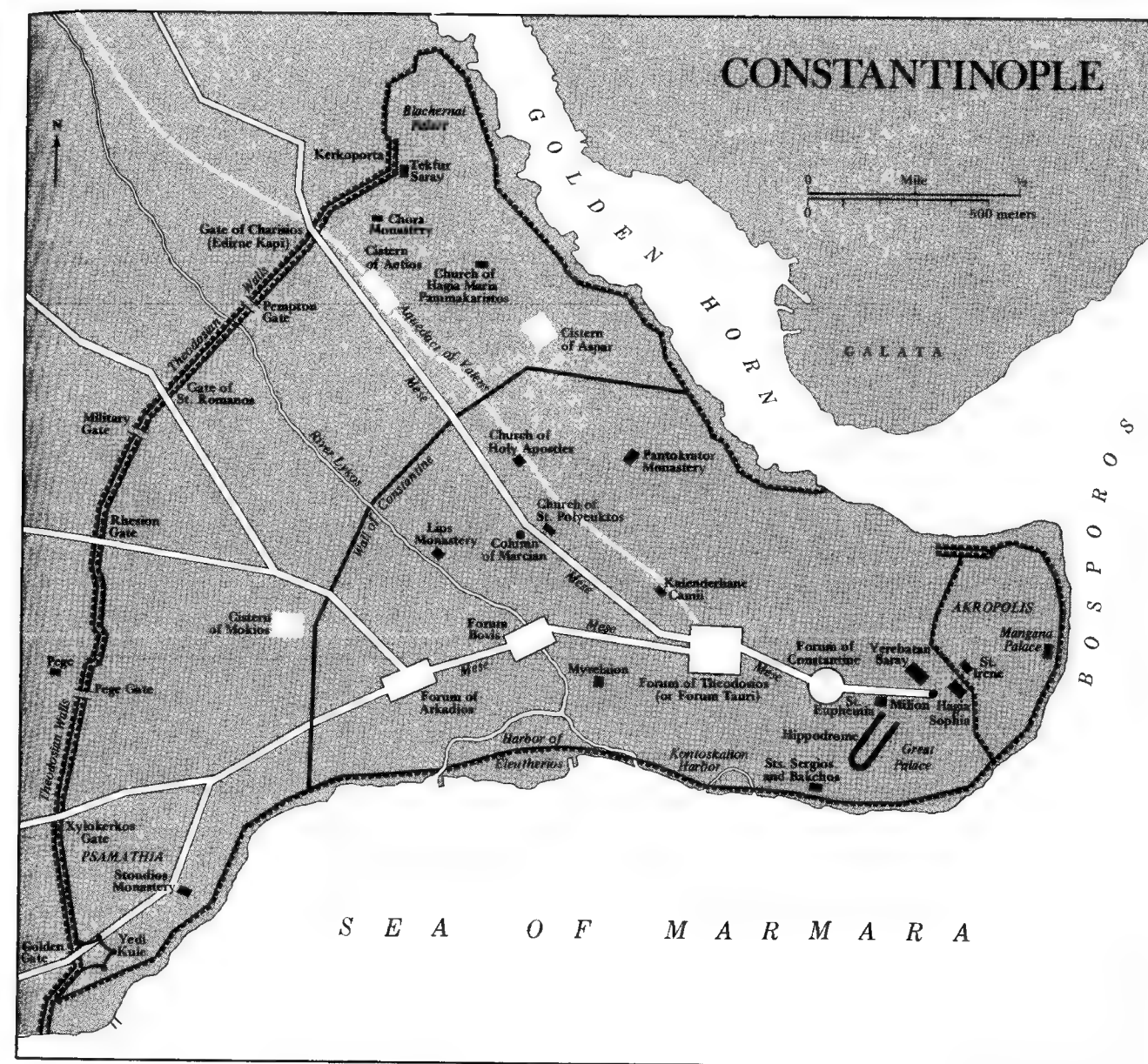
Capital of the Byz. Empire, Constantinople (*Κωνσταντινούπολις*, Turk. Istanbul) was founded by Constantine I in 324 on the site of the Greek city of BYZANTION and dedicated on 11 May 330. The creation of imperial seats of government in the provinces was in line with the policy of the Tetrarchy; Diocletian had already established his

residence in nearby NIKOMEDEIA. If Constantine was not satisfied with Nikomedeia, it was probably because he considered Byzantion to be strategically more advantageous. It commanded access to the Black Sea and lay at the juncture of two military highways, the European Via EGNATIA and the road leading from CHALCEDON to Nikomedeia and points farther east. Yet the site of Byzantion also had the great weakness of being unprotected on the landward side by any natural barrier—a factor that came into play barely 50 years later and posed thereafter a constant threat.

Constantinople was formed by the expansion of Byzantium. The new center of imperial authority, consisting of the complex of the GREAT PALACE and HIPPODROME, was placed within the ancient city. From there a colonnaded street, already built by Septimius Severus, ran to the old city gate. Constantine laid out a circular forum outside the gate and continued the main artery (later named MESE) in a straight line westward. About 1.2 km west of the forum a Capitolium was set up. There the street forked, one arm extending southwest to the Golden Gate (near the mosque Isakapı Mescidi; to be distinguished from the Theodosian GOLDEN GATE), the other northwest to meet a new line of walls that described an arc from the Propontis to the Golden Horn, roughly from the modern quarter of Samatya (PSAMATHIA) to that of Cibali. No maritime defenses were put up since at the time there was no threat from the sea.

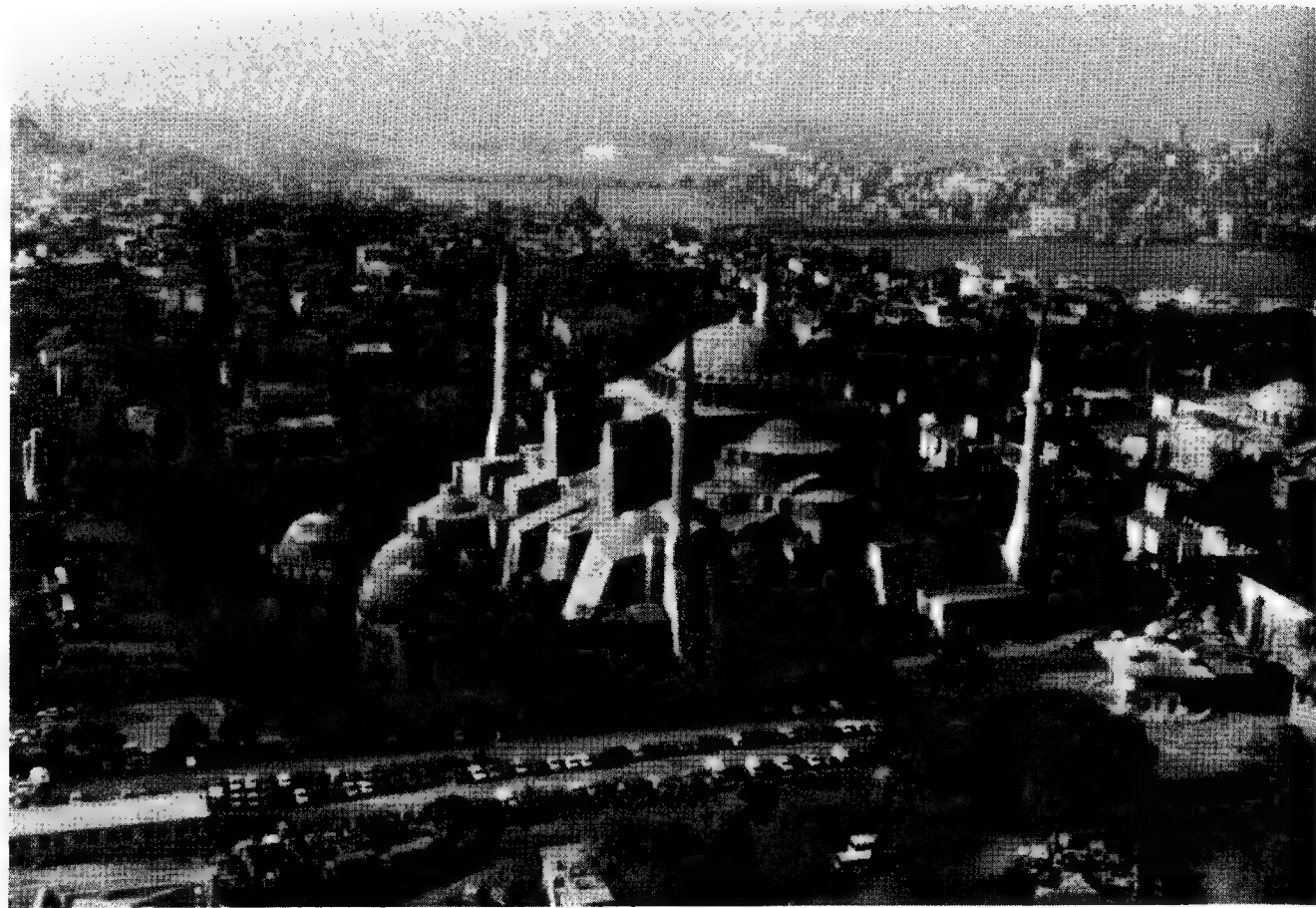
Constantine envisaged a sharp increase in the population and made arrangements for grain supply from Egypt amounting to 80,000 rations—perhaps a target rather than the figure requisite at the time. Indeed, the population did climb steeply in the 4th–5th C., a process that is reflected in gradually expanded harbor capacity, granaries, and water supply. It is difficult to determine when it reached its peak or to estimate a maximal population figure (opinions have ranged between 250,000 and 1,000,000). Clearly, so large a center of consumption could be maintained only thanks to a complex and potentially vulnerable system of provisioning dependent on Egypt. In addition to the subsidized supply of BREAD (and oil?) such comforts as were expected in the biggest cities (i.e., luxurious public baths and entertainment in theaters and the circus) attracted people to Constantinople.

The oft-repeated statement that Constantine



willed his new residence to have from the start a purely Christian character is not substantiated by the evidence. The old pagan temples on the Acropolis and elsewhere were not disturbed and the Capitolium, which may be attributed to Constantine, had a clearly pagan character. Constantine probably built no more than three churches: St. IRENE to serve as cathedral, and two martyria dedicated to local martyrs, St. Akakios (near the Golden Horn) and St. MOKIOS in the cemetery area outside the land walls. The Church of the HOLY APOSTLES was built by Constantius II next to Constantine's mausoleum.

The Gothic invasion and the defeat of the emperor Valens at Adrianople (378) served to underline the vulnerability of Constantinople and necessitated new defensive measures, esp. to protect the water supply only recently guaranteed by the construction of a network of *AQUEDUCTS* extending as far as Bizye in Thrace and possibly farther west, a distance of some 100 km. It was probably to this end, and not because of a multiplication of exposed suburbs, that by 413 the land walls were extended 1.5 km to the west of the Constantinian circuit. The wide belt of land that was added to the city appears to have been sparsely



CONSTANTINOPLE. Hagia Sophia and the Golden Horn, viewed from the southeast. To the right, the Church of St. Irene. The bridges lead across to Galata.

populated and much of it was taken up by cemeteries. Three enormous open-air cisterns were there—with a total capacity of approximately 1,000,000 sq. m—those of Aetios (421), Aspar (459), and St. Mokios (ascribed to Anastasios I). Somewhat later, a forward defensive line was built from SELYMBRIA to the Black Sea at a distance of 65 km from the city: this was the so-called Anastasian or LONG WALL, 45 km long. Fairly effective for a time, it was abandoned in the 7th C. because of the difficulty of keeping it manned and repaired.

The emperors of the Theodosian line made a sustained effort to embellish Constantinople and provide it with further public works such as granaries and the great Theodosian harbor on the Propontis. Simultaneously members of their family and government officials invested heavily in real estate, building for themselves mansions of princely magnificence. The only extant statistical

account of the city, the NOTITIA URBIS CONSTANTINOPOLITANAE, dates from this period (ca.425): it describes briefly the 14 urban Regions and lists the principal monuments contained in each one. Twelve of the Regions were within the Constantinian walls; the 13th was at Sykai (GALATA), the 14th at an unknown location (Eyüb?) up the Golden Horn. All in all there were 5 palaces, 14 churches, 8 public and 153 private baths, 4 forums, 4 harbors, 52 major colonnaded streets, 322 other streets, and 4,388 *domus* (substantial masonry houses?). Multistorey tenement houses clearly existed, for their height was limited by law to 100 ft., and specific regulations protected the right to a view of the sea, governed the distance between houses, the width of streets, etc. (*Cod. Just.* VIII 10.12, reign of Zeno). Constantinople was becoming overcrowded.

The second half of the 5th C. ushered in a period of mounting civil strife and frequent FIRES,

the most serious being that of 465, which destroyed about half the city. Circus riots became common: the NIKA REVOLT of 532 left the center of the city in ashes—allowing Justinian I to indulge his passion for building. Prokopios (*Buildings*, bk.1) provides a detailed description of Justinian's (and Justin I's) constructions, which suggests, apart from such public buildings as had to be rebuilt after the fire, a shift towards churches, 33 of which are mentioned. The churches built or rebuilt under Justinian include HAGIA SOPHIA, Sts. SERGIOS AND BAKCHOS, and St. Irene. Another large church built in the Justinianic period was St. POLYEUKTOS. The population of the city was, however, gravely depleted, perhaps halved by the PLAGUE of 542.

Building activity at Constantinople continued until ca.600, then ground to a halt. In 618 grain supply from Egypt was permanently discontinued. In 626 Constantinople suffered its first siege, the cutting of its major source of water (restored only in 768), and the devastation of both its European and Asiatic suburbs. In 674–78 Arab fleets blockaded it. In 715 Anastasios II, foreseeing another Arab attack, expelled all inhabitants who were unable to lay up provisions for three years: only a shrunken population could have survived the Arab siege of 717–18. In 740 a terrible earthquake threw down a considerable portion of the walls; the catastrophic plague of 747 followed.

Practically no building, other than defensive, is recorded for the period ca.600–ca.780. By the end of the period of Iconoclasm, Constantinople must have had a population of a few tens of thousands living amid the ruins of past glories. Only one public granary appears to have survived, and one harbor (out of four) continued to function for nonmilitary purposes. The great public baths and theaters were abandoned. Limited construction was resumed under Irene; Theophilos repaired the sea walls; Basil I undertook a sustained effort of rebuilding mostly churches that had fallen into ruin (31 are named). The pattern of imperial munificence, already foreshadowed by Justinian, shifted decisively to imperial palaces, churches, and hospices for the poor and the ill; what had earlier been the “civic” sphere was abandoned.

Doubtless Constantinople started to recover in the 9th C., with a gradual rise in population and an expansion of commercial and artisanal activi-

ties. The BOOK OF THE EPARCH, while silent about many crafts, mentions the importation of commodities both from the provinces and foreign countries (silk, linen, unguents, honey, wax, soap). The textile industry was active, but exports severely discouraged. Shops along the main street were beginning to charge high rents (N. Oikonomides, *DOP* 26 [1972] 345–55). Probably the opening up of the Black Sea by the Kievan princes, for all the dangers it brought (witness the attacks on Constantinople in 860, 941, and 1043), benefited trade. Even so, little was built in the 10th C.

The 11th–12th C. witnessed further expansion. Artisanal occupations became profitable, tradesmen exerted a growing influence on political affairs, and new crafts were developed (e.g., the manufacture of bronze doors), some of which were exported to Italy. Of greater importance was the installation of foreign trading colonies. While the Rus' in the 10th C. were kept at arm's length at St. Mamas on the lower BOSPOROS, the Amalfitans, Venetians, Pisans, Genoese, Anconitans, and Germans gained concessions along the Golden Horn, opposite Galata, acquiring their own landing facilities, storehouses, and churches. The size of the colony of LATINS in the late 12th C. has been estimated at about 7,000 (Hendy, *Economy* 593f), although much higher figures are given in some sources.

In terms of construction a feature of the 11th–12th C. is the establishment by emperors and members of the aristocracy of great urban “abbeys”—monasteries in name, they also served educational, welfare, and financial functions. Such were the monasteries of the Virgin PERIBLEPTOS, of KOSMAS AND DAMIANOS, of the MANGANA, and of Christ PANTOKRATOR, and the ORPHANAGE of St. Paul (enlarged by Alexios I), the last so big that a tour of it required a whole day.

The great fire of 1203 and the Latin occupation (1204–61) destroyed the prosperity of the Komnenian city, which was subjected to systematic spoliation. The initial recovery under the Palaiologoi is mostly reflected in further imperial and aristocratic monasteries, some of which survive (St. Andrew in Krisei, the Virgin PAMMAKARISTOS, Christ of the CHORA, etc.). By the middle of the 14th C. decay had set in. Travelers from abroad (CLAVIJO, Pero TAFUR, BERTRANDON DE LA BROQUIERE, Buondelmonti) describe a partially deserted city contrasting with the bustle of Genoese

Pera across the water. When it was stormed by the Turks in 1453, Constantinople probably had a population of 50,000.

LIT. Janin, *CP byz.* Janin, *Églises CP.* Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon.* C. Mango, *Le développement urbain de Constantinople* (Paris 1985). A. van Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople* (London 1899). G. Dagron, *Naissance d'une capitale* (Paris 1974). J. Ebersolt, *Constantinople byzantine et les voyageurs du Levant* (Paris 1918). A.M. Schneider, *Byzanz* (Berlin 1936). E. Mamboury, "Les fouilles byzantines à Istanbul," *Byzantion* 11 (1936) 229–83; 13 (1938) 301–10; 21 (1951) 425–59. —C.M.

CONSTANTINOPLE, COUNCILS OF. Constantinople was the site of many ecumenical and local councils.

CONSTANTINOPLE I. Summoned by THEODOSIOS I (May–9 July 381), this second ecumenical council of some 150 bishops had as its object the final settlement of the Arian controversy. Although no Western representatives attended, by 451 the council was deemed important enough to be universally accepted as ecumenical. Under the presidency of Meletios, bishop of Antioch (360–81), the synod endorsed the faith of the First Council of NICAIA as well as the full consubstantiality and divinity of the Holy Spirit. In effect, both PNEUMATOMACHOI and followers of APOLLINARIS were condemned. Probably the so-called Niceno-Constantinopolitan CREED, which CHALCEDON later attributed to the council, was originally a local baptismal profession of faith containing the Nicene formula. It may in fact have existed as early as 362. Finally, the council proclaimed Constantinople as the second see of Christendom with honorary precedence over all other sees, except the elder Rome (canon 3). The basis of this primacy, as the canon succinctly states, was the city's political standing—"because it is New Rome." The acts of the council either did not survive, or, more probably, never existed.

LIT. Hefele-Leclercq, *Conciles* 2:1–48. J.N.D. Kelly, *Early Christian Creeds* (New York 1981) 296–331. *GOrThR* 27.4 (1982) 359–453 (fascicle dedicated to the council). A.M. Ritter, *Das Konzil von Konstantinopel und sein Symbol* (Göttingen 1965). E. Chrysos, "Die Akten des Konzils von Konstantinopel I (381)," *Romanitas-Christianitas* (Berlin–New York 1982) 426–35. —A.P.

CONSTANTINOPLE II. The fifth ecumenical council (5 May–2 June 553) was convened by JUSTINIAN I to reconcile the proponents of MONOPHYSITISM by convincing them that the Council

of CHALCEDON had not lapsed into NESTORIANISM or denied the Council of EPHEBUS. Therefore the council condemned the THREE CHAPTERS (the person of THEODORE OF EDESSA, and some writings of THEODORET OF CYRRHUS and IBAS of Edessa), which the Monophysites had viewed as anti-Cyrrillian and hence Nestorian. Although initially apprehensive that the council was rejecting Chalcedon, Pope VIGILIUS eventually accepted the council's decisions (Dec. 553). As a matter of plain fact, the posthumous condemnation of the three 5th-C. authors of the Three Chapters reaffirmed and preserved the authority of Chalcedon and CYRIL of Alexandria. Thus the modern criticism (C. Moeller) that the council's NEO-CHALCEDONISM opposed authentic Chalcedonian Christology and somehow betrayed Chalcedon is unwarranted. The council also anathematized ORIGEN. This was aimed at the Origenist monastic parties of Egypt and Palestine, who had proposed their own heretical solution to the Christological problem.

Reconciliation, however, proved impossible, as Monophysitism was by then too deeply entrenched to be influenced by the emperor's desperate bargains or anti-Nestorian zeal. The Egyptians, as SOPHRONIOS of Jerusalem put it, were not a race to change their minds or end their hostility toward the central government of Constantinople.

SOURCES. Mansi 9:171–657. PG 86:945–93. E. Schwartz, *Drei dogmatische Schriften Iustiniens* (Munich 1939). *ACO* 4:1. LIT. C. Moeller, "Le chalcédonisme et le néo-chalcédonisme en orient de 451 à la fin du VI^e siècle," in Grillmeier-Bacht, *Chalkedon* 1:637–720. E. Chrysos, *Die Bischofslisten des V. ökumenischen Konzils* (553) (Bonn 1966). Idem, *He ekklesiastike politike tou Ioustinianou kata ten erin peri ta tria kephalaia kai ten E' oikoumeniken synodon* (Thessalonike 1969). F.X. Murphy, P. Sherwood, *Constantinople II et III* (Paris 1974) 9–130. E. Zettl, *Die Bestätigung des V. ökumenischen Konzils durch Papst Vigilius* (Bonn 1974). —A.P.

CONSTANTINOPLE III. The sixth ecumenical council (7 Nov. 680–16 Sept. 681) was convoked by CONSTANTINE IV to settle the controversy over MONOTHELETISM. This doctrine was used by the government early in the 7th C. to conciliate the dissident Monophysites. The council drew up a comprehensive decree in which the reality of Christ's two wills and two *energeiai* (operations), one divine and the other human, were acknowledged and declared inseparably united to one another (Mansi 11:637B). For if there were two natures in the incarnate Christ, as Chalcedonian

Christology affirmed, there had to be two wills. All those accused of Monotheletism were anathematized, including Pope Honorius (625–38), who had given his written approval to the doctrine, and four patriarchs of Constantinople (e.g., SERGIOS I and PYRRHOS). The earlier opponents of Monotheletism, MAXIMOS THE CONFESSOR, Pope MARTIN I, and SOPHRONIOS of Jerusalem, were thus vindicated. To complete its work and to issue disciplinary canons, the TRULLO council convened in 691–92.

SOURCE. Mansi 11:189–922.

LIT. W.M. Peitz, "Martin I. und Maximus Confessor: Beiträge zur Geschichte des Monotheletenstreites in den Jahren 645–668," *HistJb* 38 (1917) 213–36, 429–58. V. Grumel, "Recherches sur l'histoire du monothélisme," *EO* 27 (1928) 6–16, 257–77; 28 (1929) 19–34, 272–82; 29 (1930) 16–28. F.X. Murphy, P. Sherwood, *Constantinople II et III* (Paris 1974) 133–260. R. Riedinger, *Die Präsenz- und Subscriptionlisten des VI. ökumenischen Konzils* (680/81) (Munich 1979). —A.P.

COUNCIL OF 869–70. BASIL I convoked this council (5 Oct. 869–28 Feb. 870) to settle the Photian schism and to restore communion with Rome. In the presence of three papal legates, Patr. PHOTIOS was deposed and anathematized and his predecessor IGNATIUS reinstated. Despite protests from the Roman delegation, it was announced at the council that Bulgaria was placed under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Constantinople. In addition, 27 canons were issued endorsing such matters as the theory of the PENTARCHY and the veneration of images (canons 3 and 21).

Following the restoration of Photios, the decisions of 869–70 were annulled at the council of Constantinople of 879–80 (see below). The council of 869–70 was therefore omitted from the list of ecumenical councils recognized by the Latin church, until the second half of the 11th C. After the dispute with MICHAEL I KEROULARIOS, the West began to include it among the ecumenical councils. This interpretation was due (as Dvornik conclusively demonstrated) to Western canonists, who thought the council had not been annulled in 879. Except for a synopsis of the original Greek text (Mansi 16:308–420), the council's acts survive only in the Latin translation of ANASTASIOS BIBLIOTHECARIUS.

SOURCE. Mansi 16:1–208.

LIT. Dvornik, *Photian Schism* 132–58. D. Stiernon, *Constantinople IV* (Paris 1967). *Der Kampf um das Menschenbild. Das achte ökumenische Konzil von 869/70 und seine Folgen*, ed. H.H. Schöffler (Dornach 1986). —A.P.

COUNCIL OF 879–80. This council composed of 383 bishops solemnly recognized PHOTIOS as patriarch and annulled the decisions of the anti-Photian council of Constantinople of 869–70 (see above). As Dvornik has shown, its rehabilitation and vindication of Photios definitively ended the Photian schism, because the pope, JOHN VIII, never repudiated the council's decisions, to which two papal legates had subscribed. Thus the "second schism" described by subsequent "legend" never occurred. On the contrary, the council succeeded at achieving reunion and was even recognized in Rome as "ecumenical" until the Gregorian Reform, when the official Roman tradition was abandoned in favor of the council of 869.

Likewise with Rome's full endorsement, the council anathematized anyone who would tamper with the original text of the creed (Mansi 17:520E–521A). Although the "privileges" of Rome were recognized, the canonical and judicial authority of pope and patriarch were defined in terms of equality (canon 1). Papal jurisdiction over the Byz. church was thus excluded. The council's decisions were inserted in every subsequent Orthodox collection of canon law and normally followed those of the first seven ecumenical councils. It is referred to as "ecumenical" by some Byz. authors.

SOURCE. Mansi 17:373–526.

LIT. Dvornik, *Photian Schism* 159–201. J. Meijer, *A Successful Council of Union: A Theological Analysis of the Photian Synod of 879–880* (Thessalonike 1975). J.L. Boonamra, "The Photian Synod of 879–80 and the Papal Commonitorium (879)," *BS/EB* 9 (1982) 1–23. V. Peri, "Il concilio di Costantinopoli dell'879–80 come problema filologico e storiografico," *AnnHistCon* 9 (1977) 29–42. —A.P.

LOCAL COUNCIL OF 754. See HIERIA, LOCAL COUNCIL OF.

LOCAL COUNCIL OF 815. This council, which met in Hagia Sophia in spring 815, marks the second restoration of ICONOCLASM. The iconodule patriarch NIKEPHOROS I was deposed shortly before the council and replaced by the Iconoclast THEODOTOS I. Promoted by LEO V, who was convinced that the military disasters of his imperial predecessors, IRENE and NIKEPHOROS I, were caused by their support of images, the council repudiated the decisions of NICAIA II (787) and reaffirmed those of HIERIA (754). Although a committee headed by JOHN (VII) GRAMMATIKOS had assembled a *florilegium* in preparation for the council, its renewed opposition to image venera-

tion was based on a repetition of the Christological arguments of Hieria: an icon either depicts the uncircumscribable Godhead, or else divides the Lord's humanity from his divinity, thus compounding the evil (Ostrogorsky, *infra* 50). The council's doctrinal definition (*Horos*) called icons "spurious" and ordered their destruction, but (unlike Hieria) refrained from declaring them idols. Only fragments of the acts of 815 survive.

SOURCE. Ostrogorsky, *Bilderstr.* 46–60.

LIT. P.J. Alexander, "The Iconoclastic Council of St. Sophia (815) and Its Definition (*Horos*)," *DOP* 7 (1953) 35–66. —A.P.

LOCAL COUNCIL OF 843. Summoned by the widowed empress THEODORA on the first Sunday of Lent (11 March 843), this council marks the official destruction of ICONOCLASM and the solemn restoration of image veneration in the Byz. church. The deliberations of this assembly are lost. Its restoration of images was understandably based on the authoritative decisions of NICAIA II (787). Hence its excommunication of all those who stubbornly clung to the belief that the incarnate Lord was "indescribable." The council also deposed the patriarch JOHN VII GRAMMATIKOS, replacing him with METHODIOS I. Later the liturgical text of the SYNODIKON OF ORTHODOXY was composed to commemorate the TRIUMPH OF ORTHODOXY.

LIT. C. Mango, "The Liquidation of Iconoclasm and the Patriarch Photios," in *Iconoclasm*, 133–40. —A.P.

LOCAL COUNCIL OF 920. The council settled the controversy over the TETRAGAMY OF LEO VI, which had divided the Byz. church for nearly two decades. In effect, it successfully resolved the schism between, on the one hand, NICHOLAS I MYSTIKOS and his followers, who had been unwilling to sanction either the union of LEO VI with ZOE KARBONOPSINA or its issue, and, on the other, the bishops supporting EUTHYMOS, who had granted the desired dispensation. Specifically, fourth marriages were explicitly banned by the council's TOMOS OF UNION (9 July 920). Although third marriages were condemned, childless widowers under 40 years of age were exempt, while those with children were subject to a four-year penance. The council, according to Nicholas's correspondence (ed. Jenkins and Westerink, ep.94, 361.20–22), also made provisions for restoring bishops expelled from their sees during the controversy.

SOURCE. *Tomos unionis*—Nicholas I, Patriarch of Constantinople: *Miscellaneous Writings*, ed. L.G. Westerink (Washington, D.C., 1981) 56–85, with Eng. tr. —A.P.

LOCAL COUNCIL OF 1094. This council was convened by Alexios I in Blachernai in order to resolve the case of LEO OF CHALCEDON. The chronology of the synod is obscure: Grumel (*RegPatr*, fasc. 3, no.967) and Beck (*Kirche* 57) date it in 1092, Gautier (*infra*) at the end of 1094, A. Glabinas (*He epi Alexiou Komnenou [1081–1118] perihieron skeuon, keimelion kai hagion eikonon eris* [Thessalonike 1972] 179–82) at the beginning of 1095.

ED. and LIT. P. Gautier, "Le synode de Blachernes (fin 1094). Etude prosopographique," *REB* 29 (1971) 213–84. —A.K.

LOCAL COUNCIL OF 1156–57. The two sessions, 26 Jan. 1156 and 12 May 1157, met to discuss the teaching of the patriarch-elect Soterichos PANTEUGENOS concerning Christ's sacrifice on the Cross. The council affirmed through its spokesman, NICHOLAS OF METHONE, that the sacrifice of the Cross and the eucharistic sacrifice (which were one and the same) were offered to the entire Trinity, rather than to the Father alone as Panteugenos maintained. The council reasoned that the redemptive or "economic" activity of God, of which Christ's oblation was the expression, was a Trinitarian action involving all three persons of the Trinity. In addition, the council (quoting the liturgical formula of the CHEROUBIKON) argued that because of the single hypostatic union of Christ, the Logos both "offers and is offered, receives and is received." The anathemas condemning Panteugenos were entered into the SYNODIKON OF ORTHODOXY (Gouillard, "Synodikon" 72–74, 210–15).

SOURCES. *Acta*—PG 140:148–201. *Patmiae Bibliothek*, ed. I. Sakkellion (Athens 1890) 316–28.

LIT. P. Čeremuchin, "Konstantinopol'skij Sobor 1157," *Bogoslovskie Trudy* 1 (Moscow 1960) 87–109. *RegPatr*, fasc. 1, nos. 1038, 1041. —A.P.

LOCAL COUNCIL OF 1166–67. This council involved a series of meetings summoned by Emp. MANUEL I KOMNENOS to pronounce on the meaning of the text, "The Father is greater than I" (Jn 14:28). The origins of the controversy lie in the active political and ideological relations with the West during Manuel's reign. It is usually agreed that his ambassador, DEMETRIOS OF LAMPE, introduced this controversy in Byz. after discussing the question with Western theologians during his mis-

sions to Italy and Germany. In the debate, the opposition argued that the Son could not be inferior to the Father because Christ's humanity had been deified and was thus "one" with his divinity. The council found this interpretation close to MONOPHYTISM and unacceptable. Specifically, the reality of Christ's humanity, as concrete humanity—"created and mortal"—was inferior to God. The hypostatic union of Christ's two natures (as defined by the Council of CHALCEDON) did not erase the differences between Christ's humanity and divinity; his divinity was greater. Likewise, in Trinitarian theology proper, the Father was considered "greater" than the Son inasmuch as he is hypostatically the unique cause, the *principium divinitatis* of both the Son and the Spirit. Finally, the council also found unacceptable the following three interpretations: that the Johannine text separated intellectually Christ's human from his divine nature; that it underlined his *kenosis*, or condescension, during the Incarnation; and that it indicated his position (due to his shared humanity) as God's favored Son. The council's condemnation of the opposition was subsequently inserted in the SYNODIKON OF ORTHODOXY. The marble plates on which its decision was inscribed were placed in Hagia Sophia (C. Mango, *DOP* 17 [1963] 317–30). The problems of this council continued to be discussed during the session of Feb. 1170.

SOURCES. PG 140:201–84. S.N. Sakkos, "He en Konstantinoupolei synodos tou 1170," in *Theologikon Symposion in Honor of P. Chrestou* (Thessalonike 1967) 313–52. Gouillard, "Synodikon" 76–80, 216–26.

LIT. S.N. Sakkos, "Ho Paler meizon mou estin" B'. *Erides kai synodoi kata ton IB' aiona* (Thessalonike 1968). P. Classen, "Das Konzil von Konstantinopel 1166 und die Lateiner," *BZ* 48 (1955) 339–68. *RegPatr*, fasc. 1, nos. 1060, 1062, 1065, 1076. G. Thetford, "The Christological Councils of 1166 and 1170 in Constantinople," *SVThQ* 31 (1987) 143–61. —A.P.

LOCAL COUNCIL OF 1285, also known as the Second Council of Blachernai (5 Feb.–Aug. 1285). Presided over by Patr. GREGORY II, the council was convoked at BLACHERNAI to decide whether the expression "from the Son" (Lat. FILIOQUE) was equivalent to the patristic phrase "through the Son" advocated by the Unionist ex-patriarch JOHN XI BEKKOS, who held that the hypostatic existence or procession of the Spirit was "through" or "from" the Son. The council pronounced this unacceptable, for the Spirit's eternal mode of origin is an

act of the hypostasis of the Father and not of the essence. Rather than revealing the Spirit's personal procession, the phrase "through the Son" simply refers to the Spirit's energetic, eternal manifestation by the Son—an activity common to all three divine persons (Tomos, PG 142:240C–D). Only in this sense is the Spirit said to proceed through or even from the Son (*ex patre filioque*). Besides condemning Bekkos, the assembly formally repudiated the Council of LYONS (1274). Although several ecclesiastics subsequently opposed the synodal Tomos of 1285, penned by Gregory himself, the church never altered or rejected it. Thus it holds a permanent place in Orthodox tradition. The council, in fact, is of major importance as the only official *conciliar* reaction of Byz. to the *filioque*. It should be noted that the same distinctions among ENERGY, HYPOSTASIS, and SUBSTANCE, which Gregory made and the council endorsed, were later elaborated and developed by Gregory PALAMAS.

SOURCES. Tomos—PG 142:233–46. V. Laurent, "Les signataires du second synode des Blachernes (été 1285)," *EO* 26 (1927) 129–49.

LIT. Papadakis, *Crisis in Byz.* 62–101, 155–67 (tr. of Tomos). —A.P.

LOCAL COUNCIL OF 1341. The council was convoked (10 June) under the presidency of Emp. ANDRONIKOS III to resolve the dispute between Gregory PALAMAS and BARLAAM OF CALABRIA. Both Patr. JOHN XIV KALEKAS and future Emp. JOHN VI KANTAKOUZENOS were present. The one-day session was unfavorable to Barlaam, who therefore soon left Constantinople. A second council, with the same participants, convened in Aug. and condemned Gregory AKINDYNOS, who had continued the struggle on Barlaam's departure. Since Andronikos had died days after the June debate, Kantakouzenos presided.

The synodal Tomos published after the Aug. meeting is unmistakably Palamite in content (cf. PG 151:680B, 688C), reflecting the victory won for HESYCHASM. Because it concentrates solely on the June meeting and fails to mention the second council in Aug. and its formal condemnation of Akindynos, its authenticity has been questioned. Indeed, M. Jugie (*DTC* 11 [1932] 1778–84) criticized the document as unreliable, a tampered version of the June debate that Kantakouzenos had forced Kalekas to sign. J. Meyendorff, however, has argued that the political rivalry between

Kalekas and Kantakouzenos for control of the regency explains the shape of the Tomos. Specifically, Kalekas refused to present the Aug. synod as official because his adversary had usurped an imperial prerogative by presiding over it; acknowledging the second council would have implied support of Kantakouzenos's imperial ambitions. Kalekas, therefore, accepted only the earlier synod—excluding the Aug. session—simply because it was the one at which Andronikos had presided, hence the shape of the Tomos.

SOURCE. TOMOS—PG 151:679–92.

LIT. J. Bois, "Le synode hésychaste de 1341," *EO* 6 (1903) 50–60. Weiss, *Kantakouzenos* 103–12. Meyendorff, *Palamas* 42–62. —A.P.

LOCAL COUNCIL OF 1347. This council of 8 Feb. reconfirmed the decisions of 1341, which had settled the controversy between Gregory PALAMAS and BARLAAM OF CALABRIA over HESYCHASM. These decisions had been overturned by the regency of ANNA OF SAVOY and Patr. JOHN XIV KALEKAS during the long civil war (1341–47). The synodal Tomos of 1347 actually incorporates the decisions reached by an earlier assembly (2 Feb.), days before the triumphant entry of JOHN VI KANTAKOUZENOS into Constantinople. Favoring PALAMISM, these decisions include the deposition of Kalekas and the excommunication of AKINDYNOS. The text gives a Kantakouzenist version of the civil war by blaming Kalekas alone, rather than Anna or Alexios APOKAUKOS, both of whom are viewed as the patriarch's victims. Aside from its "legitimist" interpretation of the war, the Tomos also ratifies the doctrinal decisions of the local council of Constantinople of 1341 (see above) and lifts Kalekas's excommunication of Palamas. The document contains signatures of three sets of bishops: those present on 2 Feb., those who signed before the enthronement of the new hesychast patriarch ISIDORE I (17 May), and those who signed afterward, including Palamas as newly elected archbishop of Thessalonike.

SOURCE. J. Meyendorff, *Byzantine Hesychasm* (London 1974) pt. VII (1963), 209–27. —A.P.

LOCAL COUNCIL OF 1351. Although the church had approved PALAMISM as early as the local council of Constantinople of 1341 (see above), political circumstances had denied it a conclusive victory. The anti-Palamite camp and its leading spokesman, Nikephoros GREGORAS, continued their op-

position even after the second approval of the doctrine (1347) and the condemnation of its earlier opponents, BARLAAM OF CALABRIA and Gregory AKINDYNOS. Therefore Emp. JOHN VI KANTAKOUZENOS convened the synod in Blachernai (28 May) to reaffirm the decisions of 1341 and 1347. Gregory PALAMAS, Patr. KALLISTOS I, and the opposition were all present. The dissidents were heard in several sessions, then finally condemned (9 June); the council assembled in July without them.

This session approved Palamas's theology in detail. Specifically, it sanctioned both his defense of the deification of man in Christ and his distinction between substance and energies; it also categorically denied the claim that the uncreated energy introduced a complexity (*syntheton*) in God (PG 151:732AB). The synodal Tomos incorporating these decisions, evidently written by PHILOTHEOS KOKKINOS, metropolitan of Herakleia, was signed in Aug. in Hagia Sophia (*Reg* 5, no. 2982). JOHN V PALAIOLOGOS, who was not in Constantinople then, signed in Feb. or Mar. 1352 (R.J. Loenertz, *BZ* 47 [1954] 116). The council's decisions were later inserted into the SYNODIKON OF ORTHODOXY. By the end of the century, the whole Eastern church had recognized and accepted this unconditional canonization of Palamite doctrine.

SOURCE. TOMOS—PG 151:717–63.

LIT. F. Dölger, "Ein byzantinisches Staatsdokument in der Universitätsbibliothek Basel: ein Fragment des Tomos des Jahres 1351," *HistJb* 72 (1953) 205–21. A. Dold, *Das Geheimnis einer byzantinischen Staatsurkunde aus dem Jahre 1351* (Beuron 1958). Meyendorff, *Palamas* 94–101. —A.P.

CONSTANTINOPLE, MONUMENTS OF. The architectural monuments of Constantinople may be considered from the point of view of the following three topics: public monuments, cisterns, and walls. The principal churches and palaces are the subject of independent entries.

PUBLIC MONUMENTS. The architectural development of Constantinople may be divided into three main periods.

First Period (4th–early 7th C.). Constantinople was built as a late antique city with all the normal features of contemporary urbanism, only more magnificent. A straight avenue bordered by colonnades (EMBOLAI) was obligatory: at Constantinople this was the MESE, which ran from the arch

of the Milion near the HIPPODROME to the Capitolium, a distance of 1.7 km, then as far again to the Constantinian Golden Gate. This longitudinal avenue was crossed at right angles by another (later called *emboloi tou Domninou*), with a tetrapylon at the intersection. At intervals along the main avenue were squares, or forums (see AGORA), each adorned with suitable monuments. Two of these were inherited from ancient BYZANTION, namely the Strategion, later remodeled by Theodosios I, and the TETRASTOON, which became the AUGUSTAION.

The *umbilicus* of Constantine's city consisted of a circular forum (called simply *ho Phoros*) bordered by porticoes. At its center stood a column (see COLUMNS, HONORIFIC) made of drums of porphyry and supporting a statue of the emperor wearing a radiate crown. The column is still preserved in a truncated form (Turk. Cemberlitas). On the north side of the Phoros was the SENATE HOUSE with a porch of porphyry columns; facing it on the south was a monumental fountain (*nymphaeum*). The next forum to the west (Forum Tauri, corresponding to modern Beyazit) was laid out by Theodosios I in imitation of Trajan's Forum in Rome: it had a triumphal arch on each side (parts of the west one are preserved; see ARCH, MONUMENTAL), a basilica and, on axis, a gigantic column covered with spiral reliefs commemorating the emperor's military exploits (destroyed ca. 1500).

The next two forums to the west, the Forum Bovis (*ho Bous*) and the Amastrianos, are poorly documented. Then, on the city's seventh hill (Xerolophos), was the Forum of Arkadios, with a second spirally decorated column (pedestal preserved). At the western limit of the walled city, the GOLDEN GATE (both Constantine's original and that constructed by Theodosios II farther west) had the form of a triumphal arch; evidence indicates that the processional way linking the two gates also received a monumental treatment.

Nearly every emperor from Constantine I to Phokas commemorated his reign by erecting monuments in the capital. Beyond those already mentioned, only two survive: the so-called Column of the Goths on the Seraglio Point, which may be Constantine's, and Marcian's Column. The colossal Corinthian capital discovered in 1959 in the courtyard of the Seraglio has been linked to a column of Leo I and the Barletta Colossus (U.

Peschlow in *Studien Deichmann* 1:21–33). Justinian I was glorified by a column and equestrian statue in the Augustaion; Justin II erected a column of his own in the quarter called Deuteron and started to build another one (not completed) near the baths of Zeuxippos; Phokas put up a column near the Tetrapylon. In addition to imperial monuments, several statues of pagan gods, mythological figures, philosophers, and so on were imported from other cities by Constantine and his successors and placed in public baths, forums, the Hippodrome, and elsewhere. New honorific statues of persons other than emperors were also made, the last recorded one being a statue of Niketas, cousin of Herakleios (ca. 614). A monumental weathervane called the ANEMODOULION was decorated with bronze statues. These display monuments were put up for the city's adornment but also to express certain ideological messages (e.g., imperial victory, the wisdom of the senate, etc.) and to provide an appropriate setting for ceremonial occasions.

Public buildings of an ornate character included the two Senate Houses; the BASILIKE next to the Augustaion, which appears to have been a vast stoa with a gilded roof surrounding a central courtyard; the theaters (of which little is known); the Roman amphitheater (Kynegion) and the HIPPODROME; the public BATHS, the biggest of which may have been the Constantianai (begun 345, completed 427) and which also included the Karosianai (built by Valens in 375), the Arkadianai (395), the Honorianai (412), the Helenianai, and the bath of Dagistheos (started by Anastasios I, completed by Justinian in 528) in addition to the famous baths of ZEUXIPPOS and the ancient bath of Achilles near the Strategion. The construction of baths was a favored sector of imperial munificence because of the popularity of bathing.

Also constructed in the capital during the 4th through 6th C. were the GREAT PALACE and the Hormisdas, Antiochos, and Lausos palaces. The principal churches erected in this period were St. Mary of BLACHERNAI and St. Mary at CHALKOPRAITEIA, the Basilica of St. John at the STODIOS MONASTERY, St. POLYEUKTOS, HAGIA SOPHIA, St. IRENE, Sts. SERGIOS AND BAKCHOS, and the HOLY APOSTLES.

Second Period (7th–12th C.). The construction of display monuments ended in the early 7th C., by which time the city or, at any rate, its main

avenues and squares must have resembled a vast stage set. The "dark age" that followed caused the abandonment of earlier urbanistic practices, the gradual ruination of public buildings, and a shift in popular mentality: the monuments that remained were no longer understood for what they were and assumed a mythic character. They were invested with occult power, either beneficent or maleficent, and interpreted as presages of things to come. The cryptic messages they conveyed could be decoded only by "philosophers." It is in this manner that they are interpreted in the *PATRIA OF CONSTANTINOPLE*.

The so-called Macedonian Renaissance brought a few instances of the collection and reuse of earlier pieces of sculpture and one recorded case of the restoration of a monument (the masonry obelisk of the Hippodrome by Constantine VII) but did not return to the monumental tradition of antiquity. The Macedonian and Komnenian dynasties, however, constituted a period of considerable construction activity, during which the *MANGANA* and *BLACHERNAI* palaces were built in Constantinople and the *BRYAS* palace in the suburbs. New churches and monasteries of this time include the *NEA EKKLESIA*, *MYRELAION*, *LIPS MONASTERY*, *KALENDERHANE CAMII*, and *PANTOKRATOR MONASTERY*.

Third Period (13th–15th C.). Following the Fourth Crusade and the period of Latin occupation of Constantinople (1204–61), during which numerous buildings were damaged or fell into disrepair, a surge of new construction occurred under Michael VIII and Andronikos II. Perhaps to symbolize his work of restoration, Michael VIII erected a group of statuary near the Church of the Holy Apostles representing the emperor offering a model of the city to St. Michael. In addition to the palace of *TEKFUR SARAYI*, several new monasteries and churches were built, most notably the South Church at the Lips monastery, *PAMMAKARISTOS*, *CHORA*, and the *BEBAIAS ELPIDOS NUNNERY*.

LIT. Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon*. Janin, *CP byz.* C. Mango, *Le développement urbain de Constantinople* (Paris 1985). Idem, "Antique Statuary and the Byzantine Beholder," *DOP* 17 (1963) 55–75. Dagron, *CP imaginaire*. —C.M.

CISTERNS (*κυστέρναι*). Constantinople, with no rivers, few springs, and fast runoff of rainwater, needed reservoirs to tide the city over dry spells and lengthy sieges, when *AQUEDUCTS* might

be threatened. Water from forests west of the city was introduced into open cisterns (total capacity approximately 900,000 cubic m [Janin, *infra* 202]) and more than 80 covered cisterns (capacity approximately 160,000 cubic m). Constantinople's daily consumption of water was about 10,000 cubic m. Most cisterns were built between the late 4th C. and early 7th C. as population burgeoned. The largest open cistern was that of Aetios (probably the eparch of the city in 419): built in 421, it measured 244 × 85 × about 14 m deep and had a capacity of between 250,000 and 300,000 cubic m. Covered cisterns included *Binbirdirek* (*Philoxenos*), whose superposed columns reached a height of 12.4 m and were set in 16 rows of 14 columns each (capacity about 40,000 cubic m), and the *BASILIKE* (*Yerebatan Sarayı*), whose 336 columns, 8 m high and set in 12 rows of 28 each, supported a chamber capable of holding approximately 78,000 cubic m.

The major cisterns, usually placed on hills, sup-

CONSTANTINOPLE, MONUMENTS OF: Cisterns. The Basilike cistern (*Yerebatan Sarayı*).



plied water to about 40 public baths as well as monasteries and churches. The use of columns rather than the brick and cement piers used by the Romans reduced maintenance costs; *IMPOST BLOCKS* make an early appearance in cisterns. Hydraulic cement (*opus signinum*) lined the structures.

LIT. Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon* 278–85. Janin, *CP byz.* 201–15. P. Forchheimer, J. Strzygowski, *Die byzantinischen Wasserbehälter von Konstantinopel* (Vienna 1893).

—K.M.K., W.L.

WALLS. The first fortifications of Constantinople, on the land side only, were started by Constantine I and completed by Constantius II. In the reign of Theodosios II the Land Walls were extended about 1.5 km to the west so as to describe a huge arc, 6 km long, extending from the Propontis to the Golden Horn. Completed by 413 and repaired on numerous occasions (notably after the earthquakes of 447, 740, 989, etc.), they continued to protect the city throughout the Byz.

period and parts of them are still standing. They consist of an inner wall 11 m high with towers at intervals of about 70–75 m, a lower outer wall also furnished with towers, and a moat. The walls are built of bonded masonry with bands of brick (five successive courses going right across the wall) alternating with bands of cut-stone facing, enclosing a core of mortared rubble. The only section of the Theodosian walls that has not survived was in the area of *BLACHERNAI*, where, as documented both in texts and visible remains, their original line was brought forward by Herakleios to enclose the Church of the Virgin and by Manuel I to protect the imperial palace. The Land Walls were pierced by six main gates, including the *GOLDEN GATE*, and a number of secondary posterns.

The Sea Walls, both along the Propontis and the Golden Horn, consist of a single line of fortifications and are today poorly preserved. They were first built in 439 and repaired many times, notably under the emperors Anastasios II and

CONSTANTINOPLE, MONUMENTS OF: Walls. Western land walls of the city, first built under Emp. Theodosios II in 412/13.



Theophilos. About 65 km west of Constantinople the LONG WALL was built to defend the imperial capital from attack from that direction.

LIT. A. van Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople: The Walls of the City and Adjoining Historical Sites* (London 1899). B. Meyer-Plath, A.M. Schneider, *Die Landmauer von Konstantinopel*, vol. 2 (Berlin 1943). A.M. Schneider, "Mauern und Tore am Goldenen Horn zu Konstantinopel," *NachGött* (1950) 65–107. F. Dirimtekin, *Fetihden önce Marmara surları* (Istanbul 1953). Idem, *Fetihden önce Haliç surları* (Istanbul 1956). Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon* 286–319. —C.M.

CONSTANTINOPLE, PATRIARCHATE OF. Constantinople was one of the four major PATRIARCHATES of the eastern Mediterranean.

History. According to legend, the see of Constantinople was founded by the apostle ANDREW, who ordained a certain Stachys as the first bishop of Byzantion. However, the information concerning the first bishops of the city, including two contemporaries of Emp. Constantine I, Metrophanes and Alexander, is mostly legendary. Canon 3 of the Council of Constantinople (381) established Constantinople's place of honor in the ecclesiastical hierarchy right after Rome; nevertheless, the patriarch of Constantinople (if we can believe the statement of Sokrates [*HE* 5.8.14] that the bishop of Constantinople was already called patriarch at this time) had under his jurisdiction only the "megalopolis" and probably Thrace, whereas Pontos, Cappadocia, and Asia formed independent eparchies. Canon 28 of the Council of Chalcedon (451) confirmed the precedence of Constantinople over the patriarchates of ANTIOCH and ALEXANDRIA and its jurisdiction over all of Asia Minor.

The bitter rivalry during the 5th C. between the patriarchates of Constantinople and Alexandria was a major factor—in addition to theological and cultural causes—in the controversy over MONOPHYSITISM; the papacy's support of Constantinople in this conflict contributed much to the defeat of Alexandria. In the 6th C. the political situation in Italy, which was first subordinated to the Ostrogothic kings and then conquered by the Byz. army, paved the way for Constantinopolitan supremacy; this new status was reflected in the acceptance by the bishop of Constantinople of the title "of the New Rome" and esp. ECUMENICAL PATRIARCH.

The fall of Alexandria, Antioch, and JERUSALEM

to the Arabs in the 7th C. deprived these three patriarchates of political significance. The patriarch of Constantinople, however, was unable to profit from this situation and expand his role further, since he was restricted by the same factor that had previously promoted his power, that is, his proximity to the imperial throne. Meanwhile, the PAPACY, more or less emancipated from oppressive political tutelage, was slowly gaining momentum. From the 8th C. onward the popes assumed an independent attitude toward the Byz. emperors, developed further the concept of PRIMACY, and endeavored to intervene in Byz. internal affairs (ICONOCLASM, conflict between the patriarchs PHOTIOS and IGNATIOS, the TETRAGAMY OF LEO VI). Ideologically, Constantinople countered the concept of primacy with the doctrine of the PENTARCHY, the theoretical equality of the five patriarchates. For a time the patriarchate of Constantinople, taking advantage of the political power of the emperor, was able to expand its authority: it acquired jurisdiction over ILLYRICUM and southern Italy (8th C.), as well as newly converted Bulgaria (9th C.). In the 11th C., however, Roman influence started to penetrate into the Balkans, then into Syria and Palestine. Tensions between the papacy and the patriarchate of Constantinople came to a head in 1054 with the mission of Cardinal HUMBERT to the Byz. capital and his excommunication of Patr. MICHAEL I KEROULARIOS, resulting in a deep conflict between the two churches (see SCHISM).

After the Fourth Crusade in 1204 a Latin patriarchate was established in Constantinople and the Orthodox patriarchate was forced to go into exile in Nicaea. Following its restoration in 1261 the patriarchate of Constantinople never regained its former splendor. It was beset by controversies over the ARSENITES, UNION OF THE CHURCHES, and PALAMISM, which caused deep rifts among the faithful. Although its theoretical sphere of influence, which extended to Moscow, was much greater than that of the Palaiologan emperors, the patriarchs gradually lost even their authority over Slavic countries. The Serbs, for example, established an independent patriarchate at Peć in the mid-14th C. Nevertheless the patriarchate of Constantinople survived the political fall of the Byz. capital in 1453.

Organization and Jurisdiction of the Patriarchate. The patriarch was in theory elected by the

metropolitans of his patriarchate, and only they had the power to depose him. The metropolitans, however, were entitled only to nominate a slate of three candidates from whom the emperor would select the new head of the church, and in practice the emperor had the final say in both the appointment and deposition of patriarchs. The patriarch administered the territory under his jurisdiction from his headquarters at Hagia Sophia, the GREAT CHURCH. In theory his right hand and potential successor was the SYNCELLOS; in practice the chief offices were held by the priests and deacons of Hagia Sophia—OIKONOMOS, SKEUOPHYLAX, SAKELLARIOS, CHARTOPHYLAX, KANSTRISIOS, REFERENDARIOS, etc. The metropolitans, whose number varied over the centuries (the *Corpus* of Laurent records 66 *metropoleis*), expressed their views through the COUNCILS and through the ENDEMOUSA SYNODOS. The tensions between the officials of Hagia Sophia and metropolitans (V. Tifitxoglou, *BZ* 62 [1969] 25–72) reflected the conflict between centrifugal and centripetal tendencies. The revenues of the patriarchate of Constantinople came from lands located in various parts of the empire and from donations of the imperial treasury that amounted to between 180 and 200 pounds of gold in the 11th C.

The rights of the patriarch, besides his function as the bishop of the capital, included appeal in both ecclesiastical and secular cases, the STAUROPEGION, and the interpretation and elaboration of CANON LAW. From the 5th C. onward the patriarch of Constantinople played a role in the ceremony of the imperial CORONATION, but he actually crowned the emperor only in the absence of a senior emperor. In addition, the patriarch wielded an exceptional moral authority, although the extent of his influence depended on the real balance of power between the emperor and the church, the degree of popularity of the patriarch, his connection with the monastic establishment, etc. The theory of two powers—those of the emperor and patriarch—emerges in the EPANAGOGE but did not find a consistent application in Byz. ideology: the bishops of Constantinople displayed a wide range of behavior, including cowardly subservience to a powerful ruler (ATTIKOS), fruitful collaboration with the throne (SERGIOS I, ATHANASIOS I), and bold opposition to the imperial will (MICHAEL I KEROULARIOS).

The Patriarchs, 300–1204. From the beginning

of the 4th C. to 1204 there were 100 patriarchs; the average duration of a patriarchate was thus nine years. Of these patriarchs, 35 died after resigning or having been deposed and five were deposed temporarily. Data concerning the patriarchs' social and ethnic background are incomplete: at least one (Fravitas [488–89]) seems to have been a Goth and another (Niketas I [766–80]) of Slav origin; four were Italians, three came from Armenia or were of Armenian stock; three from Alexandria (all within the 4th–6th C.); six from Syria, including THEODOSIOS BORADIOTES (counted already as Armenian); one from Tarsos, one from Trebizond, five from Cappadocia, Pisdia (?), Phrygia, and Isauria, two from Cyprus, one from Aegina; approximately 12 were natives of Constantinople, even though the origin of some (e.g., CONSTANTINE III LEICHOUDS) has not been definitely established. Very few originated from the Balkans—PAUL I was from Thessalonike and MICHAEL III possibly from Anchialos.

Of the 100 patriarchs, 30 were former *hegoumenoi*, hieromonks, or simple monks. L. Bréhier (6 *CEB* 1 [Paris 1950] 223) counts 45 patriarchs of monastic background during the period 705–1204, but he evidently included men of other status in this group. The "monastic patriarchs" are unevenly distributed over time: only five in the 4th–8th C.; seven from 815 to 912; only four in the 10th C.; and 14 in the 11th and 12th C. Ten patriarchs were former bishops transferred from other sees—seven of these belong to the earlier period, 341–766; later this practice almost ceased. Another ten patriarchs were former priests. The Constantinopolitan ecclesiastical administration produced 27 patriarchs: at least four were *synkelloi*, 17 were administrators (*skeuophylakes*, *oikonomoi*, *sakellarioi*, etc.). Distribution of this category over time is also uneven: seven patriarchal officials became patriarchs in the 5th–6th C., whereas the undeveloped 4th-C. administration produced none; the 7th C. presents the highest number—ten in 607–715; only two are known from 730–80 and none in the 9th–11th C. (unless we count the monks and *synkelloi* EUTHYMOS and Antony III [974–79] as officials). Patriarchal officials reappear in the 12th C.—six between 1111 and 1189.

Among the former laymen were two princes—Stephen, son of Leo VI, and THEOPHYLAKTOS, son of Romanos I (both within the short period

Patriarchs of Constantinople, 381–1465

Name	Tenure	Name	Tenure
NEKTARIOS	381–397	JOHN VII GRAMMATIKOS	837?–843
JOHN CHRYSOSTOM	398–404	METHODIOS	843–847
Arsakios	404–405	IGNATIOS	847–858
ATTIKOS	406–425	PHOTIOS	858–867
Sisinnios I	426–427	Ignatios (2nd patr.)	867–877
NESTORIOS	428–431	Photios (2nd patr.)	877–886
Maximian	431–434	Stephen I	886–893
PROKLOS	434?–446	ANTONY II KAULEAS	893–901
FLAVIAN	446–449	NICHOLAS I MYSTIKOS	901–907
Anatolios	449–458	EUTHYMIOS	907–912
GENNADIOS I	458–471	Nicholas I (2nd patr.)	912–925
AKAKIOS	472–489	Stephen II	925–927
Fravitas	489–490	Tryphon	927–931
Euphemios	490–496	THEOPHYLAKTOS	933–956
Makedonios II	496–511	POLYEUKTOS	956–970
Timothy I	511–518	Basil I Skamandrenos	970–974
John II Kappadokes	518–520	Antony III Stoudites	974–979
Epiphanius	520–535	Nicholas II Chrysoberges	979–991
Anthimos I	535–536	[vacancy]	991–996]
MENAS	536–552	Sisinnios II	996–998
EUTYCHIOS	552–565	SERGIOS II	1001–1019
JOHN III SCHOLASTIKOS	565–577	Eustathios	1019–1025
Eutychios (2nd patr.)	577–582	ALEXIOS STOUDITES	1025–1043
JOHN IV NESTEUTES	582–595	MICHAEL I KEROULARIOS	1043–1058
Kyriakos	595/6–606	CONSTANTINE III LEICHOUDS	1059–1063
Thomas I	607–610	JOHN VIII XIPHILINOS	1064–1075
SERGIOS I	610–638	Kosmas I	1075–1081
PYRRHOS	638–641	Eustratios Garidas	1081–1084
Paul II	641–653	NICHOLAS III GRAMMATIKOS	1084–1111
Pyrrhos (2nd patr.)	654	John IX Agapetos	1111–1134
Peter	654–666	Leo Styppaiotes	1134–1143
Thomas II	667–669	Michael II Kourkouas	1143–1146
John V	669–675	Kosmas II Attikos	1146–1147
Constantine I	675–677	NICHOLAS IV MOUZALON	1147–1151
Theodore I	677–679	Theodotos II	1151/2–1153/4
George I	679–686	Neophytos I	one month in 1153/4
Theodore I (2nd patr.)	686–687	Constantine IV Chliarenos	1154–1157
Paul III	688–694	LOUKAS CHRYSOBERGES	1157–1169/70
Kallinikos I	694–706	MICHAEL III	1170–1178
Kyros	706–712	Chariton Eugeniotis	1178–1179
John VI	712–715	THEODOSIOS BORADIOTES	1179–1183
GERMANOS I	715–730	Basil II Kamateros	1183–1186
ANASTASIOS	730–754	Niketas II Mountanes	1186–1189
Constantine II	754–766	Dositheos of Jerusalem	Feb. 1189
Niketas I	766–780	Leontios Theotokites	Feb./Mar.–Sept./Oct. 1189
Paul IV	780–784	Dositheos of Jerusalem (2nd patr.)	1189–1191
TARASIOS	784–806	George II Xiphilinos	1191–1198
NIKEPHOROS I	806–815	JOHN X KAMATEROS	1198–1206
THEODOTOS I KASSITERAS	815–821		
ANTONY I KASSYMATAS	821–837?		

Patriarchs of Constantinople (continued)

Name	Tenure	Name	Tenure
MICHAEL IV AUTOREIANOS	1208–1214	Isaias	1323–1332
Theodore II Eirenikos	1214–1216	JOHN XIV KALEKAS	1334–1347
Maximos II	1216	ISIDORE I BOUCHEIRAS	1347–1350
Manuel I Sarantenos	1216/17–1222	KALLISTOS I	1350–1353
GERMANOS II	1223–1240	PHILOTHEOS KOKKINOS	1353–1354
Methodios II	1240/1?	Kallistos I (2nd patr.)	1355–1363
Manuel II	1243/4?–1254	Philotheos Kokkinos (2nd patr.)	1364–1376
ARSENIOS AUTOREIANOS	1254–1260	Makarios	1376/7–1379
Nikephoros II	1260–1261	NEILOS KERAMEUS	1380–1388
Arsenios Autoreianos (2nd patr.)	1261–1265	ANTONY IV	1389–1390
Germanos III	1265–1266	Makarios (2nd patr.)	1390–1391
JOSEPH I	1266–1275	Antony IV (2nd patr.)	1391–1397
JOHN XI BEKKOS	1275–1282	Kallistos II Xanthopoulos	1397
Joseph I (2nd patr.)	1282–1283	MATTHEW I	1397–1402, 1403–1410
GREGORY II OF CYPRUS	1283–1289	Euthymios II	1410–1416
ATHANASIOS I	1289–1293	JOSEPH II	1416–1439
John XII Kosmas	1294–1303	Metrophanes II	1440–1443
Athanasios I (2nd patr.)	1303–1309	Gregory III Mammes	1443–1450?
NIPHON	1310–1314	Athanasios II	1450
JOHN XIII GLYKYS	1315–1319	GENNADIOS II SCHOLARIOS	1454–1456, 1463, 1464–1465
Gerasimos I	1320–1321		

Based on Grumel, *Chronologie* 435–37, with modifications.

of 886–956); to their numbers could be added Ignatios, but he was son of a deposed ruler and by the time of his election was a *hegoumenos*. In addition to these princes, 13 other laymen were elected: four in the 4th–6th C., only one in the 7th C., seven between 784 and 1063, and only one, BASIL II KAMATEROS, the supporter of Andronikos I, during the final 150 years of the period.

The Patriarchs, 1204–1453. Thirty-five patriarchs ascended the throne of Constantinople during these 150 years, for an average reign of seven years. Especially after the Palaiologan restoration, service as patriarch proved to be risky. On account of the tumultuous history of the Orthodox church in this period, fully half of the patriarchs between 1261 and 1453, 14 in all, either were deposed or abdicated under pressure. Seven of these were later reinstated. Reflecting the shrunken boundaries of the empire, virtually all the patriarchs were of Greek ancestry, with the exception of Joseph II, who was Bulgarian. The vast majority of the Palaiologan patriarchs (80 percent) came from a monastic background; a number served as *hegoumenoi* or metropolitans before being se-

lected as patriarch (F. Tinnefeld, *JOB* 36 [1986] 89–115). The only layman to become patriarch in this period was JOHN XIII GLYKYS, a former *logothetes tou dromou*.

LIT. *Les registres des actes du patriarcat de Constantinople. I. Les actes des patriarches*, ed. V. Grumel, V. Laurent, J. Darrouzès, 6 fasc. (Paris 1972–79). Beck, *Kirche* 60–78. M. Gedeon, *Patriarchikoi pinakes* (Constantinople 1890). G. Every, *The Byzantine Patriarchate, 451–1204* (London 1947). Genadios, *Historia tou oikoumenikou patriarcheion*, vol. 1 (Athens 1953). Maxime de Sardes, *Le patriarcat oecuménique dans l'église orthodoxe* (Paris 1975). —A.K., A.M.T.

CONSTANTINOPLE, SIEGE AND FALL OF.

The Ottoman sultan MEHMED II resolved as early as autumn 1451 to attack Constantinople, but officially proclaimed his intent only in Jan. 1453. By 5 Apr., he positioned an army allegedly 80,000–100,000 strong outside the land walls of Constantinople, while an armada of more than 120 ships patrolled the coastal waters. CONSTANTINE XI, with the help of the Venetian commune and other foreign allies (notably the Genoese Giovanni GIUSTINIANI LONGO), defended Constantinople with 26 warships and fewer than 7,000 fighting men. The

Genoese in Pera remained neutral, and schemes of Western Catholic powers to render aid were ineffective.

Mehmed opened the siege on 6 Apr., but his numerical superiority did not bring instant victory. Within a fortnight, the attackers had destroyed the outer wall in the Lykos Valley, using large cannons cast by Urbinus, a Hungarian engineer (see FIREARMS). The defenders, however, erected a stockade in front of the inner wall and repeatedly fought off enemy advances. Even Mehmed's spectacular penetration of the Golden Horn on 22 Apr. gave him no decisive advantage. Indeed, on 25 May his grand vizier, Halil Pasha, counseled retreat. Mehmed, however, persevered with a final attack on Tuesday, 29 May, about 1:30 A.M.

During the next four hours, two futile charges were made on the landward defenses. Toward dawn Mehmed dispatched the Janissaries to breach the stockade. About an hour later, Constantinople's defenses cracked at two points. A small band of Turks slipped through the unattended Kerkoporta Gate and took control of the Blachernai fortifications. Meanwhile the Janissaries breached the stockade and mounted the inner wall, near the Gate of St. Romanos (Top Kapı). By noon, most of Constantinople was conquered or had submitted; Constantine XI himself fell in battle shortly after the defenses were breached. That afternoon, Mehmed made his triumphal procession to Hagia Sophia; his troops looted the city well into the evening.

Contemporaries rationalized the *halosis* ("conquest") of 1453 with a variety of theocentric as well as secularizing explanations. Generally, the event compelled many to reject, reconsider, or refashion the traditional axioms of Byz. political and ecclesiological ideology. As a national tragedy, moreover, it evoked a series of *threnoi*, or laments, expressed variously in prose, poetry, and song.

SOURCES. J.R.M. Jones, *The Siege of Constantinople 1453: Seven Contemporary Accounts* (Amsterdam 1972). *La caduta di Costantinopoli: Le testimonianze dei contemporanei*, ed. A. Pertusi, 2 vols. ([Rome-Milan] 1976). *Testi inediti e poco noti sulla caduta di Costantinopoli*, ed. A. Pertusi (Bologna 1983).

LIT. S. Runciman, *The Fall of Constantinople, 1453* (Cambridge 1965). Bombaci-Shaw, *L'Impero ottomano* 348–65. M.T. Gökbilgin, *IA* 5.2:1185–99. E. Methuen, "Der Fall von Konstantinopel und der lateinische Westen," *HistZ* 237 (1983) 1–35. —S.W.R.

CONSTANTIUS II (Κωνσταντῖος), caesar (from 8 Nov. 324) and augustus (from 9 Sept. 337); born 7 Aug. 317, died Mopsoukrene, Cilicia, 3 Nov. 361. The son of CONSTANTINE I and Fausta, he was married three times, to the daughter of Julius Constantius (name unknown), to Eusebia, and to Faustina. Perhaps responsible for the murder of his rivals after Constantine I's death, Constantius was originally assigned Oriens, Pontica, Asiana, and Thrace. He became ruler of the entire empire after the overthrow of CONSTANS I and the defeat of MAGNENTIUS in 353. Constantius fought the Persians throughout his reign and waged successful campaigns against the Germans in Gaul and the Sarmatians on the middle Danube. He named GALLUS as caesar in 351 and JULIAN in 355 after the usurpation of Silvanus. Constantius was influenced by moderate ARIANISM and resisted the urging of his brothers who wanted to recall ATHANASIOS of Alexandria. Constantius tried to restore unity to the church by councils held in Ariminum and Seleukeia in 359–60, but the supporters of the HOMOOUSION remained intransigent. Constantius is remembered as a persecutor of the Orthodox. His reign was important in the development of Constantinople, whose senators were granted equality with those of Rome in 357. He was responsible for the construction of the original church of HAGIA SOPHIA; the *Chronicon Paschale* records his lavish donations at the dedication of the basilica in 360. Constantius died in Cilicia in 361 on his way to the West to deal with the usurpation of Julian. His best-known portrait is on a largitio dish now in Leningrad (*Iskusstvo Vizantii*, vol. 1, no.34).

LIT. R. Klein, *Constantius II. und die christliche Kirche* (Darmstadt 1977). C. Vogler, *Constance II et l'administration impériale* (Strasbourg 1979). M. Michaels-Mudd, "The Arian Policy of Constantius II and its Impact on Church-State Relations in the Fourth-Century Roman Empire," *BS/EB* 6 (1979) 95–111. —T.E.G.

CONSTANTIUS CHLORUS, or Marcus Flavius Valerius Constantius, augustus (305–06); born Dacia Ripensis ca.250, died York 25 July 306. A fiction of Constantinian date made him a descendant of Claudius II Gothicus (268–70). Constantius had a typical military career, becoming governor of Dacia and then, in 288, praetorian prefect to MAXIMIAN in Gaul. In response to the usurpation of Carausius and the loss of Britain as well

as a part of Gaul, DIOCLETIAN proclaimed him CAESAR and member of the TETRARCHY on 1 Mar. 293. At the same time he was adopted by Maximian as part of the "Herculian Dynasty." Later in that year Constantius drove Carausius from Gaul and in 296 reunited Britain to the empire. In practice though not in theory the Western provinces were divided between Constantius and Maximian. Constantius was responsible for Britain and Gaul from his primary residence at Trier, but he campaigned regularly against German invaders south of the Rhine. Constantius was a devotee of SOL INVICTUS but apparently did not actively persecute the Christians. There is, however, no reason to credit later Christian testimony that Constantius was a Christian.

Upon the abdication of Diocletian and Maximian in 305, Constantius became senior emperor in the West and apparently added Spain to his territories. In the same year Constantius crossed over to Britain and campaigned against the Picts in the north, where his son Constantine joined him. Constantius had children by two women, first HELENA the mother of CONSTANTINE I, and later (by 289) Theodora, the stepdaughter of Maximian, with whom he had six children; one of them was named Anastasia (Resurrection), an indication of Jewish or Christian sympathy.

LIT. Barnes, *New Empire* 35–37, 60f, 125f. R. Syme, "The Ancestry of Constantine," *Bonner Historia-Augusta-Colloquium* 1971 (1974) 237–53. —T.E.G.

CONSTELLATIONS. The standard constellations referred to in Byz. texts are the 48 listed by Ptolemy in the *Almagest* (7.5–8.1): 21 northern constellations (Arktos mikra, Arktos megale, Drakon, Kepheus, Boötes, Stephanos boreios, Ho en gonasin [Herakles], Lyra, Ornis, Kassiopeia, Perseus, Heniochos, Ophiouchos, Ophis, Oïstos, Aetos, Delphis, Hippou protome, Hippos [Pegasos], Andromeda, and Trigonon); the 12 signs of the zodiac (Krios, Tauros, Didymoi, Karkinos, Leon, Parthenos, Chelai [Zygon], Skorprios, Toxotes, Aigokeros, Hydrochoos, and Ichthyes), and 15 southern constellations (Ketos, Orion, Potamos [Eridanos], Lagoos, Kyon, Prokyon, Argo, Hydra, Krater, Korax, Kentauros, Therion, Thymiaterion, Stephanos notios, and Ichthys notios).

Another set of constellations, however, is referred to by RHETORIOS OF EGYPT in his descrip-

tion of the stars that rise simultaneously with each of the 36 decans (*paranatellonta*); these and others are found in several related Byz. astrological texts (F. Boll, *Sphaera* [Leipzig 1903; rp. Hildesheim 1967] 5–294). Finally, in a calendar for sailors ascribed to a *protospatharios* and *strategos* of the Kibyrrhaiotai theme, the stars are named after the saints or religious events on whose feast days they are first visible (A. Olivieri, *CCAG* 2:214–16).

There are numerous catalogs of the individual stars that constitute the constellations. In astronomical contexts they are derivatives from the catalog in the *Almagest* (some, including lists of astrolabe stars, being transmitted through Arabic and thereby acquiring an altered nomenclature, but one that is still equivalent in meaning), while in astrological contexts, aside from the *paranatellonta* tradition mentioned above, they are derived from the associations of planets with stars found in Ptolemy's *Astrological Effects* (1, 9). The astrologers frequently confine their lists to 30 "bright stars" (P. Kunitzsch, *ZDMG* 118 [1968] 62–74).

The constellations are seldom depicted in Byz. art. The available evidence was assembled by H. Stern (*Le calendrier de 354* [Paris 1953]). A 14th-C. MS at Milan preserves unusual miniatures of the constellations (D. Pingree, *JWarb* 45 [1982] 185–92). (See also STARS.) —D.P.

CONSUBSTANTIALITY. See HOMOOUSIOS.

CONSUL (ὕπατος), supreme magistrate of the Roman Republic. By the later empire the consulship lost its functions and the term was transformed into an honorific title. The emperors appointed two consuls each year (Justinian I, nov. 105.1); sometimes one consul was named in the West and another in the East. After completing his term the consul retained his honorific title. Election as consul was a great honor, often assumed by the emperor; it required enormous financial resources since the consul was obliged to arrange a banquet, distribute consular DIPTYCHS, and—the most burdensome duty—organize public games, such as CHARIOT RACES, at the Hippodrome. Prokopios (*SH* 26.13) calculates this last expense at more than 20 kentenaria of gold, part of which was supplied by the state. The consul remained eponymous for official dating until 537

when the system of INDICATIONS and years of the emperor's reign was introduced, at first alongside the old system of consular dating. The last eponymous consul was Basil the Younger in 541; after him only emperors assumed the *hypateia*. The last recorded instance is Constans II in 632, but Stein (*Op. minora* 340–48) suggests the office continued to exist until the 9th C. when Leo VI, in novel 94, abolished the institution as a contradiction of the existing political structure. After this time the term HYPATOS acquired a completely different meaning.

LIT. B. Kübler, *RE* 4 (1901) 1133–38. R. Bagnall et al., *Consuls of the Later Roman Empire* (Atlanta, Ga., 1987). Guillard, *Institutions* 2:44–67. Stein, *Op. minora* 248–53. —A.K.

CONSULARIA ITALICA. See ANNALS OF RAVENNA.

CONSULARIS (ὕπατικός), Roman title bestowed on a former CONSUL. In the 3rd C. it became customary to designate as *consularis* the governor of a province where several legions were assigned. *Consulares* were considered of higher rank than other governors (*praesides* and *correctores*); they were accorded the title of CLARISSIMUS. Among the provinces under *consulares* ca. 400 were Palestina I, Phoenicia, Syria I, Cilicia I, Cyprus, Pamphylia, Hellespont, Lydia, Galatia, Bithynia, Europa, Thrace, Macedonia, Dacia Mediterranea, Crete, and Pannonia. By the 6th C. Pannonia was removed from this list and placed under a *praeses*, while several other provinces became consular; according to HIEROKLES, they were Epirus Nova, Lycia, Caria, Pisidia, Lycaonia, Phrygia Pacatiana, Phrygia Salutaris, Cappadocia I, Helenopontus, and Arabia. Justinian I's novel of 535 gives a different list, however. The term *hypatikos* appears on some seals, for example, a 7th-C. seal with a Latin legend (Zacos, *Seals* 1, no. 1197). The title was abandoned when the Roman provincial administration gave way to the new system of THEMES. The equivalent term *proconsul* was translated as ANTHYPATOS.

LIT. B. Kübler, *RE* 4 (1901) 1138–42. —A.K.

CONTEMPLATIVE LIFE. See VITA CONTEMPLATIVA.

CONTINUATIONES ISIDORIANAE anni 741 and anni 754, two closely related Latin chronicles compiled in Spain after the Islamic conquest, which continue the *Chronicle* of ISIDORE OF SEVILLE. They derive from an eastern Mediterranean original that may have been written in Greek by a Monophysite author; their treatment of Arab, Byz., and Visigothic affairs from HERAKLEIOS on favors the Umayyads. On the Byz.-Arab conflict they show points of contact with the *Breviarium* of Patr. NIKEPHOROS I and the *Chronographia* of THEOPHANES THE CONFESSOR (C.E. Dubler, *Al-Andalus* 11 [1946] 283–349). The *Continuatio Isidoriana* [Byzantia-Arabica] anni 741 treats events down to LEO III, while the *Continuatio Isidoriana Hispana* anni 754, which repeats and alters much of the material in the first continuation, adds considerable material about the VISIGOTHS and reaches the revolt of ARTABASDOS against CONSTANTINE V and the death of Caliph Marwān II.

ED. T. Mommsen, *MGH AuctAnt* 11:332–68. *Crónica mozárabe de 754*, ed. J.E. López Pereira (Saragossa 1980), rev. G.V. Sumner, *Emerita* 49 (1981) 61–64.

LIT. J.E. López Pereira, *Estudio crítico sobre la Crónica mozárabe de 754* (Saragossa 1980). —M.McC.

CONTORNIATE (from It. *contorno*, “rim”), the name given since the 18th C. to the large copper-alloy coinlike objects, approximately 5 cms. in diameter, manufactured in some quantity at Rome between the middle of the 4th C. and the last quarter of the 5th, although certainly not products of the official mint. They have on one side the head of an emperor, usually of the 1st or 2nd C., or of some well-known literary or historical figure (e.g., Homer, Alexander the Great), and on the other a representation of a mythical or historical event or of a scene from the circus or public life. Their name derives from the deep groove that always marks their edge, but the purpose of this, as indeed of the objects themselves, is unknown. Because their designs are conspicuously pagan, Alföldi has argued that contorniates were propaganda medalets issued in connection with the public games by the senatorial aristocracy of Rome. They are of special interest to art historians through the contrast between their simplified iconography and the more sophisticated treatment of artistic themes on the gold and ivory objects apparently produced for members of the same senatorial classes. The contorniates often

bear, as a countermark, the letters PEL in monogram form, probably for *palma et laurus*, signifying victory in the games.

LIT. A. Alföldi, *Die Kontorniaten* (Budapest 1943). A. and E. Alföldi, assisted by C.L. Clay, *Die Kontorniat-Medaillons*, pt. 1: *Katalog* (Berlin 1976). H.-I. Marrou, “*Palma et laurus*,” *MEFR* 58 (1941–6) 109–31. —Ph.G.

CONTRACEPTION. The use of contraception was condemned by church fathers. The *Penitential* ascribed to JOHN IV NESTUTES considers it a form of infanticide, categorizing several kinds of birth control: application of an ointment ([?] *trimmata*) that is perceived as the least heinous; drinking a potion (*pharmakon*); and the worst—the use of herbs to induce ABORTION (PG 88:1904C). Another text attributed to the same author (col. 1924A) required sinners to confess their desire to remain childless, induce an abortion, or use contraceptive herbs. John Chrysostom calls the use of contraception “a murder before birth” (PG 60:626.50–51) and views it as harmful not only because it prevents procreation but also because it leads to involvement in contraceptive magic and idolatry (*ibid.*, 627.6–8). The practice of contraception was usually limited to prostitutes and to women tempted to break their vows of chastity or of marital fidelity. Married couples, however, sometimes abstained from or restricted sexual intercourse after having produced a child or two. EPIPHANIOS of Cyprus (*Panarion* 26.5.2–6) describes with indignation (and evidently with strong exaggeration) the habits of heretical Gnostics who did not wish to bear children but fornicated for the sake of pleasure, using *coitus interruptus* or abortion as a means of contraception; they are even reported to have ground up the embryo in a mortar, mixed it with honey, pepper, and other spices, and to have eaten it at their loathsome assemblies.

Byz. medical writers, esp. PAUL OF AEGINA in the 7th C., transmitted the theories and techniques of contraception outlined by the 2nd-C. *Gynaikēia* of Soranos, which recommended vaginal wool suppositories and the application of olive oil, honey, cedar resin, alum, balsam gum, or white lead to prevent sperm from passing into the uterus. Paul, however, provided only one herbal contraception recipe, whereas DIOSKORIDES had 20. In the 6th C. AETIOS OF AMIDA recommended mag-

ical protection, such as wearing an AMULET of cat's liver or a womb of a lioness in an ivory tube.

LIT. E. Patlagean, “Birth Control in the Early Byzantine Empire,” in *Biology of Man in History*, ed. R. Foster, O. Ranum (Baltimore 1975) 1–22. K. Hopkins, “Contraception in the Roman Empire,” *Comparative Studies of Society and History* 8 (1965–66) 124–51. J.T. Noonan, Jr., *Contraception: A History of its Treatment by the Catholic Theologians and Canonists*² (Cambridge, Mass.–London 1986) 13–19, 78f, 83–85. —J.H., A.K.

CONTRACT. In the first half of the 4th C. the late Roman state eliminated earlier Roman formulary procedure (*Cod. Just.* II 57.1 of 342) and in its place brought into general use the previously “extraordinary procedure”: the examination of judicial matters by public officials (*cognitio extraordinem*). Over the following two centuries this developed into a written procedure (libel suit) that endured in its main features until the fall of Byz. The consequence of this process was that ACTIONS lost their function and were severed from OBLIGATIONS, whereupon obligations were freed from the constraint of a certain typology. By making the STIPULATION a written act and thereby making all PACTA equal with the contract obligation, there arose a new, unitary conception of *contractus* (*synallagma*), for which the older forms of establishment (*consensus, verba, res, litterae*) no longer played any role, despite their repeated mention in the sources.

Instead, the specification of the contract as oral or written, being of particular procedural importance, became decisive. Consequently, from the time of Justinian I the tendency increases of requiring a written form for important transactions (DOWRY, SURETYSHIP, DIALYSIS, etc.); Leo VI only ordained what had long been the case when he asserted the binding force of every written agreement (*Nov. Leo VI* 72). At the same time the oral contract remained valid and in use, esp. in the area of everyday buying and selling, but also as a transaction with witnesses. Limits on what could be contained in a contract were determined by possible violations of moral standards and numerous legal prohibitions (concerning minors, rights of preemption, prohibitions against alienation, etc.). Breach of contract led to sentences requiring payment or compensation (in kind or monetary), which were assigned case by case with considerable flexibility. —D.S.

Types of Contract. Roman and Byz. law distinguished various types of contract. The first group formed "real" contracts, that is, loan, *commodatum*, deposit, and *pignus*; stipulation was the main form of the oral contract; consensual contracts included sale, contracts of letting or hiring a thing, service contracts (contracts for paid labor—see *MISTHOSIS*), partnership, and *mandatum*.

Extant Contracts. Multiple late Roman and Byz. contracts survived in original form and in contemporary copies. From the earlier period those are primarily on both Greek and Latin papyri (see *RAVENNA PAPYRI*); from the later period are extant certain contracts (mainly purchase deeds) preserved in monastic archives (Mount Athos, Lembiotissa, etc.). (See *ACTS, DOCUMENTARY.*)

—A.K.

CONTRITION (*πένθος*), in Byz. spirituality, is the remorseful heart or the gift of tears, whereby one mourns not only for one's own sins and the sins of the world, but also for the suffering of Christ. This is not a metaphor of the earthly life as "the vale of tears," but a real weeping and shedding of tears. The Byz. believer sees in the beatitude, "Blessed are they who mourn, for they shall be comforted" (Mt 5:4), the promise of comfort obtained through tears. Accordingly, contrition must be united with unceasing prayer (e.g., the Jesus prayer characteristic of *HESYCHASM*) in order to advance in the spiritual life and to attain its goal, *HESYCHIA*. "In death, God will not reproach us if we have performed no miracles, or if we are not theologians or mystics, but most certainly will we render account to Him if we have not ceaselessly bewailed our sins" (John Klimax, PG 88:816D).

In the *Apophthegmata Patrum* and in hagiography in general one often encounters the gift of tears. The Abbot Isaac, for example, sought the gift of being able to weep continuously, as did Mary under the Cross (PG 65:357B). For *SYMEON THE THEOLOGIAN*, in whose spirituality the experience of spiritual perception or *aisthesis* gains significance, the gift of tears is as necessary for salvation as the sacrament of baptism, for that is the baptism of the Spirit. Thus Niketas *STETHATOS*, in his vita of Symeon (90.7–8, *OrChrAn* 12 [1928] 124), likens Symeon's tears to the flowing

waters of baptism. Symeon recommended his own practice to his monks as the ideal: daily prayer and the cultivation of a contrite heart.

LIT. I. Hausherr, *Penthos: La doctrine de la componction dans l'Orient chrétien* (Rome 1944). P.-R. Régamey, "La 'componction du cœur,'" *La Vie Spirituelle*, supp. 44 (1935–36) [1–16], [65–84]. Idem, *Portrait spirituel du chrétien* (Paris 1963) 76–116. M. Lot-Borodine, "Le mystère du 'don des larmes' dans l'Orient chrétien," *La Vie Spirituelle*, supp. 48 (1936) [65–110]. P. Adnès, *DictSpir* 9:290–95. —K.-H.U.

COOKING WARE, ceramic vessels used for the preparation and serving of food. Byz. cooking pots developed directly from traditional late Roman shapes, although one cannot exclude the possible influence of wares from the barbarian north. Most were locally produced and are difficult to date except in the most general terms. The pots were simple in design, with a flat or more commonly rounded bottom, round or vertical sides, and a simple often outturned rim on which a lid could be placed; two horizontal or vertical handles were generally added. Cooking ware was comprised of a coarse clay, normally with a liberal admixture of sand and small stones, which usually fires black; the pots were often placed directly in the fire for cooking and it is not always possible to tell if blackening came from the firing process or from use. From the 7th C. onward, cooking pots were commonly glazed on the interior with a yellow glaze that fires a dark brown. (For cooking wares made of metal, see *TOOLS AND HOUSEHOLD FITTINGS.*)

LIT. T.S. MacKay, "More Byzantine and Frankish Pottery from Corinth," *Hesperia* 36 (1967) 288–300.

—T.E.G.

COPTIC ART AND ARCHITECTURE, a conventional designation for the art and architecture of Christian Egypt.

Christian art in Egypt derived from late Roman provincial art and was fully dependent upon the Graeco-Roman traditions developed along the Mediterranean littoral. Once Constantinople had become securely established as the cultural center of the empire, however, its influence in Egypt increased: in *ALEXANDRIA*, the seat of Byz. civic and military administration and a center of Hellenic culture from the time of its foundation, artistic developments in Constantinople were in-

troduced early and rapidly displaced local traditions.

The earliest surely datable churches are the transept basilica of *HERMOPOLIS MAGNA* and the church of the Dayr Anbā Shinūda (the so-called White Monastery) near *SOHAG* (both first half of the 5th C.). Most of the remaining churches belong to the 6th and 7th C., while those in Old Cairo do not date from earlier than the last decade of the 7th C. For the most part these churches are conventional three-aisled basilicas, but they have an aisle across the west end (the so-called "return aisle," not to be confused with a narthex), a distinctive feature originating in Ptolemaic and Roman cemetery architecture. Few churches have an atrium. The east end is normally straight, since the apse is usually flanked by *PASTOPHORIA*. A good number, however, have a triconch sanctuary (*Sohag*, *Dendera*, and the Monastery of the Syrians in *Wādī Natrūn*), and a secondary triumphal arch before the entrance into the triconch; from the spatial division this arch caused in front of the sanctuary was to develop the *khūrus* (choir, from Gr. *choros*) of the early medieval Egyptian church (e.g., *SAQQĀRA*). Exceptions to the simple basilican plan are the transept basilicas at *Hermopolis Magna*, *Abū Mīnā*, and *Marea*, and the two tetraconch churches at *Abū Mīnā*; these plans were evidently imported from abroad.

The churches at monastic sites are usually rather simple (*Sohag* is an exception, and the two five-aisled basilicas of the Pachomian monastery at *Pbow* are impressive only for their size). Each form of monasticism in Egypt developed its own particular type of accommodation: while anchorites lived in small separate houses containing individual sleeping rooms, oratories, and kitchens (as at *KELLIA*), cenobites were accommodated in larger lodging-houses, occasionally in common dormitories (e.g., *Dayr al-Balāyza*).

Great quantities of architectural sculpture, such as friezes, niche-heads, and capitals, have been found in *Bawīt* and *Saqqāra* (most now housed in the Coptic Museum in Cairo). Stylistically these pieces are dependent on artistic developments in Constantinople: even the interlaced foliage friezes considered peculiar to Egypt derive from East Roman acanthus branches. Only the form of the door-lintel shows a continuation of Pharaonic design. *Spolia* were used extensively, and by the end

of the 8th C. local production of stone architectural sculpture seems to have come to an end. Figural sculpture found particularly in *AKHNĀS* and *OXYRHYNCHUS* appears mainly in sepulchral contexts, incorporated into an architectural framework in the form of stelae or niche-heads. Pagan themes are common in works of the 4th and 5th C.; in the 6th and 7th C. the figures are completely surrounded by ornament.

A few wall paintings have survived in catacombs and ecclesiastical buildings; these show the influence of Alexandria. In churches and monastic buildings somewhat later in date than the catacombs, there are frontally posed representations of saints and important figures of Egyptian monasticism. Even the images of Daniel in the Lions' Den, the Holy Rider, or St. *MENAS* between two camels are more iconic than narrative in character. Compositions in the niches of the little chapels at *Bawīt* and *Saqqāra* are often of high quality, and most echo large-scale models. Though the famous Egyptian mummy portraits belong entirely to the pagan period, their encaustic technique was adapted in early Christian icon painting. The portrait of *APA ABRAHAM*, bishop of Hermonthis, in the Louvre (ca.600) follows Byz. models such as the icon of Sts. *Sergios* and *Bakchos* from Sinai, now in Kiev (Weitzmann, *Sinai Icons*, B.9).

Many early Coptic *TEXTILES* have survived, thanks to the dry climate of Egypt. Though figural motifs of pagan origin were still in use even in the Christian period, these textiles are decorated primarily with ornamental motifs. Egyptian pottery, which is relatively mediocre because of the poor quality of the local clay, follows late Roman types known from the Mediterranean littoral. Many painted bowls have been found dating from the 5th and 6th C. Of much higher standard are the Egyptian works in *IVORY*; the majority of these was produced in Alexandrian workshops and had considerable artistic value even outside of Egypt.

The patrons of Christian art during the 5th and 6th C. in Egypt were mostly local magnates of hellenized Egyptian or partly Greek origin; they were continuously receptive to new developments in Constantinople and lent Coptic art its simultaneously classicizing and Christian character. The art from monastic sites shares this blend of clas-

sical and Christian elements, though it is executed in materials more modest than those used in the opulent city cemeteries.

LIT. P. du Bourguet, *The Art of the Copts* (New York 1967). L.-A. Hunt, "Coptic Art," *DMA* 3:585-93. H.-G. Severin, "Frühchristliche Skulptur und Malerei in Ägypten," *Propyläen Kunstgeschichte*, supp. 1 (Berlin 1977) 243-53. *Beyond the Pharaohs: Egypt and the Copts in the 2nd to 7th Centuries A.D.*, ed. F.D. Friedman (Providence, R.I., 1989). -P.G.

COPTIC LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE.

Coptic is the latest stage of the Egyptian language, written in the Greek alphabet plus seven signs derived from demotic. Originally five major dialects—Sahidic, Bohairic, Fayyūmic, Akhmimic, and Lycopolitan (Subakhmimic)—were recognized; modern scholarship has detected several more idiolects (R. Kasser, *Muséon* 93 [1980] 53-112, 237-97; 94 [1981] 91-152). Beginning with 3rd-C. horoscopes, Coptic became the language of Christian EGYPT, attaining classic literary status by the 5th C. in the writings of SHENOUTE. From early versions of the Bible and the liturgy, Coptic writings came to include homilies, hagiography, biblical commentary, panegyric and apocalyptic, both translations from Greek and Syriac and original productions by Egyptian writers. However, not much original theological writing survives. The rich Gnostic literature found at NAG HAMMADI and elsewhere was written partly in Coptic. The extent to which Coptic was part of the bilingual society of Byz. Egypt is seen in the enormous volume of Coptic financial and legal documents and letters, as well as inscriptions, surviving from the period of Byz. control and down to the 9th C. The immediate post-conquest period produced more hagiography, hymnody, and lectionary texts. Coptic persisted among the Christian community after the Arab conquest but was inexplicably moribund by the 11th C. A little survives, memorized but uncomprehended, in the present-day liturgy of the Coptic church.

LIT. T.O. Lambdin, *Introduction to Sahidic Coptic* (Atlanta 1983). W.E. Crum, *A Coptic Dictionary* (Oxford 1939). W. Vycichl, R. Kasser, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte* (Louvain 1983). H.J. Polotsky, *Études de syntaxe copte* (Cairo 1944). Idem, *Collected Papers* (Jerusalem 1971). A. Shisha-Halevy, *Coptic Grammatical Categories* (Rome 1986). T. Orlandi in *Roots of Egypt. Christ.* 51-81. A.A. Schiller, "A Checklist of Coptic Documents and Letters," *BASP* 13 (1976) 99-123. W. Kammerer, *A Coptic Bibliography* (Ann Arbor 1950), continued by T. Orlandi, *Bibliografia copta* (Rome yearly). -L.S.B.MacC.

COPTS, the name, derived from Greek *Aigyptioi* via the Arabic *Qibt*, of the autochthonous Christians of Egypt, descendants of the population of Pharaonic times; since the 5th C., they have been adherents to a non-Chalcedonian church later termed "Coptic Orthodox." The term "Copts" is really an anachronism for the Byz. period but serves to designate those who used COPTIC as their principal language (or bilingually with Greek) and as a major vehicle of culture, thought, and theology. As a label "Copt" does not carry an automatic class or confessional connotation. A Copt was not necessarily a peasant, an Upper Egyptian (as opposed to an Alexandrian), or a Monophysite; ATHANASIOS and CYRIL of Alexandria were Copts as were PACHOMIOS and SHENOUTE. The Copts constituted a culturally vigorous and creative ethnic group within the empire, producing highly original visual art and abundant literature; the submergence of their language and culture after the Muslim conquest has not been explained. Some eight million Copts survive in Egypt today; large diaspora communities live in North America and Europe.

LIT. A. Bowman, *Egypt after the Pharaohs* (Berkeley 1986). *Beyond the Pharaohs: Egypt and the Copts, 2nd-7th Centuries A.D.*, ed. F.D. Friedman (Providence 1989). *The Coptic Encyclopedia*, ed. A.S. Atiya (New York 1990-). *The Roots of Egyptian Christianity*, ed. B. Pearson, J. Goehring (Philadelphia 1986). -L.S.B.MacC.

COPY, OFFICIAL (ἰσον). Major CHANCERIES kept RECORDS of outgoing documents and could provide official copies of them. In the imperial chancery copies were identical to the originals but lacked the emperor's signature (and eventually replaced the gold seal by a lead one). The patriarchal chancery produced excerpts of the synod's minutes signed by the CHARTOPHYLAX or copies of documents signed by him and his NOTARIES. Lay administrations had similar practices. Certified copies of all documents could also be delivered by bishops or other public officials, who signed at the bottom or on the verso. These copies could be used instead of the originals even in tribunals (at least from the 10th C. onward) as Byz. had broken with the Roman tradition of banning copies as evidence.

For reasons of security, individuals or institutions (e.g., monasteries) had their archival documents copied on *kontakia* (long rolls of parchment

or paper) or in volumes (see KODIX) that constituted chartularies (such as those of NEA MONE OF CHIOS, of St. John Prodromos on Mt. MENOIKION, of MAKRINITISSA on Pelion, of Hiera/Xerchoraphion and of Latmos near Miletos, of Lembos [LEMBIOTISSA] near Smyrna, of VAZELON in the Pontos, etc.). Only some were certified by a superior authority, but all may have been seen as having some probatory value.

LIT. Dölger-Karayannopulos, *Urkundenlehre* 129-34. Darrouzès, *Offikia* 517-25. I. Medvedev, "Vizantijskie i postvizantijskie kopijnye knigi," *Vspomogatel'nye istoričeskie discipliny* 6 (Leningrad 1974) 307-18. -N.O.

CORBEL, a stone projecting from the face of a wall and used as a support; a series of brick courses progressively stepped forward above one another for the same purpose. Corbels, sometimes elaborately carved, provide footing for roof beams (as at QALB LAWZAH), for projecting balconies (A.N. Popov, *VizVrem* 28 [1968] 192-94), for the columns of decorative blind arcades, or for elaborate projecting cornices. A series of corbels supporting small arches at the top of a wall creates a corbel-table frieze.

-W.L.

CORDOBA (Lat. Corduba), capital of the Roman province of Baetica in southern Spain in the late 3rd and early 4th C., later replaced by Hispalis (Seville). Ossius (or Hosios), bishop of Cordoba (died 357/8), was a staunch supporter of Nicaean orthodoxy and an influential adviser of Constantine I. Little is known of the city's history in late antiquity, but it was probably an object of Vandal and Visigothic raids. In 550/1 it was attacked by Agila, king of the Visigoths; the inhabitants of Cordoba defeated him and captured the royal treasure. Justinian I used the situation as a pretext to send a small army into Spain under command of Liberios, although there is no clear evidence to indicate that Cordoba was ever directly occupied by Byz. In 572 Cordoba was seized by King Leovigild, but by 584 it was again independent and the refuge of Hermenegild, Leovigild's rebellious son. Hermenegild was betrayed and taken prisoner, and Cordoba fell to the king.

In 711 it was conquered by the Arabs and in 716 became the administrative center of al-Andalus. After several riots against the Umayyad caliph of Spain, 15,000 Muslim refugees from Cordoba,

including women and children, settled (814-15) near Alexandria. In 818 they occupied Alexandria but were expelled from the city and sometime between 824 and 827 landed in CRETE. In 839-40 Emp. Theophilos sent an ambassador to Cordoba. In Sept. 947 a Byz. embassy led by the eunuch Salomon arrived in Cordoba and was received by the caliph 'Abd al-Rahmān III. Among the gifts brought by Salomon were a Greek MS of Dioskorides and a Latin MS of Orosius. The caliph, in response, sent to Constantinople a group of envoys headed probably by the bishop of Carthage. It is possible that this exchange of ambassadors was somehow connected with the Byz. abortive expedition against Crete in 949. Al-IDRISI (tr. P. Jaubert, 2:60) reported that the *qibla* of the Great Mosque at Cordoba was decorated with mosaic tesserae sent to 'Abd al-Rahmān by "the emperor of Constantinople."

LIT. Thompson, *Goths* 320-34. R.C. Knapp, *Roman Cordoba* (Berkeley 1983) 69-73. S. Keay, *Roman Spain* (Berkeley 1988) 202-17. A. Lippold, "Bischof Ossius von Cordoba und Konstantin der Grosse," *ZKirch* 92 (1981) 1-15. V. Christides, *The Conquest of Crete by the Arabs* (Athens 1984) 81-92. E. Lévi-Provençal, "Un échange d'ambassades entre Cordoue et Byzance au IXe siècle," *Byzantion* 12 (1937) 1-24. Vasiliev, *Byz. Arabes* 2:324-31. -R.B.H., A.C.

CORFU. See KERKYRA.

CORINTH (Κόρινθος), city on the Isthmus of Corinth in the northeastern Peloponnesos; it enjoyed the protection of the powerful citadel of Acrocorinth and had harbors at Lechaion on the Gulf of Corinth and at KENCHREAI on the Saronic Gulf. The commercial and strategic location of the city made it important throughout the Byz. period.

In late antiquity it was capital of the province of ACHAIA. The city was devastated by earthquakes in 365 and 375 and by ALARIC in 396; afterward the civic center was rebuilt on a monumental scale, but a new city wall encircled only part of the ancient area (T.E. Gregory, *Hesperia* 48 [1979] 264-80). At least four churches are known in the ancient city, another on Acrocorinth and an enormous 5th-C. basilica at Lechaion (D. Pallas, *Ergon* [1961] 141-48; [1965] 105-12). From the late 6th C. Corinth declined. A tomb of the 7th C. found near the walls belonged to a warrior and contained non-Byz. objects; these finds

raised the question of whether the city was captured in the 7th C. (G.D. Weinberg, *Hesperia* 43 [1974] 512–21); a mutilated inscription, perhaps honoring the victory of Constans II, led to the hypothesis that he recaptured Corinth. The question of the ethnic origin of the invaders has also been discussed, although archaeology can rarely establish the ethnicity of skeletons found in tombs (K.M. Setton, *Speculum* 25 [1950] 502–43; 27 [1952] 351–62; J.H. Kent, *ibid.* 25 [1950] 544–46).

The primary settlement may have shifted to Acrocorinth in the 7th C. Corinth was perhaps capital of the theme of HELLAS from the late 7th C. and was capital of the theme of PELOPONNESOS from the early 9th C. Numismatic evidence suggests that the economy of the city began to recover in the 9th C. (D.M. Metcalf, *Hesperia* 41 [1973] 180–251).

The city of the 11th–12th C. differed significantly from late antique Corinth: public buildings (except churches) disappeared, streets became narrow, and the old Roman marketplace was covered by small shops. Shops also moved to colonnades along the major streets, and tombs slowly began to encroach upon the ancient civic center. From the 9th C. onward the settlement abandoned the ancient city plan, as shops, workshops, gardens, churches, and monasteries jostled one another without any apparent order. Workshops for the production of ceramics (with remains of kilns) and glass (G.R. Davidson, *AJA* 44 [1940] 297–324), as well as smithies, have been excavated. Narrative sources emphasize the existence of a flourishing silk industry in the 12th C. The city continued to function as an important harbor.

In 1147 ROGER II of Sicily attacked Corinth: the inhabitants fled to Acrocorinth, which fell as a result of the incompetence of the commander Nikephoros Chalouphes. Roger carried off both Corinthian notables and artisans (particularly the city's famed silk weavers) as well as considerable wealth, including an icon of St. Theodore. The city apparently did not fully recover from the sack of the Normans. Leo SGOUROS took Corinth in 1202.

In 1205 the Crusaders, nominally under the authority of Boniface of Montferrat, began a siege of Acrocorinth, defended by Sgouros. The attackers built a castle at Penteskouphi, but the siege dragged on until ca. 1210 when Theodore Komnenos Doukas, brother of *despotes* Michael I of

Epiros, gained control of Acrocorinth, presumably by treaty; the city became part of the principality of Achaia, and is termed a capitaneate in the Assizes of ROMANIA. Little is known of Corinth under Frankish rule, as it was not one of the great baronies; the mint was, however, located at Corinth until it was moved to Clarence (Clarenza). The city and castle were formally surrendered to the Byz. in 1262 by WILLIAM II VILLEHARDOUIN, but the local commander refused to relinquish control. Corinth was ceded to Philip I of Taranto ca. 1300 and in 1305 a great tournament was held at the Isthmus. In 1358 the city was given to Niccolò ACCIAJUOLI, who strengthened the defenses. In 1395 Theodore I Palaiologos, *despotes* of the Morea, gained control of Corinth for Byz. In 1397 he surrendered the city to the HOSPITALIERS, who held it until 1404, when they returned Corinth to Byz. control (J. Chrysostomides, *Byzantina* 7 [1975] 81–110). Around 1443 the future emperor Constantine XI appointed a certain John Kantakouzenos as governor in Corinth. The territory was ravaged by the Turks in 1446. Mehmed II attacked the city in 1458, and on 8 August the residents surrendered Acrocorinth to him.

The bishop of Corinth was metropolitan of the Peloponnesos and of the province of Achaia (L. Duchesne, *MEFR* 15 [1895] 375–78). He was present at most of the early councils; in 431 he was the only bishop from the Peloponnesos and in 680 the only representative from Greece (Mansi 11:689). In the crisis after the Slavic invasions the bishop of PATRAS contested control over the Peloponnesos with Corinth, and in the 10th C. the suffragans of Corinth were restricted to the eastern Peloponnesos and the Ionian Islands (*Notitiae CP* 7.488–95, 9.371–99).

There was a sizable monastery of St. John in the area of the ancient center, and literary sources and seals refer to an important Church of St. Theodore whose site has not been identified. None of the Byz. churches of Corinth has survived intact. The fortifications of Acrocorinth rest largely on ancient foundations, but many sections of Byz. masonry, probably of the 6th–7th C., can be seen, esp. along the inner western wall.

LIT. J.H. Finley, "Corinth in the Middle Ages," *Speculum* 7 (1932) 477–99. R. Scranton, *Medieval Architecture in the Central Area of Corinth* (Princeton 1957). R. Carpenter, A. Bon, *The Defenses of Acrocorinth and the Lower Town* (Cam-

bridge, Mass., 1936). M.S. Kodroses, *Symbole sten historia kai topographia tes perioches Korinthou stous mesous chronous* (Athens 1981). T.A. Gritsopoulos, *Ekklesiastike historia kai Christianika mnemeia Korinthias*, vol. 1 (Athens 1973). —T.E.G.

CORIPPUS, more fully, Flavius Cresconius Corippus, Latin poet; died after 567. Corippus was a native of the province of Africa, where he was a small-town teacher and/or wandering poet. Probably in 549 he recited to the dignitaries of Carthage his epic poem the *Johannis*, eight books on the just-concluded war of the Byz. general John TROGLITA against the Berbers. He then disappeared from view until ca. 566 when he turned up in Constantinople, celebrating in four hexameter books, with two prefaces, to the emperor and the quaestor Anastasios, respectively, the accession of JUSTIN II on 14 Nov. 565. Some scholars equip him with distinguished patrons and imperial office, but this is mere speculation. Likewise, it is hard to know how biographical or rhetorical are his complaints about old age and poverty.

Although a competent versifier with predictable classical debts, Corippus commands attention mainly as a contemporary historical source. The *Johannis* is a mine of information on African topography and Berber customs, while the panegyric on Justin is a very important source for 6th-C. ceremonial. Several of Corippus's EKPHRASEIS, notably that of Justinian I's funeral robe, ornamented with scenes of imperial TRIUMPH, seem to depend as much on artistic representations as on the poet's experience. The text thus "replaces" lost images of a critical equipoise in art history, a moment when realism was not yet dead and symbolism not yet overweening, even as it describes Justin as an emperor who is at once Roman consul and *imago Christi*.

ED. *Johannidos seu De bellis Libycis libri VIII*, ed. J. Diggle, F.R.D. Goodyear (Cambridge 1970). G.W. Shea, "The *Johannis* of Flavius Cresconius Corippus. Prolegomena and Translation" (Ph.D. diss., Columbia Univ., 1966). In *laudem Iustini Augusti Minoris*, ed. Av. Cameron (London 1976), with Eng. tr.

LIT. U.J. Stache, *Flavius Cresconius Corippus. In laudem Iustini Augusti minoris. Ein Kommentar* (Berlin 1976). B. Baldwin, "The Career of Corippus," *CQ* 28 (1978) 372–76. Av. Cameron, "The Career of Corippus Again," *CQ* 30 (1980) 534–39. Eadem, "Corippus' *Iohannis*: Epic of Byzantine Africa," *Liverpool Papers* 4 (1983) 167–80. Y. Moderan, "Corippe et l'occupation byzantine de l'Afrique," *AntAfr* 22 (1986) 195–212. —B.B., A.C.

CORNICE, the upper part of the ENTABLATURE of a colonnade or of a door-frame. By the 6th C., the use of cornices was extended to define architectural space by marking the level of galleries or the springing of arches, domes, and vaults. A variant on cornices of the Corinthian order appears in HAGIA SOPHIA, Constantinople, and other Justinianic monuments, with characteristic modillions decorated with acanthus leaves (L. Butler, *Ayasofya Müzesi Yıllığı* 10 [1985] 27–32). Less ambitious churches display cornices with plain *torus* or *cyma recta* profiles decorated with a wide range of acanthus leaves, palmettes, and anthemias, etc.

Simplified cornices continued to be used in domed, cross-in-square churches or Greek cross-octagons after the 9th C. Those in the church of Constantine Lips in Constantinople have traces of gilding and color, constituting a revival of 6th-C. forms (C. Mango, E.J.W. Hawkins, *DOP* 18 [1964] 306–09). The *katholikon* of HOSIOS LOUKAS retains cornices cast in plaster, while that of DAPHNI shows champlévé cornices with colored inlay evoking *opus sectile* (Grabar, *Sculptures II*, pl. XXXIV).

LIT. Orlandos, *Palaiochr. basilike* 2:374–79. Grabar, *Sculptures I* 62–64, 103f. Grabar, *Sculptures II* 64. —L.Ph.B.

CORON. See KORONE.

CORONATION (στέψιμον, στεφάνωσις), imperial accession CEREMONY (together with ACCLAMATION, ADVENTUS, SHIELD-RAISING, BANQUETS, circus spectacles, and ANOINTING), whose significance reflects that of the CROWN as imperial INSIGNIA. From the time of Julian to the 6th C., the coronation shared the imperial election's military character, as soldiers crowned the new EMPEROR with a TORQUE during his acclamation and shield-raising. From the 5th C. the patriarch of Constantinople blessed the insignia and participated in the coronation, but a constitutional interpretation of his role (P. Charanis, *Byzantina* 8 [1976] 37–46) seems unlikely (e.g., C. Tsirpanlis, *Kleronomia* 4 [1972] 63–91). It reflects, rather, the church's prestige and individual patriarchs' political stature (F. Winkermann, *Klio* 60 [1978] 467–81). Patriarchal coronations occurred only when there was no senior emperor, a minority of cases from 450 to 1000. The shift of coronations (*De cer.* 410–33) from the HEBDOMON to the HIPPODROME in the

5th or 6th C. reflects Byz.'s changing political structure. As late as 776, Constantine VI was crowned co-emperor in the Hippodrome between ceremonies in Hagia Sophia.

The coronation of Constans II in the ambo of Hagia Sophia (641) began a long series of coronations at the Great Church and reveals imperial legitimacy's religious element, underscored by the scheduling of coronations to coincide with holy days like Christmas or Easter, and by imperial epithets like *theosteptos* or *a Deo coronatus* (G. Rösch, *Onoma basileias* [Vienna 1978] 67, 140f). The well-documented Byz. coronation of the 10th C. (*De cer.*, bk.1, ch.38, ed. Vogt 2:1-5, and Goar, *Euchologion* 726f) comprised receptions by officials and factions during a procession to Hagia Sophia; the patriarch crowned the emperor in the ambo and the audience acclaimed him; the emperor then ascended a throne to receive the officials' PROSKYNESIS. A eucharistic liturgy followed. The coronation of co-emperors was similar (*De cer.*, bk.1, ch.38, ed. Vogt 2:3.1-19), except that, like empresses, they were crowned by the senior emperor. Coronations of empresses took place in the Augustaion and at St. Stephen of Daphne (*De cer.*, bk.1, ch.40, ed. Vogt 2:11-15).

The Nicæan Empire temporarily abandoned the coronation of co-emperors and systematically added shield-raising and anointing to the ritual. The Palaiologoi restored co-emperors' coronations. Their ceremony (Kantak. 1:196.8-204.3; cf. pseudo-Kod. 252-72) began with the emperor's subscription to a profession of Orthodoxy (his first use of his title), shield-raising, and acclamation. Next, the emperor, enthroned on a wooden platform in Hagia Sophia, received the SAKKOS and diadem. Coronation was now integrated into the eucharistic liturgy during which the patriarch and church dignitaries performed the anointing in the ambo. Then the patriarch—assisted by the senior emperor if there was one—crowned the new emperor, who was acclaimed again, and the liturgy continued. A PROKYPISIS followed. Empresses were crowned by their husbands and then performed a *proskynesis* to them. Several days of festivities ensued. Commemorative coins were often issued in connection with coronation LARGESS; 9th-C. Byz. coronations customarily involved large payments to the clergy of Hagia Sophia and to the bureaucracy and army (see, e.g., McCormick, *Eternal Victory* 229).

LIT. A. Christophilopoulou, *Ekloge, anagoreusis kai stepsis tou byzantinou autokratoros* (Athens 1956). J. Nelson, "Symbols in Context: Rulers' Inauguration Rituals in Byzantium and the West in the Early Middle Ages," *SChH* 13 (1976) 97-119. —M.McC.

Representation in Art. Depictions of coronations occur on a number of different objects (ivory plaques, MS frontispieces, silver vessels, coins, wall paintings), the earliest probably being that of Basil I in the PARIS GREGORY (Omont, *Miniatures*, pl.XIX). Most depictions show the emperor or imperial couple receiving the crown from Christ, the Virgin, or an archangel. The presentation of the emperor crowned by the divine power expresses the tendency to construe the fact not only as a historical event but as an image of the emperor-Godhead relationship and the selection of the emperor by God. The images on the ivory plaques and the coins were most likely commemorative of the historical event. The coins were first issued at the time of the coronation but often continued through the reign; the ivory panels were possibly given out as gifts to court officials to celebrate the occasion. There are several ivory plaques with the theme of coronation—for example, the Moscow panel of CONSTANTINE VII being crowned by Christ. In a similar manner the imperial couple of Romanos and Eudokia is crowned by Christ on an ivory plaque in the Cabinet des Médailles in Paris, which commemorates not only the coronation of Romanos (IV?) but also his marriage to Eudokia (I. Kalavrezou-Maxeiner, *DOP* 31 [1977] 305-25). A number of coronation scenes illustrated in the Madrid MS of John SKYLITZES are neither commemorative nor contemporary with the events they represent. These scenes accompany the chronicler's narrative; they vary in detail but all show the historical ceremonial by depicting the patriarch crowning the emperor or the imperial couple (Grabar-Manoussacas, *Skylitzès*, nos. 266, 328, 542).

LIT. Grabar, *L'empereur* 112-22, pls. XXIII-XXVI, XXVII.2, XXVIII.5, 6. —I.K.

CORPUS JURIS CIVILIS, the name given from the 16th C. onward to the legislative work of Justinian I. It consists of the INSTITUTES, the DIGEST, the CODEX JUSTINIANUS, and the NOVELS OF JUSTINIAN I. All four parts were taught in the LAW SCHOOLS of Berytus and Constantinople. The translations of the Latin text of the *Corpus* that

were produced in both cities form the foundation of Byz. law and were incorporated into the BASILIKA and its scholia. Considerable sections of later law books—transmitted mainly through the *Basilika*—can be traced back to the *Corpus Juris Civilis*. In western Europe the *Corpus* was forgotten soon after Justinian but was rediscovered in the 11th C. In many European countries it remained the authoritative source of law into the 19th C. (see LAW, ROMAN).

ED. *Corpus iuris civilis*, ed. P. Krüger et al., 3 vols. (Berlin 1928-29; rp. 1963, 1968). Eng. tr. S.P. Scott, *The Civil Law*, 17 vols. in 7 pts. (Cincinnati 1932; rp. 1973).

LIT. Wenger, *Quellen* 562-734.

—M.Th.F.

CORPUS JURIS CIVILIS, COMMENTARIES ON THE. Evaluation of the writings of Justinian I's contemporaries on the *Corpus Juris Civilis* depends on one's opinion of how the Justinianic prohibition on commentary is to be interpreted, a matter that has long been controversial. The prohibition is found in the introductory constitutions to the DIGEST: it forbids all *commentarii* and *interpretationes* except for translations (*kata podas*), summaries (*indices*), and indications of supplementary and parallel regulations (*paratitla*). The extensive legal literature produced in Justinian's time seemingly provides ample evidence that the prohibition was not observed. The possibility cannot be excluded, however, that the prohibition was not directed at that literature at all. To this end, arguments of content or of form have been adduced. Arguments based on content claim that the surviving legal literature comments on the law affirmatively and does not represent divergent points of view; only the latter were forbidden, to avoid the danger of confusion. Arguments based on form claim that this legal literature consists of "private" lecture notes, not the published commentaries of professors. Another variant of the argument based on form has been put forward by Scheltema (*infra*), who argues that it was not the production of divergent opinions that are forbidden but rather their inclusion in MSS of the *Digest*. Given that the prohibition is found only in the *Digest* (which contained the harmonized remains of the controversies of classical jurists) and given its formulation (that contradictions should be avoided), an explanation based on content is preferable. The relevance of Justinian's

directive remains questionable, however, since the uncritical summing up and exegetical character of juristic writings is probably due not so much to the prohibition on commentaries as to a general professorial mentality. (See also ANTECESSORES.)

LIT. Wenger, *Quellen* 681-92. A. de Roberts, *La interpretazione del Corpus iuris in Oriente e in Occidente* (Naples 1984). N. van der Wal, *Les commentaires grecs du Code de Justinien* (Groningen 1953). Scheltema, "Kommentarverbot." —D.S.

CORRUPTION in the Roman and Byz. worlds was a means of exercising private power for the achievement of public or private purposes by exploiting the latent compliance of state and ecclesiastical officials. The system was based on a sense of community within the bureaucratic officialdom and was enhanced by the intermixture of private and public elements of administration. The system worked through favoritism (for relatives, friends, former servants or slaves, etc.); bribes, which could be official or semiofficial (grants, *sportulae*); fear; and moral pressure, sometimes effective for pious ends (e.g., the extortion of a donation for a monastery). The exploitation of subordinates also comes under this category (soldiers exploited by a *strategos*, peasants by a local landowner, etc.). The illegal acquisition of private property, a portion of state taxes, or objects belonging to the state (e.g., ropes or other parts of a ship) were widespread types of corruption and barely distinguishable from theft. The state might condone such practices and even institutionalize them (e.g., the payment of judges by litigants), but in some cases measures had to be taken to suppress dangerous excesses; thus, for instance, some emperors of the 10th C. tried to limit corruption in the form of seizure of land by the DYNASTOI.

Corruption is denounced by Byz. authors of all periods. They criticized not so much the purchase of titles and offices, which was always practiced to various extents and was often considered legitimate, but rather arbitrary administrative actions motivated by personal profit. In the sources, emperors are accused of appointing the rich instead of the best or of practicing the abhorred SIMONY to increase their own revenues; public officials, of accepting kickbacks; fiscal officials, esp. the tax-farmers, of crushing the rural populations by collecting unauthorized taxes or by other fraud-

ulent practices. The most famous corruption scandal is that of the KRITAI KATHOLIKOI in 1337.

LIT. R. MacMullen, *Corruption and the Decline of Rome* (New Haven 1988) 58–121. P. Veyne, "Clientèle et corruption au service de l'État: La vénalité des offices dans le Bas-Empire romain," *Annales ESC* 36 (1981) 339–60.

—A.K., N.O.

CORVÉE, compulsory, usually unpaid, day labor for the state or for one's lord. State corvées, attested since the Roman period, most commonly involved the regular or occasional obligation of local inhabitants to furnish their labor (and their animals) for maintenance of the DROMOS. Such labor—included within the terms *ANGAREIA*, *par-angareia* (from the 11th C., services and animals provided for secondary roads), *leitourgia* ("public service"), and *douleia* ("service")—usually unrewarded, was also supplied for the building of ships (*katargoktisia*, *karabopoiia*), fortifications (*KASTROKTISIA*), and perhaps for rural and urban guard duty (*apoviglisia*, *vigla*, *paramonai*). In particular areas, certain categories of persons (clergy, bakers, some peasants and soldiers, Jews on Chios in 1049) were exempted (*EXKOUSSATOI*) from corvée, but this could be annulled in times of emergency (esp. due to war). Probably because of the rise of the *paroikia*, evidence of state corvée is rare after the 12th C. State officials, while traveling, demanded (legally or illegally) labor services from the peasant and urban population: accommodations, food, animals. Landlords needed special privileges to be exempted from such burdens.

The novel of Constantine VII of 935 speaks of *angareiai* demanded by *DYNATOI* (Zepos, *Jus* 1:209.20) and considers them a form of oppression. By the 11th C., state corvées were occasionally transferred to private landowners and burdened their dependent peasants. Documents from the 13th to 15th C. require *paroikoi* to work (with their animals) for their lords for a fixed number of days per year (ranging from 12 to 52 days, with 12 and 24 being the most common). Svoronos (in *Lavra* 4:165–68) estimates that in the early 14th C. corvées accounted for at most 20 percent of the cultivation of the domain lands of the monastery of Lavra. The commutation of corvées for cash payments, attested throughout the Byz. era, became common in the last centuries of the empire (e.g., in the cadaster of LAMPSAKOS [1218/19], a ZEUGARATOS was compelled to replace

his service obligation by a payment of 4 hyperpyra).

LIT. Ostrogorsky, *Féodalité* 364–67. Litavrin, *VizObščestvo* 105f.

—M.B.

CO-SEIGNEURY. See CASAUX DE PARÇON.

COSMETICS. The production of cosmetics was often associated with that of PERFUMES AND UNGUENTS; those involved in this trade formed a guild (*Bk. of Eparch* 10.1–2). Simple cosmetics were prepared at home along with medications, unguents, concoctions to grow or dye hair, and so on, as described in various manuals (e.g., G. Litavrin, *VizVrem* 31 [1971] 249–301). Symeon SETH stated that women applied bean flour to wash their faces, and according to DIOSKORIDES, they anointed their skin with olive oil from Sikyon. Empress ZOE took a passionate interest in preparing perfume and unguents in her palace. Cosmetics—including hair dyes, skin emollients, makeup, and eye shadow—were widely used, esp. by women, to embellish their face and thus to stress their social status. The church took a negative stand toward cosmetics that was retained as late as the 15th C., when John EUGENIKOS wrote a pamphlet against women who powdered their face, painted their lips, covered their cheeks with rouge, or even blackened their eyebrows to become more attractive (S. Eustratiades, *EEBS* 8 [1931] 42–46).

LIT. Koukoules, *Bios* 4:375–85. Stöckle, *Zünfte* 38.

—Ap.K., A.K.

COSMOGRAPHER OF RAVENNA, anonymous Latin author of the 7th C. who compiled a book called *Cosmography*. After an introduction that divides the earth into 12 southern and 12 northern regions, he gives the geographic nomenclature of the known world: (1) a list of cities and rivers; (2) a PERIPLUS of the Mediterranean, beginning with Ravenna; and (3) a list of islands in the various seas. The Cosmographer often draws upon the same source as the TABULA PEUTINGERIANA. He refers to many authors, patristic or otherwise, but his knowledge of ancient geographers is very questionable: he quotes only PTOLEMY, whom he confuses with a king of Egypt. Some of the authorities ("philosophers") whom he cites are imag-

inary, and legendary data appear side by side with reliable information. The author's goal, as he himself formulates it, is to preserve for mankind in a time of general political disturbances the memory of geographic names; he makes no attempt to order the sites in a logical fashion.

ED. *Ravennatis Anonymi Cosmographia*, ed. M. Pinder, G. Parthey (Berlin 1860; rp. Aalen 1962).

LIT. E. Schweder, *Über die Weltkarte des Kosmographen von Ravenna* (Kiel 1886). G. Funaioli, *RE* 2.R.1 (1920) 305–10. O.R. Borodin, "'Kosmografija' Ravennskogo anonima," *VizVrem* 43 (1982) 54–63. B.H. Stolte, *De cosmographie van den Anonymus Ravennas* (Zundert 1949). G. Mansuelli, "I geografi ravennati," *CorsiRav* 20 (1973) 331–42. F. Staab, "Ostrogothic Geographers at the Court of Theodoric the Great," *Viator* 7 (1976) 27–58.

—A.K.

COSMOLOGY, conventional term for the doctrine of the structure or arrangement of the cosmos, classified by the Byz., like all knowledge of the past, as "human sciences," the presupposition of THEOLOGY as a view of ultimate unity. The starting point for Byz. cosmology was the spherical model of Aristotle, as modified by Ptolemy, in which the earth, planets, sun, and moon follow orbits within a large finite sphere. The Alexandrian theologians in general adopted this view. Origen at least knew of it and raised no objections. Clement of Alexandria used the spherical theory, for example, in the allegory of the ARK OF THE COVENANT, hinting already at a fundamental contrast with the Antiochene School, which saw the universe as a cube consisting of two tiers, HEAVEN and earth, separated by a firmament (*stereoma*) which divides the "waters above" and the "waters beneath."

These two views clashed shortly before the middle of the 6th C. The Alexandrian view was represented by John PHILOPONOS, who interpreted the first chapter of Genesis on CREATION against the background of Greek physics and astronomy. The Antiochene belief was represented by KOSMAS INDIKOPLEUSTES, who argued from the Bible and yet actually followed ideas popular in the East and, without realizing it, borrowed from the Greek tradition. For Philoponos (*De opificio mundi*, ed. Reichardt, 78.20–26, 119.1–5), Moses is the teacher of Plato; according to Kosmas, Moses received the mandate from God to oppose the spherical cosmology of the Babylonians and Greeks (*Topographia christiana*, ed. Wolska-Conus, 1:437–39, 449–51).

The antispherical trend was intensified in the 6th C. through the condemnation of Origenism. At the very least, the presupposition inherent in the spherical image of the world, that the spheres are moved by intelligent minds, was anathematized by Justinian I. This conception of cosmos, altered in various ways, generally speaking was responsible for "the popular mind-set in the Middle Ages, and apparently displaced the conception of a spherical world in the Greek world up to the time of Photios and Psellos" (Wolska, *infra* 182). Naturally, there were exceptions, as, for example, John of Damascus (*Exp. fidei* 20.9–11, 42–50, ed. Kotter, *Schriften* 2:50–52).

More important for Byz. spirituality and mysticism is the fact that *theoria physike*, religious contemplation of the world, remained an essential element in the ascent to God. It served as the presupposition for attaining the vision of God (*theologia*), a possibility realized through perfected *praxis*. This means that the program of EVAGRIOS PONTIKOS (A. Guillaumont, *RHR* 91 [1972] 50f) was preserved in the tradition of the church, esp. through Maximos the Confessor, in spite of the tendency of Byz. spirituality to disregard the world and history in order to find God immediately (cf. HESYCHASM, PALAMISM).

LIT. W. Wolska, *La Topographie Chrétienne de Cosmas Indicopleustès* (Paris 1962). H.U. von Balthasar, *Kosmische Liturgie, Das Weltbild Maximus' des Bekenners* (Einsiedeln 1961). A. Delatte, "Un manuel byzantin de cosmologie et de géographie," *BACBelg* 18 (1932) 189–222.

—K.-H.U.

COSMOS (κόσμος, lit. "world"). The fundamental Greek world view emphasized the unity, harmony, and beauty of reality. In the Platonic tradition, the perceptible cosmos is conceived as an image of the world of noetic ideas in the divine INTELLECT, composed of preexistent matter. Christian tradition, in contrast, developed its notion of CREATION "out of nothing," without reducing the cosmos to "the world of man" (a tendency observed in late antiquity); it did not view the cosmos as fundamentally evil, as did Gnosticism. The cosmos was seen in a more external, material, eschatologically or ontologically transient character, in contrast to the inner, spiritual, eternal life yet to come. Inasmuch as the cosmos was conceived as a universe, or as the embodiment of all things, the use of a holistic model suggests itself to conceptualize the cosmos as analogous to

an organism possessing the attributes of a "World-soul." The problem for Byz. authors who sought to preserve the holistic model consisted in excluding the notion of a World-soul ("neither divine nor rational"), and particularly in rejecting the doctrine of the World-soul as a third hypostasis, advocated by "the most eminent of the pagan theologians" (JOHN ITALOS, *Quaestiones quodlibetales*, pars. 42.6, 68.1, ed. P. Joannou, pp. 52.27, 109.21-22), while maintaining, on principle, an organized totality. —K.-H.U.

Representation in Art. In art the cosmos was depicted as a complex involving PARADISE and its rivers, Earth shown as a mountain below the firmament (*stereoma*) and surrounded by Ocean; the cosmos is represented as a many-leveled structure, as well as planimetrically, in MSS of KOSMAS INDIKOPLEUSTES. From the 14th C. onward "Kosmos" is identified as a personification in images of the PENTECOST. (See also COSMOLOGY.) —A.C.

LIT. K. Reinhardt, *Kosmos und Sympatheia* (Munich 1926). R. Loewe, *Kosmos und Aion* (Gütersloh 1935). W. Kranz, "Kosmos," *Archiv für Begriffsgeschichte* 2.1 (Bonn 1955) 5-113. C. Haebler, "Kosmos," *ibid.* 11 (1967) 101-18.

COSTUME. Byz. clothing consisted generally of several layers of loose TUNICS and mantles (CHLAMYS, HIMATION). The simplest was a knee-length belted *chiton* with short sleeves, which was worn by laborers, shepherds (including the youthful David in Psalter illustrations), and children. Slightly more formal dress was a full-length tunic adorned in the early period with stripes or CLAVI and square ornaments at specified places; later tunics had tight sleeves and an embroidered hem and collar. This was the usual costume for ordinary city dwellers or provincial dignitaries. Over this could be thrown a mantle, whose form varied with the sex and social status of the wearer. TROUSERS, a Germanic and Eastern fashion, are rarely depicted in art, but texts suggest that they were worn, at least occasionally, by the 12th C.; men also wore tight leather hose. Hats (see HEADGEAR) did not flourish until well into the 11th C. For FOOTWEAR, men wore boots reaching to mid-calf rather than sandals.

Though the basic elements of costume, such as tunics, cloaks, BELTS, hats, and scarves, were common to most social groups, both lay and ecclesiastical, certain versions of these garments became associated over the course of time with specific

offices and titles. In fact, costume in Byz. was so strictly regulated and determined by the wearer's office, or role in society, that the distinction that we might make today between costume on the one hand, and INSIGNIA or even liturgical vestments on the other, must have been blurred. Elements of costume, both lay and ecclesiastical, were awarded to the wearer in special rituals; on rare occasions, the emperor, as a special honor to a courtier of a certain rank, might grant him the right to wear a special hat or vestment properly belonging to the rank above, but this was inconceivable to the ecclesiastical hierarchy. Being divested of one's costume or forced to wear another's could have the effect of "defrocking" and be a cause of humiliation: for example, Sergios and Bakchos were deprived of their *maniakia* (see TORQUE), and the general Theophilos Erotikos was forced after the failure of his revolt to appear in the Hippodrome in women's clothes (Skyl. 429.13-17).

Imperial Costume. From the costume of a CONSUL, whose office the emperor had assumed, imperial costume derived the LOROS; this jeweled stole, his red (purple) boots or TZANGIA, and the CROWN became the most distinctive elements of the imperial wardrobe. The *loros* was worn over a silk tunic, the DIVETESION or SAKKOS, either of which may in turn have been worn over another tunic of which only the embroidered (detachable?) cuffs are visible in representations. Other garments, such as the SKARAMANGION (another form of tunic) and the *chlamys* or SAGION, were worn not only by the emperor but also by members of the court. For his coronation, the emperor wore the *divetesion*, the *chlamys*, and *tzangia* (Leo Gramm. 246.19-21). The emperor donned full military dress (see ARMOR) on campaign as well as to celebrate a triumph upon his return to the capital; on such occasions his dress differed from that of his officers only with respect to his crown and red boots.

PURPLE was the prerogative of the emperor and his relations, and of his household attendants under certain conditions. Compromises on color could be arranged for political purposes: Nikephoros III Botaneiates allowed strands of scarlet to be woven into the clothes of Constantine Doukas (whose father he had deposed as emperor), in honor of Constantine's imperial lineage (An.Komn. 1:115.22-23), and Alexios I Komne-

nos later restored to Constantine as caesar the right to wear shoes entirely of red.

Some imperial garments bore figural designs; for example, the mantle of Empress Theodora in the mosaic at S. Vitale, RAVENNA, is adorned with the figures of the Three Magi. In the 14th C. EAGLES made of pearls decorated the shoes of members of the imperial family. The imperial garments were so stiffened with gold embroidery and weighed down with gems as to render the emperor and empress virtually immobile.

Aristocratic and Court Costume. Aristocratic dress differed from ordinary lay costume in the greater number of layers involved (usually a long-sleeved tunic was covered by another looser tunic, which in turn was topped by a *chlamys*), in the greater length of the tunics, in the richness of the materials, and probably in the brightness and variety of its colors. Aristocratic costume was intrinsically valuable, not only for its SILK material, but for the large number of pearls and precious stones used to adorn the fabrics. Garments were decorated with gold embroidery along the hems, around the upper arm, and at the cuffs: rows of pearls also outlined the various sections of the garment, and collars were studded with gems. In fact, it is hard to determine whether these collars should properly be considered pieces of JEWELRY or parts of actual garments. The higher the official, the more gems on his clothing and the less his freedom of movement. Some court robes were adorned with lions or pictures of the emperor as well as the more usual floral patterns.

At court, Oriental garments were much in vogue from at least the 9th C. onward (N.P. Kondakov, *Byzantion* 1 [1924] 7-49): courtiers adopted a wide variety of long silk caftanlike garments (e.g., KABADION), belted and highly patterned, as well as exotic headgear. Sources that indicate the names of these garments, if not their actual appearance, are the *Kletorologion* of PHILOTHEOS (late 9th C.), DE CEREMONIIS (10th C.), and pseudo-KODINOS (14th C.). The color of the costume was of paramount importance, far more so than the pattern of its fabric: courtiers were lined up in processions by color, and sometimes only the color of their shoes, for example, served to distinguish the dress of two officials of differing rank.

Monastic and Ecclesiastical Costume. The monastic habit (see SCHEMA), provided by the monastery usually on an annual basis, consisted of a

long dark tunic of cotton or wool; the *analabos*, a sort of sleeveless vest comparable to the scapular; a dark cloak (MANDYAS); the *koukoullion*, or hood; and black slippers (*kaligia*).

Ecclesiastical vestments were again a series of tunics, mantles, and scarves, strictly determined by the rank of the wearer: the STICHARION and ORARION for a deacon; the *sticharion*, PHELONION, and EPITRACHELION for a priest; and these plus the OMOPHORION, EPIMANKIA, and ENCHEIRION/EPIGONATION for a bishop.

Dress of Women. There seem to have been comparatively few variations in female dress. Most women wore a full-length long-sleeved tunic and the MAPHORION over a tight headdress to cover their heads. The distinction in dress between married women and NUNS was probably small: nuns, to judge by representations, wore the *maphorion* more tightly drawn about the neck, so that no part of their body was visible except face and hands. In artistic representations, maidservants, midwives, and the Samaritan woman, always a special paradigm of rural beauty, can have long unbound hair or a loose turban. Their tunics are often sleeveless, as are the tunics of various female PERSONIFICATIONS; they may wear a short knee-length tunic over a longer one. Female court attire other than that of the empress is rarely illustrated: the women dancing with Miriam in the 11th-C. Vat. Gr. 752, fol.449v (Spatharakis, *Corpus*, fig.123), wear tunics with extremely wide pointed sleeves, jeweled sashes or belts, and pillowlike head-dresses. DONOR PORTRAITS of the 14th C. show women in beautifully woven silk Oriental tunics like those of the men.

Nudity. The Byz. rejected the antique cult of the NUDE. In art, complete nudity is reserved for the images of Adam and Eve, for Christ in the scene of his baptism, and for figures in exile such as Job. Partial nudity is often associated with people on the fringes of society: wild-haired demoniacs, the devil, certain extreme ascetics (Onouphrios wore only palm fronds), martyrs stripped of their official robes and brought to desert places for execution, or for personifications of natural features, such as river gods.

LIT. Koukoules, *Bios* 2.2:5-59, 6:267-94. M.G. Houston, *Ancient Greek, Roman and Byzantine Costume and Decoration*² (London 1947) 131-61. A. Carr, *DMA* 3:614-16. K. Wessel, *Die Kultur von Byzanz* (Frankfurt a.M. 1970) 222-25, 411-14. J. Ebersolt, *Les arts somptuaires de Byzance* (Paris 1923). Oppenheim, *Mönchskleid*. Braun, *Liturgische Gewan-*

dung. Johnstone, *Church Embroidery* 12–19. Kazhdan-Epstein, *Change* 74–79. H. Mihăescu, “La terminologie d’origine latine des vêtements dans la littérature byzantine,” in *Festschrift Stratos* 2:587–99. —N.P.Š.

COTRIGURS AND UTIGURS (Κουτρίγυροι, Ουτίγυροι), Turkic peoples, settled in the mid-6th C. north of the Black Sea, between the Dnieper and the Don. At the request of their Gepid allies the Cotrigurs sent a large force against the Lombards in Pannonia. Urged by the Gepids, the Cotrigurs then raided Byz. territory in 551 and withdrew only when their eastern neighbors and kinsmen, the Utigurs, who lived east of the Don, were bribed by the Romans to attack their home territory. The Cotrigurs had seen the wealth of the empire, however, and realized its vulnerability to a fast-moving cavalry force. In 558/9 they crossed the frozen Danube near its mouth and advanced into Byz. territory in three columns. One swept into Greece as far as Thermopylae, the second entered the Kallipolis peninsula, and the third, commanded by ZABERGAN, approached the walls of Constantinople, where their arrival caused consternation until Belisarios drove them away. During their return they were again attacked by the Utigurs; the hostility between the Cotrigurs and the Utigurs continued until both were subdued in the 560s by the Avars, who took some of the Cotrigurs with them to Pannonia. The Utigurs then became part of the Turkic confederation that captured Bosphoros (Kerch) in 576, while the rest of the Cotrigurs became part of the Bulgar confederation settled north of the Azov Sea in the mid-7th C.

LIT. Moravcsik, *Studia Byz.* 84–118. V. Beševliev, *Die protobulgarische Periode der bulgarischen Geschichte* (Amsterdam 1981) 95–99, 308–13. P.B. Golden, *Khazar Studies* (Budapest 1980) 1:30–34, 42–46. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* 1:66f. D.I. Dimitrov, *Prabulgarite po severnoto i zapadnoto Černomorie* (Varna 1987). —R.B.

COTTON GENESIS. See GENESIS.

COTYAEUM. See KOTYAIION.

COUCHES. See FURNITURE.

COUNCILS (σύνοδοι), formal deliberative bodies of bishops and ecclesiastical representatives (priests, deacons, laymen, or monks) that gathered to dis-

cuss and regulate disputed questions of church doctrine and discipline. Such assemblies, which could be ecumenical, metropolitan, episcopal, or patriarchal, expressed the essential nature of the church as community or *koinonia*. The church was indeed conceived as synodal or conciliar in structure from the beginning. This pattern and practice of conciliarity had in fact become the rule by the 3rd C. as regional meetings of several Christian communities were convoked to discuss controversial issues, with nonparticipating churches being informed of their decisions. Presbyters, deacons, and laymen also attended, but probably only as “observers” or as advisers to the episcopal college.

Ecumenical Councils. Strictly speaking, the early church could only express its conciliar nature on a local rather than an “ecumenical” scale while Christianity was still an illegal religion. When it was recognized in the 4th C., however, universal or ecumenical councils representing—at least in theory—the entire episcopate of the empire became possible. Besides, as the church was seen as coextensive with the empire, reliable pronouncements became more urgent; exact definitions of faith were needed in order to determine imperial policy toward dissident or schismatic groups. This was clearly the primary goal of these assemblies as far as the state was concerned. Accordingly, these larger convocations, unlike the pre-Nicene councils, were given imperial confirmation and the binding force of law. Nicaea I (325), convoked by CONSTANTINE I THE GREAT, was the prototype. Seven such councils—all held in the East—were recognized by the Byz. church as genuinely ecumenical: Nicaea I, Constantinople I, Ephesus, Chalcedon, Constantinople II, Constantinople III, and Nicaea II. The eighth “ecumenical” council acknowledged by the West, the council of Constantinople of 869–70, was annulled by the union synod of 879–80. In contrast to the Byz. position, the Roman Catholic church considers as ecumenical several councils convoked by popes; four Lateran synods (1123, 1139, 1179, 1215), two councils of LYONS (1245 and 1274), Vienna of 1311, Constance (1414–18), FERRARA-FLORENCE, etc. Two of them, the Second Council of Lyons and Ferrara-Florence, deliberated problems connected with Byz. (For articles on individual councils, see under site of convocation: e.g., EPHESUS, COUNCILS OF.)

Significantly, none of the ecumenical councils was convened by a pope. The emperors, who often presided over them (either personally or through their representatives), summoned them. All, moreover, were extraordinary or occasional gatherings. This being so, the canonical literature lacked fixed rules (a typically Byz. phenomenon) concerning their convocation, composition, and organization. Byz. canon law has in fact no philosophy of ecumenical councils.

Although the emperors hoped to use the ecumenical councils as an immediate, binding authority to achieve unanimity or uniformity and cohesion throughout the empire, such councils and their decisions were not accepted mechanically in advance, as divine institutions *de jure divino*. Nicaea I, for example, was not universally acknowledged until 381, while others (SERDICA, HIERIA, the “Robber” Council of EPHESUS, Ferrara-Florence) were eventually accepted as local councils, or rejected as outright heretical *concilia-bula*, even when they possessed all the criteria of ecumenicity. Their reception therefore was not based on any outward juridical notion of ecumenicity, but on the truth they embodied as authentic organs of episcopal and ecclesial consensus. It was this alone—viewed as a manifestation of Christ’s abiding allegiance to his church—which eventually caused them to be recognized as binding and infallible in authority (J. Meyendorff, *SVThQ* 17 [1973] 267f). Councils quite simply were not above the church.

Metropolitan Councils. Unlike ecumenical councils, provincial (or metropolitan) councils were a permanent institutionalized phenomenon: convocations of bishops of a particular province, meeting in the provincial capital under the presidency of the METROPOLITAN, were in place before the 4th C. They met to discuss controversial issues of common concern, but also for episcopal consecrations, which required conciliarity, that is, the presence and participation of all bishops of an ecclesiastical area. Only with Nicaea I, however, were these metropolitan councils permanently established by being ordered to meet twice yearly (canon 5). This regulation was confirmed by Chalcedon (canon 19), but was subsequently changed to a single annual convocation (TRULLO, canon 8; Nicaea II, canon 6). The duties of these councils were quite extensive, covering questions of faith, liturgy, morals, discipline, and organization. Ni-

caea I likewise decreed that the election of a bishop to a vacant see be placed in the hands of all the neighboring bishops of the province (canon 4). These canons mark the beginning of a distinction in ecclesiastical law between different kinds of synods and are, as such, an important stage in the evolution of conciliar theory.

Episcopal Councils. The episcopal council was the official assembly of the bishop and clergy of a single bishopric (*paroikia*). It was always under the authority and presidency of the bishop and was responsible for all matters concerning the *paroikia*. This type of council was affected considerably by the new legislation; although not entirely eliminated, it was certainly superseded by the metropolitan council, henceforth viewed as the superior authority. The latter indeed became the higher court of appeal for sentences generated by the lower episcopal council (Nicaea II, canon 3).

Patriarchal Synods. The 4th C. also saw the introduction of patriarchal synods, which were councils of the individual PATRIARCHATES convoked and presided over by the patriarchs. The most important consultative body of the patriarch of Constantinople was the ENDEMOUSA SYNODOS. This was essentially a permanent “resident” synod with a continuous existence throughout the medieval period in which decisions were reached in collegiality. But regional or local patriarchal councils were also important, particularly after the 11th C. when no ecumenical councils were held because of the SCHISM. In contrast with the *endemousa*, these exceptional, more solemn assemblies held during major doctrinal disputes, included not only metropolitans and bishops, but often also the emperor and members of the senate. Their doctrinal definition (TOMOS) was sometimes included in the SYNODIKON OF ORTHODOXY, as was the case with the local councils of Constantinople of 1156–57, 1166–67, and 1351 (see under CONSTANTINOPLE, COUNCILS OF). The authority of the Byz. church was not therefore restricted to the age of the seven ecumenical councils alone; essentially, regional councils could be and were accepted as universally valid testimony of the Orthodox faith.

Time and Place. Normally circumstance and convenience determined the time and place of meeting for councils. This was the case with ecumenical councils, which had to accommodate not

only large numbers, but individual participants traveling long distances. Provincial councils, however, met at the capital of the province. They could also be convened "at the place where the bishop of the metropolis shall approve" (Chalcedon, canon 19; Trullo, canon 8). The actual convocation was held in a church such as Hagia Sophia, or in a building attached to the church, such as the baptistery or *diakonikon*, with the imperial residence or palace an alternative choice, as the councils held at Hieria, Blachernai, and Trullo illustrate. Often individual contingents (e.g., the Egyptian and Antiochian at Ephesus and Chalcedon) were housed in different buildings. This did not always prevent riots, bloodshed, or even separate or rump synods, which assembled in order to undermine the work of the majority or opposition (see SERDICA and EPHEBUS), for quite often bishops were accompanied by sizable overzealous parties of supporters consisting of priests, monks, and laymen. It should be noted that this nonepiscopal (i.e., nonvoting) element was often invited to speak and join in the discussion.

Documents. Minutes of the deliberations were carefully recorded by secretaries, although some, such as the acts of Nicaea I and Constantinople I, have not survived. Those of the *endemousa* were kept in the *chartophylakeion* of the patriarchate. The signing of these documents was determined by seniority of ordination or by the traditional order (*taxis*) of sees. The five major sees of the empire (PENTARCHY) took precedence over all others. A priest or deacon signed if he had attended as a representative of a particular see. In addition to doctrinal definitions, disciplinary canons regulating the life of both clergy and laity were also frequently issued by councils. Often collected separately, these formed an important component of ecclesiastical law. Occasionally ANATHEMAS, EXCOMMUNICATIONS, or depositions (*kathaireseis*) directed against individuals or groups would be attached to the dogmatic decisions. Exile or imprisonment in a monastery often accompanied such ecclesiastical punishments.

Church and State. The secular power was represented in most councils, esp. ecumenical and patriarchal ones. Given the close ties between church and state in Christian Byz., this was both natural and understandable. Imperial interest in the outcome of councils was no doubt one reason the public transportation system (*cursus publicus*)

was placed at the disposal of the bishops at Nicaea I; it also explains why emperors often presided over some councils (cf. MARCIAN at Chalcedon) and even took part in their deliberations. True, abuses and even compulsion were not unknown (e.g., the submission of Pope VIGILIUS to Justinian I at Constantinople II [see under CONSTANTINOPLE, COUNCILS OF]). Despite the tension caused by such flagrant abuse of imperial power, however, the right of formal decision in matters of faith belonged to the episcopate. Indeed, the church was often successful (though not always immediately) in resisting an emperor's pressure.

Representations in Art. Surviving depictions of councils assume a form closely related to that of other images of authority such as the PENTECOST and the LAST JUDGMENT. Following Late Antique schemes such as the council of the gods in the Ambrosian *Iliad* (see HOMER) and the emperor's presidency at the games on the base of the OBELISK THEODOSIOS, they show a semicircle of hierarchs meeting as a college and supervised by the emperor as *epistemonarches*.

The earliest images of councils are known only from texts. Six councils were depicted in the MESE, in Constantinople, set up, according to the author of the Life of Stephen the Younger, to edify "country folk, foreigners, and the common people" (PG 100:1172A). By the early 8th C. such pictures were fairly common, including mosaics of the First Council of Nicaea in an unknown church in that city. Mosaics showing structures symbolizing each of the seven ecumenical councils, many reworked in the 12th C. and today fragmentarily preserved, survive in the Church of the Nativity in BETHLEHEM. After Iconoclasm, council scenes were no longer purely commemorative. In the marginal PSALTERS, Leo V appears amid Iconoclastic bishops at the Council of 815 to illustrate hypocrisy and bloodthirstiness (Ps 25:4), while Theodosios I presides over the First Council of Constantinople in a miniature in the PARIS GREGORY reflecting the concern of PHOTIOS with both Iconoclasm and the FILIOQUE. Even more central is the position given to an Iconoclast shown condemned by Nicaea II, in the MENOLOGION OF BASIL II (p.108). The Madrid MS of John Skylitzes devotes a unique series of pictures (Grabar-Manoussacas, *Skylitzès*, nos. 310-12) to the council that forced the resignation of Patr. Tryphon (927-31). Frescoes of four councils—painted as usual

in the narthex—in the Metropolis at MISTRA may have liturgical significance (S. Dufrenne, *Les Programmes iconographiques des églises byzantines de Mistra* [Paris 1970] 8, 59f). The miniature in Paris, B.N. gr. 1242 (Spatharakis, *Portrait*, fig.86), that shows John VI Kantakouzenos towering over identifiable metropolitans and Patr. Kallistos I at the Council of 1351 reasserts the traditional meaning of council pictures as images of imperial hegemony in matters of doctrine.

SOURCES. *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, ed. J. Mansi, 31 vols. (Florence-Vienna 1759-98; rp. Paris 1901-27). G.A. Rhalles, M. Potles, *Syntagma ton theion kai hieron kanonon*, 6 vols. (Athens 1852-59). *Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum*, ed. E. Schwartz, 5 vols. in 32 pts. (Berlin-Leipzig 1922-84).

LIT. J. Zhishman, *Die Synoden und die Episkopal-Ämter in der morgenländischen Kirche* (Vienna 1867). C.J. Hefele, H. Leclercq, *Histoire des conciles*, 8 vols. (Paris 1907-21). F. Dvornik, "Emperors, Popes, and General Councils," *DOP* 6 (1951) 1-23. J. Hajjar, "Patriarche et synode dans l'Eglise byzantine," *PrOC* 4.2 (1954) 118-44. B. Botte, H. Marat, et al., *Le concile et les conciles* (Chevetogne 1960). *Histoire des conciles oecuméniques*, 12 vols. (Paris 1962-). P. L'Huillier, *The Church of the Ancient Councils* (Crestwood, N.Y., 1986). J. Boonjamra, "The Byzantine Notion of the 'Ecumenical Council' in the Fourteenth Century," *BZ* 80 (1987) 59-76. C. Walter, *L'iconographie des conciles dans la tradition byzantine* (Paris 1970). —A.P., A.C.

COURT, LAW (*δικαστήριον*). The emperor was the source of law and the supreme judge who determined the right of APPEAL and of amnesty; the power to judge was thought to be delegated by him to individual institutions or officials. All government bureaus (SEKRETA) possessed to some extent the right to condemn and pardon, and even the GENIKON had its own court; since the heads of departments frequently had no professional legal knowledge, they usually were given SYMPONOI as assistants (Balsamon in Rhalles-Potles, *Syntagma* 3:339.2-9). In the army, STRATEGOI and their subalterns exercised judicial authority. More specific judicial functions were fulfilled by the EPARCH OF THE CITY and the QUAESTOR, whereas the EPI TON DEESEON presided over petitions and appeals. As chief of police, the DROUNGARIOS TES VIGLAS had judicial duties. The imperial judges of the VELUM or Hippodrome (replaced later by the KRITAI KATHOLIKOI) constituted the highest court. In rare cases the SENATE discussed crimes of great importance. Bishops, aided by their staff, exercised ecclesiastical jurisdiction extending far beyond CANON LAW, and the precise demarcation

between civil and ecclesiastical courts was not always clear.

In the provinces, jurisdiction lay in the hands of the local administration, and governors frequently bore the title of JUDGE (*krites*) or PRAETOR; sometimes special magistrates arrived from Constantinople to hear local cases. Masters were considered the judges of their slaves and servants, unless they were personally involved in the case (*Peira* 51.1). The concept of judicial IMMUNITY was never very highly developed in Byz.

LIT. Zachariä, *Geschichte* 353-89. Kaser, *Zivilprozessrecht* 418-45. Oikonomides, *Listes* 319-23. A. Guillou, *La civilisation byzantine* (Paris 1974) 149-57. Macrides, "Justice" 99-204. Troianos, *Ekklesiastike Dikonomia* 7-48. Aik. Christophilopoulou, "Ta byzantina dikasteria kata tous aiones I-IA," *Diptycha* 4 (1986) 163-77. —A.K.

CRAFTSMEN. See ARTISAN; GUILDS.

CREATION (*κτίσις ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος*). The classical formulation of the Christian doctrine of creation states that the COSMOS was brought into existence out of nothing through the omnipotence and free will of God. On the other hand, the divine generation (*genesis*) of the Son and the Procession (*ekporeusis*) of the Holy Spirit, interpreted as "creation" and coming into existence by ARIANS and the PNEUMATOMACHOI, respectively, had to be distinguished from creation of world and mankind; at the same time any doctrine of emanation to explain creation had to be excluded, since it does "not stem from the essence of God" (John of Damascus, *Exp. fidei* 8.57-78, 81.6-11; ed. Kotter, *Schriften* 2:20f, 180).

Emphasis on the FREEDOM and contingency of divine creation runs counter to the idea of its eternality and necessity. In this connection, the question as to the motive of creation (why did God create the world?) receives an answer in which the Platonic tradition and esp. pseudo-DIONYSIOS THE AREOPAGITE, that is, the view that the Good continuously generates out of itself, are interpreted to mean that man cannot penetrate the transcendent essence of God who alone is good (Lk 18:19). The question, then, is met by referring to this notion of the essence of the Good: that God creates because he wills to, and not because he is good, an answer that emphasizes the apophatic character of theology (and not, as

in the West, the possibility of theological cataphatic statements). Finally, in connection with the emphasis on God's freedom in the creation, the Platonic notion that the ideas within the divine mind serve the demiurge as models, insofar as it is given an anthropomorphic interpretation, is rejected.

In spite of the tension that exists between the Platonic cosmological model (presumably based on Gen 1:2 LXX) and belief in the "sovereignty of God," that is, the unlimited power of God in relation to the world, and in spite of (or even because of) the cosmological speculations of Gnosticism, there slowly developed in early Christianity the doctrine of creation out of nothing that also served as a twofold front against both Gnosticism and philosophy. Nevertheless Plotinus's interpretation of matter as the final emanation and pure privation (*steresis*), and Porphyry's arguments against an eternally preexistent matter, led outwardly to an approach that, for example, in Alexandria in the 5th C., produced a formal (i.e., outward) synthesis in the philosopher Hierokles, who taught that God eternally creates, yet not "out of preexistent matter," but only on the basis of his will (PHOTIOS, *Bibl.*, cods. 214, 251, ed. Henry 3:126.22–26, 7:189.23–191.23). John PHILOPONOS sought, in opposition to PROKLOS and Aristotle (W. Wieland in *Festschrift für Hans-Georg Gadamer* [Tübingen 1960] 291–316), to provide the doctrine of creation with a philosophical basis by tying it to Basil the Great's homilies on the HEXAEMERON. The cosmology he opposes is that of THEODORE OF MOPSUESTIA and his disciple KOSMAS INDIKOPLEUSTES.

In the 11th C., under the influence of the Neoplatonic doctrine of emanation, creation is seen to be continually rooted in the procession and return to God, a "movement proceeding from its origin (*arche*)" (e.g., JOHN ITALOS, *Quaestiones quodlibetales*, par.69, ed. P. Joannou, pp. 114–17), which constitutes the relationship of the creature to the Creator, except that the difference between them is not addressed. This is observed particularly in commentaries on theological statements of Gregory of Nazianzos.

LIT. H.J. Krämer, *Der Ursprung der Geistmetaphysik*² (Amsterdam 1967). G. May, *Schöpfung aus dem Nichts* (Berlin–New York 1978). P. Joannou, *Die Illuminationslehre des Michael Psellos und Johannes Italos* (Ettal 1956) 39–78. J. Baudry,

Le problème de l'origine et de l'éternité du monde dans la philosophie grecque de Platon à l'ère chrétienne (Paris 1931). M. Baltes, *Die Weltentstehung des platonischen Timaios nach den antiken Interpretationen*, vol. 1 (Leiden 1976). —K.-H.U.

Representation in Art. Based on the twofold account of Genesis 1:1–2:4 and 2:5–25, representations of the Creation are found in numerous artistic contexts and may be divided into at least three categories, developed probably not much later than Basil the Great's HEXAEMERON. This popular text is preserved in more than 100 MSS, but none of them received narrative illustration. The striking iconographic feature of the days of Creation personified as angels—e.g., in the Cotton GENESIS—derived not from biblical exegesis but from Late Antique art (M.-T. d'Alverny, *CahArch* 9 [1957] 271–300). In another variation type God is present and directs the Creation (Cappella Palatina, PALERMO, and MONREALE); in a third type, represented by the OCTATEUCHS, the action is carried out by an unseen heavenly power.

LIT. C. Hahn, "The Creation of the Cosmos: Genesis Illustration in the Octateuchs," *CahArch* 28 (1979) 29–40. J. Lassus, "La création du monde dans les Octateuques byzantins du douzième siècle," *MonPiot* 62 (1979) 85–148. M. Bernabò, "Considerazioni sul manoscritto Laurenziano Plut.5.38 e sulle miniature della Genesi degli Ottateuchi bizantini," *AnnPisa*³ 8 (1978) 135–57. Weitzmann-Kessler, *Cotton Gen.* 47–58. —J.H.L.

CREDITOR (δανειστής), either a professional money-lender (ARGYROPRAATES or BANKER) or anyone else to whom money was owed. In Justinianic law and later, social status determined the rate of INTEREST. One could get a LOAN even from a monastery. Christian public opinion condemned USURY and both legal texts and narrative sources describe the cruelty of creditors: *Epanagoge* 35.1 prohibits creditors from exhuming corpses "under the rationale of DEBT," and Demetrios KYDONES (*Correspondance*, ed. Loenertz 1:30.140–50) describes how a creditor dragged an insolvent debtor from beneath his bed, beat him, "shouted about silver, interest, and months," and took him before a judge. The hagiographer of St. PHILARETOS THE MERCIFUL sympathizes with a peasant whose ox died and who wanted to run away before his creditors (*chreopheiletai*) attacked him like wild beasts (M.H. Fourmy, M. Leroy, *Byzantion* 9 [1934] 119.4–7).

As security the creditor usually received immovables from the debtor—either as a mortgage

or the actual physical possession. If the debtor proved to be insolvent, the ownership of the land, house, or other item was transferred to the creditor. —A.K.

CREED (σύμβολον), in the strict sense of the word, the short brief exposition of the principles of Christian belief as formulated at the ecumenical councils of NICAIA (325) and the First Council of Constantinople in 381 (see under CONSTANTINOPLE, COUNCILS OF), and as transmitted by the acts of the Council of CHALCEDON (451). Formulas representing the Nicaean "creed," as cited by various theologians, esp. in the commentary of THEODORE OF MOPSUESTIA, do not give a homogeneous text, and the concept of the Nicaean creed in the 4th C. seems to have been relatively vague. The creed of Constantinople is also problematic: first of all, it is not mentioned until Chalcedon (an argument *ex silentio*); secondly, EPIPHANIOS of Cyprus, in a book written seven years before Constantinople I, presents the creed in the same form as that of Constantinople rendered at Chalcedon, although the text of Epiphanius may be interpolated (B.M. Weischer, *Theologie und Philosophie* 53 [1978] 407–14). Thus, the creed of Nicaea was developed only over time; it derived from (but did not eliminate) local creeds, probably the creed of Caesarea as attested by EUSEBIOS OF CAESAREA. It served as a baptismal formula that eventually assumed the role of the line of demarcation from heresy—whether this happened by 381 or only 451 is not clear. The text of the creed also survived in papyri of the 5th (J. Kramer, *ZPapEpig* 1 [1967] 131f) and 6th C. (O. Montevecchi, *Aegyptus* 55 [1975] 58–69).

ED. G.L. Dossetti, *Il simbolo di Nicea e di Costantinopoli* (Rome 1967).

LIT. J.N.D. Kelly, *Early Christian Creeds*³ (London 1972). D.L. Holland, "The Creeds of Nicea and Constantinople Reexamined," *ChHist* 38 (1969) 248–61. Idem, "The Earliest Text of the Old Roman Symbol: A Debate with Hans Lietzmann and J.N.D. Kelly," *ChHist* 34 (1965) 262–81. A.M. Ritter, *Das Konzil von Konstantinopel und sein Symbol* (Göttingen 1965). —K.-H.U.

CRETAN LITERATURE. Little is known of Cretan literary activity until the late 14th C.; by this time, following the division of territories in the aftermath of the Fourth Crusade, Venetian feudal overlords and Greek subjects had settled into a

relationship in which the Italo-Venetian and Cretan Greek dialects and the Catholic and Orthodox faiths maintained a relatively harmonious coexistence. Of the earliest identifiable writers, Leonardo DELLA PORTA stands apart from Stephen SACHLIKES and Marinos FALIERI, a younger contemporary, in that he employed a standard form of Greek whereas Sachlikes and Falieri preferred the Cretan dialect. Both the latter demonstrate other features that remained characteristic of Cretan literature until the end of its Golden Age. These are the use of rhymed POLITICAL VERSE and a delight in scenes of comic realism drawn from the back streets and brothels of urban Crete. Cut off from the mainstream of Byz. educational traditions and open to influences from western Europe, writers in Crete showed an acquaintance with the vernacular literatures of Byz., esp. the verse ROMANCES (probably also composed and copied on the fringes of the Byz. world), and an awareness of Venetian literary fashions (esp. sharply observed amatory dialogues) which was to culminate in the masterpieces of George Choratzis (*Erofilis*, *Katzourbos*) and Vincenzo Kornaro (*Erotokritos*).

LIT. M. Manoussakas, *He Kretike Logotechnia* (Thessalonike 1965) 5–26. G. Morgan, "Cretan Poetry: Sources and Inspiration," *KretChron* 14 (1960) 7–68. —E.M.J.

CRETE (Κρήτη), large island in the eastern Mediterranean, midway between Greece and Africa. In the Roman period Crete was primarily agricultural, with industries producing mainly for the local market (I.F. Sanders, *Roman Crete* [Warminster 1982] 32–35); the island had numerous *poleis*—different sources give various figures, from 22 to 29—the most important being GORTYNA and Knossos. Until 295–97 Crete formed a joint province with Cyrene but was then separated and under Constantine I included in the diocese of Macedonia. The administrative changes of the 7th C. are obscure: several seals of *archontes* of Crete are known (Zacos, *Seals* 1, no.1782) as well as one of a *tourmarches* of Crete (no.2059)—but this is not sufficient evidence to postulate the existence of a theme of Crete. The 9th-C. *Taktikon of Us-penskij* lists both the *archon* and—separately—the *strategos* of Crete; this double governorship is still enigmatic.

The island was attacked by the Goths in 268,

Vandals in 457, and Slavs in 623. Sometime between 824 and 827/8 expatriate Spanish Arabs led by Abū Ḥaṣṣ landed in Crete, quickly conquered the whole island, and established their capital at CHANDAX. The Cretan Arabs had a highly developed urban culture and tolerated Christianity. The Muslim occupation of Crete did, however, leave the whole of the AEGEAN SEA open to devastating raids from the island. After several efforts by his predecessor had failed, in 961 Nikephoros (II) Phokas reconquered Crete and brought enormous treasure for his triumph to Constantinople (THEODOSIOS THE DEACON 2:8). After 961 Crete was under the authority of a *strategos*; in the 10th-C. *Taktikon of Escorial* he is placed between those of Cyprus and Hellas (Oikonomides, *Listes* 265.27). From the time of Alexios I Komnenos until 1204 Crete was administered by a *doux* or *katepano*. The bishop of Gortyna was archbishop of Crete from the beginnings of Christianity on the island, originally under the papacy and after 732/3 under the patriarch of Constantinople.

Crete under Venetian Rule. After the Latin conquest of Constantinople in 1204, Crete was given to BONIFACE OF MONTFERRAT, who sold it to Venice. The island became a source of agricultural products for the Republic, esp. grain, wine, olive oil, cheese, and wood (A. Laiou in *Bisanzio e l'Italia* [Milan 1982] 183–86); Venetian influence led to the commercialization of Cretan agriculture. The Greek inhabitants seem to have been less involved in commerce than the Latins and Jews; Laiou (*supra* 193) reckons that Greeks are named in 20 percent of the 14th-C. notarial acts that she studied. Crete was also an important base for Venetian trade with the Levant, esp. AYDIN, MENTESHE, and the Mamlūk territories (E. Zachariadou, *Trade and Crusade* [Venice 1983] xxxiii–iv). The harsh domination of Venice prompted several revolts in which not only the Greek population but also some Venetian nobles participated, as in 1363 (J. Jegerlehner, *BZ* 12 [1903] 78–125); in 1453 Siffius Vlasto, a Greek from Rethymno, conspired to overthrow the Venetian government but his scheme was betrayed (M. Manoussakas, *He en Krete synomosia tou Sephe Blas-tou* [Athens 1960]). The Orthodox clergy in Crete was limited to 130 members who were under the jurisdiction of the Latin archbishop of the island (Z. Tsirpanles, *Hellenika* 20 [1967] 44–72). In spite

of all the political and religious restrictions, Venetian Crete was a place where Greek and Latin cultural traditions came into contact, resulting in a revival of art and Greek literature, esp. in the vernacular, by such writers as Stephen SACHLIKES and Leonardo DELLA PORTA.

LIT. V. Christides, *The Conquest of Crete by the Arabs* (Athens 1984). D. Tsougarakis, *Byzantine Crete 5th–12th C.* (Oxford 1984). K. Gallas et al., *Byzantinisches Kreta* (Munich 1983). S. Borsari, *Il dominio Veneziano a Creta nel XIII secolo* (Naples 1963). N. Tomadakis, “La politica religiosa di Venezia a Creta verso i Cretesi ortodossi del XIII al XV secolo,” *EEBS* 38 (1971) 361–76. Jacoby, *Recherches*, pt.X (1971), 108–17. —T.E.G., A.K.

Monuments of Crete. The monuments built on Crete before the Arab conquest of the island are impressive for their size and number (more than 40 survive): the churches at Panormos and GORTYNA are large three-aisled basilicas built of carefully dressed blocks, the former having a tripartite transept, atrium, and fine architectural carving.

The far smaller medieval buildings were often built into the ruins of these grander structures. None can be dated before the restoration of Byz. rule in 961, and relatively few from the period preceding the Venetian domination, despite the missionary activity of John XENOS and NIKON HO “METANOETE.” The Church of the Virgin at Myriokephala, part of a monastery founded by Xenos, has a layer of painting dating from the early 11th C. (G. Antourakes, *Hai monai Myriokephalon kai Roustikon Kretes meta ton parekklesion auton* [Athens 1977]). The Church of St. Panteleemon at Pege (formerly Bizariano) probably dates from the 12th C.; one of its columns was formed by piling four reused Corinthian capitals on top of one another.

The churches erected under the Venetians are, for the most part, modest one-aisled barrel-vaulted structures lacking dome and narthex, built of stone or rubble masonry with little external decoration. The influence of the Venetians appears mainly on the façades, in the occasional pointed arch or ornamental carving. These churches served as private chapels, or were used by small village communities; as the many surviving inscriptions indicate, they were donated by groups of villages as well as by individuals and families. An adjoining church was frequently constructed parallel to the first, and though the two were designed to communicate and could be virtually contemporary, each “aisle” had a different dedication and

different donors. One of the relatively few domed structures is the cruciform Church of the Virgin Gouverniotissa at Potamies (mid-14th C.).

The fresco decoration of these churches was both rich and surprisingly independent of Western influence (although there are three portraits of St. Francis). The earliest dated program is that of St. Anne at Amari (a.1225, S. Papadake-Oekland, *DChAE* 7 [1973–74] 31–57); many later ones are also precisely dated, and many, esp. those of the 14th C., bear the names of the ARTISTS as well; the name of John Pagomenos appears in eight churches in western Crete over the years 1313–47, and that of the Phokas brothers in three churches in eastern Crete from 1436 to ca.1453 (T. Gouma-Peterson, *Gesta* 22 [1983] 159–70). The small scale of the churches led to a reduction in the scale of the paintings, but not of their content: some of the individual scenes in the grid of fresco panels adorning the barrel vaults are scarcely larger than portable icons. The lack of a dome meant that the bust of Christ Pantokrator was often displaced to the conch of the apse, where it was flanked by the suppliant Virgin and John the Baptist in a DEESIS composition. The programs are not as laced with liturgical themes as are those at Mistra, for example, but are rich in narrative, esp. hagiographical subjects (M. Basilake, *Kretike Hestia* 1 [1987] 60–83), including the life of the Virgin and local saints.

The earliest frescoes of Crete reveal closer ties with the monastic centers of Asia Minor than with the art of Constantinople or even mainland Greece; 13th-C. monuments such as St. George at Sklavopoula (1290/1) are still provincial versions of 12th-C. Komnenian painting. In the 14th C., however, the successive trends in Palaiologan MONUMENTAL PAINTING as evidenced in such centers as Constantinople, Thessalonike, Serbia, and Mistra came to Crete fairly promptly; apparently without any widespread importation of metropolitan artists, this art would take firm root on the island. In the north and south aisles of the Panagia Kera at Kritsa, the 11 scenes of the life of the Virgin and the elaborate Last Judgment are characterized by multfigured compositions with imposing architectural backdrops, melodramatic poses, and exaggerated facial expressions reminiscent of the early 14th-C. works of MICHAEL (ASTRAPAS) AND EUTYCHIOS (M. Borboudakis, *Panagia Kera* [Athens, n.d.]; S. Papadake-Oekland, *ArchDelt* 22 [1967]

87–111), while the frescoes in the church of the Virgin at Sklavopoula (late 14th–early 15th C.) show the influence of the more graceful and wistful “mature” Palaiologan style favored in Constantinople and Mistra. This latter style was ultimately to lead to the development of the so-called Cretan school of painting of the 15th and 16th C.

LIT. K. Kalokyris, *The Byzantine Wall Paintings of Crete* (New York 1973). M. Chatzidakis, “Toichographies sten Krete,” *KretChron* 6 (1952) 59–91. G. Gerola, *I monumenti veneti nell'isola di Creta*, 4 vols. (Venice 1905–40). G. Gerola, K. Lassithiotakes, *Topographikos katalogos ton toichographemenon ekklesion tes Kretes* (Heraklion 1961). Idem, “Ekklesies tes Dytikes Kretes,” *KretChron* 21 (1969) 177–233, 459–93; 22 (1970) 133–210, 347–88; 23 (1971) 95–177. M. Cattapan, “Nuovi elenchi e documenti dei pittori in Creta dal 1300 al 1500,” *Thesaurismata* 9 (1972) 202–35. —N.P.Š.

CRIMEA, known in antiquity as Tauric Chersonese, a large peninsula situated between the Black and Azov Seas; in Byz. Greek texts the term KHAZARIA is sometimes used for Crimea. The interior was occupied in the 5th C. by the HUNS, but in the early 6th C. Byz. established its power at least in the coastal cities of CHERSON and Cimmerian BOSPOROS. Justinian I ordered the restoration of walls and built *phrouria* at Alouston and Gorzoubitai to protect the coastal part of the Crimea (Prokopios, *Buildings* 3.7.10–11); the location of the frontier remains under discussion (e.g., E. Vejrnar, *ADSV* 17 [1980] 19–33). Byz. suzerainty was terminated ca.600, and the remnants of urban life dwindled, but it is plausible that the countryside flourished in the 7th–8th C. (A. Jakobson, *Rannesrednevekovye sel'skie poselenija Jugo-Zapadnoj Tavriki* [Leningrad 1970]). The KHAZARS dominated Crimea from the 7th to 10th C., but from the 9th C. onward Byz. struggled for hegemony, its stronghold being Cherson and the theme of Klimata (see KLIMA).

The ethnic composition of Crimea was diversified: besides Greeks and the remnants of Scythians and Sarmatians, there were Goths in DORY, Bulgars in the region of Bosporos, Alans and Pechenegs in the interior, and Rus' in nearby TMUTOROKAN. Armenians and Italians settled in cities of the peninsula from the 13th C. onward. The Byz. designated the local population of Crimea indiscriminately as “Tauroi” or “Tauroscy-thians.”

After 1204 Crimea was at first within the economic sphere of TREBIZOND; during the period

of Tatar political domination (after 1235) Genoese and Venetians used Crimean towns (esp. SOUGDAIA and KAFFA) as bases for long-distance trade. In 1475 the entire peninsula fell to the Ottomans.

LIT. A. Jakobson, *Srednevekovyj Krym* (Leningrad 1964). Ju. Kulakovskij, *Prošloe Tavridy*² (Kiev 1914). D. Obolensky, "The Crimea and the North before 1204," *ArchPont* 35 (1978) 123–33. —O.P.

CRIMINAL PROCEDURE (ἐγκληματική δίκη). The office of public prosecutor was unknown in Byz. law. Nevertheless, criminal procedures could be initiated by the authorities, but there were few laws governing how they were to be carried out. Punishable offenses were often prosecuted on application of a private person. The nature of the crime dictated who was entitled to prosecute: the injured or harmed person alone, or his relatives and anyone else. The accuser was, as a rule, called a *kategoros*, and the accusation to be recorded in court was an *engraphe*; however, the blurred distinction between criminal and CIVIL PROCEDURE is reflected in the terminology of the sources. Criminal procedure differed from civil procedure in several ways: for example, there were variations in the arrangements for accusation and representation; witnesses had to appear in person; TORTURE played a large role; the accused could be held in custody; a trial could not last more than two years; and the unsuccessful accuser (*sykophantes*) was threatened with the same punishment that would have befallen the accused had he been convicted (*tautopatheia*).

LIT. Zachariä, *Geschichte* 406–08. D. Simon, "Die Melete des Eustathios Rhomaios über die Befugnis der Witwe zur Mordanklage," *ZSavRom* 104 (1987) 559–95. —L.B.

CRISPUS (Κρίσπος), more fully Flavius Julius Crispus, son of CONSTANTINE I and Minervina, probably the emperor's concubine; born ca.305, died Pola 326. A pupil of LACTANTIUS, he was caesar from 1 Mar. 317 together with the infant CONSTANTINE II. He was apparently put in charge of Gaul and acclaimed for victory over the Franks and Alemanni in 320 and 323. He is titled *invictus* on a milestone from Lorraine—probably an allusion to the cult of SOL INVICTUS. As commander of the fleet Crispus played a notable role in the defeat of LICINIUS in 324, but in 326 was suddenly

executed. Aurelius Victor says specifically that this was by order of his father, and many authors (John Chrysostom, Sidonius Apollinaris, etc.) saw a link between his death and the subsequent murder of his stepmother Fausta. Zosimos was the first to relate that Crispus came under suspicion of being involved with Fausta; when Constantine had him murdered, HELENA took the loss of her grandson very hard, and Constantine, in order to placate her, placed Fausta in an overheated bath where she suffocated. P. Guthrie (*Phoenix* 20 [1966] 327f) dismisses any connection between the two murders, but his arguments are not convincing; Crispus must have committed or at least been charged with a serious crime, the nature of which remains uncertain.

LIT. H. Pohlsander, "Crispus: Brilliant Career and Tragic End," *Historia* 33 (1984) 79–106. O. Seeck, *RE* 4 (1901) 1722–24. —T.E.G.

CRITICISM, LITERARY, was stimulated in Byz. by the necessity to take a stand with regard to the literary heritage of antiquity. The first task was the assemblage, systematization, and categorization of the surviving texts; this took the form of compiling various LEXIKA and FLORILEGIA and establishing the canon of selected authors and works. A greater challenge was the appreciation of classical literature: rejected by radical Christians like Tatian owing to its allegedly amoral character, it was sanctioned—at least as a valid instrument in aiding logic and rhetoric—by such authorities as Gregory of Nazianzos, Gregory of Nyssa, Basil the Great, and, to a lesser degree, John Chrysostom. The judgment was pronounced on the basis of ideological criteria, not literary ones; this ideological approach survived in much later centuries as well and is exemplified by the refutation by Constantine AKROPOLITES of the *Timarion*. On the other hand, literary critics applied allegorical reinterpretation to pagan texts, esp. to the antique and late antique ROMANCES, some of which were seen as the story of the soul's longing for salvation (Poljakova, *Roman.* 43–48). Photios, in his BIBLIOTHECA, included a literary evaluation of the books he had read as well as their moral significance (G. Kustas, *Hellenika* 17 [1962] 132–69). Psellos contributed much to literary criticism: he wrote a stylistic appreciation of the work of a hagiographer, Symeon Metaphrastes; analyzed the rhetorical skill of Gregory of Nazianzos (Mayer, "Psellos'

Rede" 27–100); and compared George of Pisidia with Euripides (A. Dyck, *Michael Psellus: The Essays on Euripides and George of Pisidia and on Heliodorus and Achilles Tatius* [Vienna 1986]). Psellos emphasized two contradictory principles of a successful literary style—its variety in vocabulary, meter, and form and its internal unity (Ljubarskij, *Psell* 138f). Eustathios of Thessalonike and Theodore Metochites also analyzed the style of ancient models, such as Plutarch and Synesios, and John Merkouropoulos (see JOHN VIII CHRYSOSTOMITES) tried to characterize the literary achievements of John of Damascus and Kosmas the Hymnographer.

LIT. J.W.H. Atkins, *Literary Criticism in Antiquity*, vol. 2 (London 1952). Christ, *Literatur* 2.2:1075–94. —A.K., I.S.

CROATIA (Χροβαρία), northwestern Balkan state, created by Croatian Slavs, who moved into the area in the 7th C. According to Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos (*De adm. imp.* 31.68–70, 83–84) there were two different Croatian states—Pannonian Great or White Croatia, which was pagan, and baptized Dalmatian Croatia; the latter included the *kastra* of Nin (Nona), Biograd (Belegradon, one of many "white towns"), Velica (Belitzin), and Skradin (Skordona). Constantine asserts that the Croats were settled there by Emp. Herakleios.

The early centuries of Croatian history are obscure. In Charlemagne's time the region came under Frankish domination. After his death (814), a rebellion by Pannonian Croats was crushed by the Franks, but Dalmatian Croatia gained strength under local princes. It obtained papal recognition of its independence in 879, under Prince Branimir (879–92). During the rule of Prince TOMISLAV (from between 910 and 914 to ca.928) Dalmatian and Pannonian Croatia were united, thus creating a powerful state. In about 923 the Byz. emperor Romanos I sent an embassy to Tomislav to form an alliance with Croatia and Serbia against SYMEON OF BULGARIA; Symeon's invasion of Croatia turned into a disaster for Bulgarian troops. It is unclear how and why, but Tomislav then abandoned his Byz. alliance and sought papal support; by 925 Rome acknowledged him as a king.

Probably the danger of Venetian penetration persuaded Tomislav's successors to turn again to

Byz.; at any rate, King Peter Kresimir IV (1058–74) acted as representative of the Byz. emperor in Byz. Dalmatia. Culturally Croatia became further removed from Constantinople when two ecclesiastical conventions in Split (1060 and 1074) condemned and prohibited the Slavonic liturgy, but it survived in many peripheral churches. This anti-Byz. attitude was further developed by King ZVONIMIR (1075–89/90), under whom Croatia entered a period of internal instability and Hungarian intervention. In 1102 Croatia became united with Hungary, but remained a distinct state, with the Hungarian king being separately elected and crowned as king of Croatia (until 1235). Thereafter Croatia had no further involvement with Byz. affairs.

LIT. Fine, *Early Balkans* 248–91. N. Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata u ranom srednjem vijeku* (Zagreb 1971). Idem, *Povijest Hrvata u razvijenom srednjem vijeku* (Zagreb 1976). —B.K., A.K.

CROSS (σταυρός), symbol of the CRUCIFIXION of Jesus Christ. From the earliest years of Christianity the paradox that through his death on the cross Christ destroyed the power of death and offered the hope of eternal life to mankind has made the cross a symbol of Christianity.

THEOLOGY OF THE CROSS. Although the cult of the cross (see CROSS, CULT OF THE) did not blossom until the 4th C., theological development of the symbolism of the cross had already begun in the writings of the Apostolic period, with particular reference to Old Testament prototypes (prefigurations) of the cross as, for example, Moses' attitude of prayer in the victory over the Amalekites, the Tree of Life, and the bronze serpent. The numerous Byz. sermons pertaining to the Feast of the Exaltation of the Cross are devoted chiefly to these prototypes. Surviving examples of these homilies represent a kind of hymnic litany extolling the cross as the sign of victory and salvation (e.g., Makarios CHRYSOKEPHALOS, PG 150:177C). The church fathers repeatedly express their wonder that what was once a symbol of shame became in Christianity a symbol of honor for both crowned heads and simple people, and is treated as such in every church and square and found even on clothing and ordinary utensils (see "The Cross in Everyday Life," below). The danger that the symbol of the cross might degenerate into something meaningless and commonplace is

expressed, among other ways, in a decree of Emp. Valentinian III (*Cod. Just.* I 8, a.427) and in a resolution of the Council in Trullo (canon 73) forbidding incorporation of the cross into a church floor where it could be trampled underfoot.

Perhaps the most significant theology of the cross is that of JOHN CHRYSOSTOM. In many of his sermons, devoted wholly or in part to this theme, he treats the multifaceted mystery of the cross. Beginning with the worldwide spread of Christianity, he emphasizes the central position of the cross as the work of *philanthropia*, or the symbol of God's providential care (*kedemonia*) for the world. Rooted in the cross is the salvation of the world because Christ gave his life (*psyche*) as ransom for the enemy (Chrysostom, PG 58:622.53–55). Referring to St. Paul (Col. 2:14), Chrysostom proclaims that the baptism and the cross canceled the contract that pledged us to the Law and that stood against us: "Not only was it canceled but torn to pieces, the nails of the cross cleft it, made it invalid" (PG 50:462.54–463.1). Through the erection of the cross the air is purged of demons, the citadel of the Devil destroyed. Thus, the cross became the monument to the flight of the enemy. As the Devil conquered Adam through the wood of the Tree of Life, so Christ overcomes Hell through the wood of the cross, leading men who are held captive there to freedom. Through Christ, the SOL JUSTITIAE, the cross is also immersed in the transfigured light of God. This theological conception yields the artistic form of the *crux gemmata*, that is, the cross of gold or mosaic overlaid with pearls and precious stones (A. Lipinsky, *FelRav*³ 30 [1960] 5–62). Chrysostom also considers it obvious that the "sign of the Son of Man" is the cross that precedes Christ in his PAROUSIA or Second Coming.

The veneration of the cross was furthered significantly through Constantine I the Great's vision of the cross at the MILVIAN BRIDGE in 312, by Helena's discovery of the TRUE CROSS, and by the development of the cult of the cross in the 4th C. and later. It was also advanced by liturgical development in the Feast of the Exaltation of the Cross, whose status was further intensified by Emp. Herakleios's recovery of the True Cross from the Sasanians and its restoration to Jerusalem in 631. For a brief time ICONOCLASM also contributed to the portrayal of the cross as an alternative to icons. The Christian attitude of

prayer facing east was fixed by mounting a cross in this direction; it also counteracted the orientation of the Jewish Temple and the Marcionites and PHOUDAGIAGITES, who prayed facing west.

The liturgy of the triumphal cross was taken as a model for the acclamations for the victorious emperor returning home. The emperor bore the cross on his diadem as a symbol of Christ's sovereignty, while the monks wore this symbol on their headgear or *koukoulion* (J. Engemann in *Theologia crucis—Signum crucis: Festschrift E. Dinkler* [Tübingen 1979] 137–53). The PATRIA OF CONSTANTINOPLE describes the erection of the cross in the public square of the capital city (probably done first under Theodosios I). The sign of the cross, which was used in all the sacraments, but particularly in the administration of baptism, was made as the eschatological seal of righteousness in the name of Christ. A sermon on the life-giving cross (pseudo-Chrysostom) gives a comprehensive description in one particular passage: "We [i.e., Christians] have for our ship [*anti skaphous*] the Old and New Testaments, the cross as our helm, Christ as our helmsman, the Father as our captain, the Holy Spirit as our west wind, grace as our sail, the disciples as our sailors, the prophets as our soldiers; we direct ourselves, therefore, beyond the ship into the ocean of thought not to extract a pearl, but something more valuable even than the pearl" (PG 50:817).

LIT. G.Q. Reijners, *The Terminology of the Holy Cross in the Early Christian Literature as Based upon Old Testament Typology* (Nijmegen 1965). E. Peterson, "Das Kreuz und das Gebet nach Osten," in *Frühkirche, Judentum und Gnosis* (Rome 1959) 15–35. P. Stockmeier, *Theologie und Kult des Kreuzes bei Johannes Chrysostomus* (Trier 1966). J. Moorhead, "Iconoclasm, the Cross and the Imperial Image," *Byzantion* 55 (1985) 165–79. —G.P.

THE CROSS IN EVERYDAY LIFE. The sign of the cross dominated every aspect of daily life: it marked churches, graveyards, religious foundations in general, and house altars. Believing it to be the only true weapon against demonic and evil powers, the faithful wore it around their necks or had it stamped or embroidered on their clothes. To ward off misfortune, the sign of the cross was engraved or carved in a prominent place on city walls, public buildings, bridges, dangerous passes, and private homes. The Second Council of Nicaea ruled that the cross is properly set up not only in churches and on sacred vessels and images but

also "in houses and on streets" (Mansi 13:377CD). At times of pestilence, drought, or flooding the faithful carried crosses in litanies led by the clergy. Miraculous salvation from such natural catastrophes was affirmed with the sign of the cross, as when THEODORE OF SYKEON gave a blessing and made the sign of the cross after concluding a miracle (*vita*, ed. Festugière, ch.43.56). On the banks of a flooded river, at the boundaries of vineyards or cultivated fields ready for harvest, or at a place from which evil spirits had previously escaped, a cross would be erected or carved to ensure protection against demonic powers (*Ibid.*, ed. Festugière, ch.43.45, ch.45.21–22, ch.53.5, ch.114.41, ch.144.4, ch.155.15–16). Similarly, a newly launched ship bore the sign of the cross on its masts, bow, and stern. Farm animals were also blessed with the sign of the cross.

Marks of the cross have been widely found in quarries, apparently used to lend spiritual strength to the workers' technical skills (Sodini et al., *Aliki I* 124–26). They were painted on the walls of churches—together with inscribed prayers at Tokalı Kilise in Göreme—before being covered with more elaborate decoration. Replacing the LABARUM, the cross was a common sign of faith on weapons. Gregory Abu'l-Faraj noted among the loot taken by the Arabs from the Byz. in 887 gold and silver crosses from the heads of their spears. During a celebration in honor of the True Cross that lasted from 28 July to 13 Aug., the houses, walls, and other buildings in Constantinople were blessed (*De cer.* 539.19–21). The illiterate signed documents by simply drawing a cross; inscriptions and the signatures of the literate on documents were usually preceded by a cross.

Occasionally there were acts of impiety such as swearing and taking false oaths on the cross (Koukoules, *Bios* 3:363, 377) or even faking miracles—discovering supposedly hidden crosses and presenting them to the faithful, thereby exploiting their piety (*vita* of Lazaros of Mt. Galesios, AASS Nov. 3:512f).

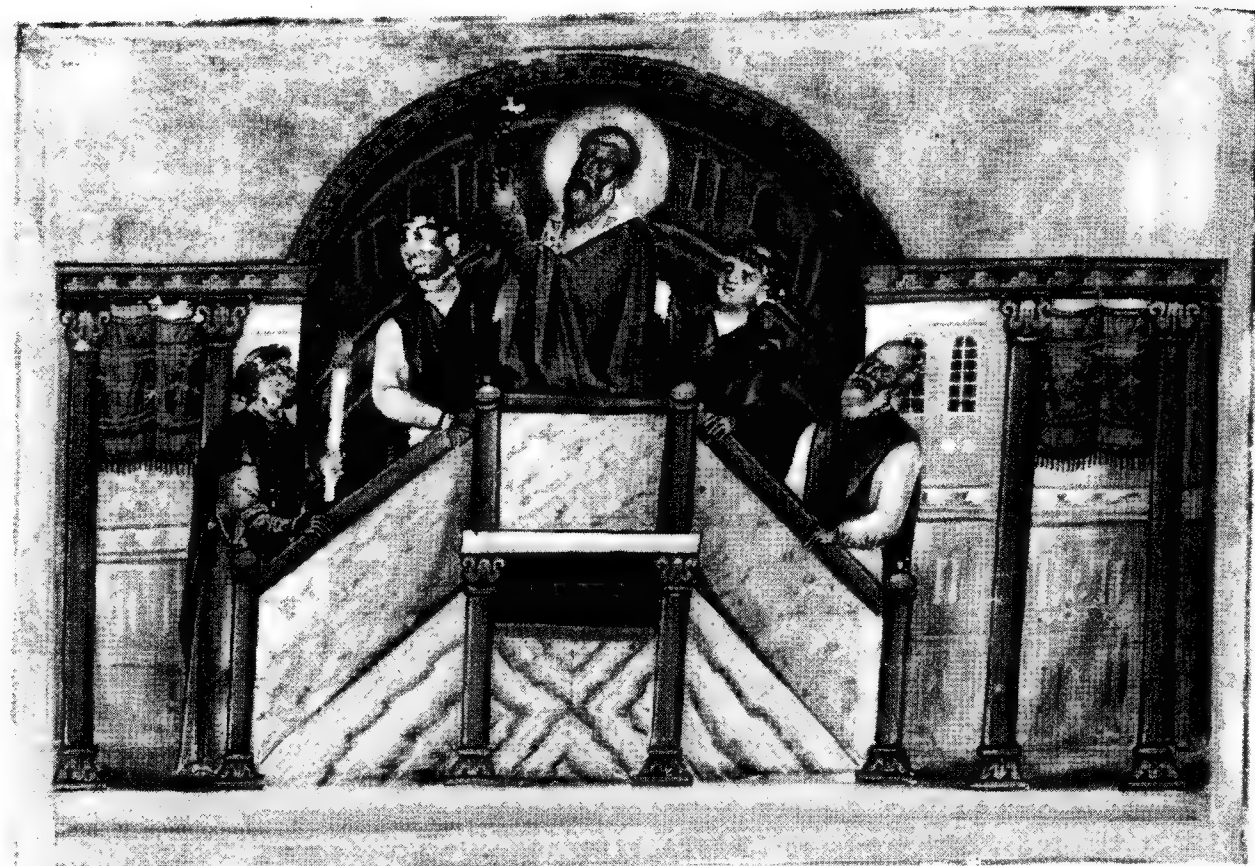
LIT. Hunger, *Reich* 182–84.

—Ap.K., A.C.

CROSS, CULT OF THE. Though John Chrysostom says that Christ "did not leave the Cross on earth but seized it and carried it up to heaven" (PG 49:403.61–3), legends of the finding and

identification of the TRUE CROSS by HELENA in the first half of the 4th C. abound. By the second half of the 4th C. relics of the Cross, used as AMULETS—though the practice was condemned by canon 36 of the Council of Laodikeia ca.360–90 (Mansi 2:570; Gregory of Nyssa, *Vie de sainte Macrine*, ed. P. Maraval [Paris 1971] 240f, n.2)—had spread from Jerusalem to Antioch, Cappadocia, and Constantinople. Circa 384 EGERIA described the beginnings of the liturgical cult of the Cross on Good Friday in Jerusalem: on Golgotha behind the chapel of the Cross the bishop took his seat, and the Wood of the Cross and the Title were taken out of their box and placed on a table. The relics were guarded by deacons to prevent the pilgrims from biting off a piece as they passed to kiss the Wood (*Diary* 37:2–3). Egeria also furnishes our earliest description of the 14 Sept. feast of the Cross in Jerusalem, where it celebrated the finding of the Cross, associated with an earlier 13–14 Sept. dedication feast of the cathedral complex on Golgotha.

The rite of the Elevation of the Cross is first attested at the Golgotha *martyrion* in the 6th C. (ed. H. Usener, *Der hl. Theodosios, Schriften des Theodoros u. Kyrillos* [Leipzig 1890] 71). The 7th-C. CHRONICON PASCHALE speaks of the exposition of the Cross (*staurophaneia*) on 14 Sept. (1:531.9–12), and testifies to the exaltation (*hypsois*) rite in Hagia Sophia on that day in 614 (705.3–6). In the rite of Constantinople this exaltation theme overshadowed the earlier *inventio* motif, and the ritual exaltation became the central ceremony, celebrated with the greatest solemnity (Mateos, *Typicon* 1:24; *De cer.*, bk.1, ch.31 [32]). For four days (10–13 Sept.) the wood of the Cross was exposed for veneration, and the Sunday before and after the feast and its VIGIL (*paramone*) were all directed toward the celebration. On 14 Sept. itself, at ORTHROS in Hagia Sophia, the patriarch entered in solemn procession bearing the relic of the Cross, escorted by the emperor and court dignitaries bearing candles. They formed an honor guard along the ambo and solea as the patriarch mounted the ambo with "the precious wood." After prostration and prayer, the patriarch elevated the relic of the Cross thrice to the four corners of the earth, then the people came forward to venerate the relic. After the service the emperor offered a banquet in the Triklinos of Justinian (Oikonomides, *Listes* 222f). In the 14th



CROSS, CULT OF THE. The Elevation of the Cross. Miniature in the *Menologion of Basil II* (Vat. gr. 1613, p.35). Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. The patriarch of Constantinople is shown celebrating the feast of the Elevation of the Cross.

C. the exaltation rite took place on a platform erected in the Triklinos (pseudo-Kod. 239–40).

In the SABAITIC TYPIKA this feast is one of the 12 Byz. GREAT FEASTS and the only nonbiblical dominical feast. It does not celebrate Jesus' passion, like GOOD FRIDAY, but the Cross as instrument of salvation, the triumphant symbol of Jesus' victory over death.

One of two Byz. FEASTS that are fast days, the Exaltation is solemnized by a forefeast with *agrypnia* and a week-long afterfeast with *apodosis*. The festive propers for 14 Sept. in the MENAION are repeated on Holy Cross Sunday in the TRIODION, the Third Sunday of Lent (but cf. Mateos, *Typicon* 2:38–45).

Historical Development. The veneration of the Cross was concentrated on two "historical" events—the vision of the Cross by Constantine I the Great on the eve of his victory over Maxentios in 312 and the appearance of the Cross in Jerusalem in

351 as described by Cyril of Jerusalem in his letter to Constantius II (E. Bihain, *Byzantion* 43 [1973/4] 264–96). To this a third "historical" event was added—the discovery of the Cross by St. Helena and Makarios, "patriarch" of Jerusalem. The relic of the True Cross was captured by the Persians who seized Jerusalem in 614, but recovered by Herakleios and restored to Jerusalem in 631. Enormous literature has been devoted to the veneration of the Cross, the treatise of ALEXANDER THE MONK being one of the most important works on the subject; unfortunately, the traditional dating in the mid-6th C. cannot be substantiated. The cult of the Cross acquired a particular significance under the Iconoclast emperors of the 8th C., when the Cross was treated as the symbol of the Christian church—on the other hand, the Iconodules emphasized that the Cross is only one of a number of symbols and no more important than the ICON. The Iconoclasts stressed the mili-

tary function of the Cross as the instrument of victory; this victory-giving role of the Cross is developed also in the hymns of KOSMAS THE HYMNODGRAPHER, whereas John of Damascus remained lukewarm with regard to this theme. A legend of the Iconoclast period recounts that Constantine the Great erected in Constantinople three crosses named Jesus, Christ, and Victory (Herakleios renamed the latter Aniketos, Unvanquished); these crosses were located in the Forum, Philadelphion, and Artropoleion, places that served as stations during the victory celebrations of the 9th C. The Cross remained a military symbol throughout the 10th C.

LIT. A. Frolow, *La relique de la vraie croix. Recherches sur le développement d'un culte* (Paris 1961). H. Leclercq, *DACL* 3.2:3131–39. P. Bernardakis, "Le culte de la Croix chez les grecs," *EO* 5 (1901–02) 193–202, 257–64. J. Hallit, "La croix dans le rite byzantin. Histoire et théologie," *Parole de l'orient* 3 (1972) 261–311. J. Straubinger, *Die Kreuzauffindungslegende* (Paderborn 1912). A. Korakides, *He heuresis tou timiou staurou* (Athens 1983). A. Kazhdan, "Constantin imaginaire," *Byzantion* 57 (1987) 199f, 218–30, 242f. J. Moorhead, "Iconoclasm, the Cross and the Imperial Image," *Byzantion* 55 (1985) 165–79 with add. by P. Speck, *Byzantion* 56 (1986) 521, n.11. N. Thierry, "Le culte de la croix dans l'empire byzantin du VIIe siècle au Xe dans les rapports avec la guerre contre l'infidèle," *RSBS* 1 (1980/1) 205–28.

—R.F.T., A.K.

CROSS, PROCESSIONAL. The carrying of crosses in procession is attested at least as early as 499, when clergy, monks, and lay persons of both sexes, armed with such emblems, traversed Edessa to appease the Providence that had caused an earthquake (*JoshStyl* 27). Crosses were carried in churches during the LITTLE ENTRANCE and through cities, as in the procession of the patriarch of Constantinople from Hagia Sophia to the Forum of Constantine (*De cer.* 29.16–17). A miniature in the *MENOLOGION OF BASIL II* (p.142) depicts a deacon bearing through the streets a huge pearled cross with pendant jewels, supported by a strap around his neck.

Surviving processional crosses, made of a variety of metals, may be identified by a tang at the base for insertion in a staff and sometimes by their decoration on both sides. At least two crosses of the 10th–11th C. are referred to as a *signon* in the texts inscribed upon them (C. Mango, *infra* 42). In inventories they may be called *litanikoi* (will of Eustathios BOILAS) or *baiphorikoi stauroi* (*Diataxis* of Michael ATTALEIATES). Such docu-

ments suggest their role in the liturgies of even small churches and chapels, when they may have been of quite modest size. Preserved processional crosses of the 6th–7th C. average 30–60 cm in height; they often have flaring arms terminating in small knobs and have suspension holes for pendants—sometimes the Apocalyptic letters *alpha* and *omega*. Usually made of hammered silver, some bear dedicatory inscriptions (Mango, *Silver* 87–91, 235, 249). Post-Iconoclastic crosses in both silver and bronze retain these features but frequently have disks at the ends of their arms or melon-shaped fittings (*DOCat* 1:59f).

Most surviving examples in silver consist of sheets wrapped around an iron core (L. Bouras, *The Cross of Adrianople* [Athens 1979]) that may be decorated in repoussé on the obverse and with niello and gilding on the reverse, as on the so-called Cross of MICHAEL I KEROULARIOS. Elaborate processional crosses could be decorated with the DEESIS or with scenes pertaining to their donor or the patron saint of a church. The most impressive post-Iconoclastic specimen is the monumental cross of Nikephoros II Phokas in the Lavra on Mt. Athos (A. Grabar, *CahArch* 19 [1969] 99–125), which is embellished with gems and busts of saints in repoussé.

LIT. E.C. Dodd, "Three Early Byzantine Silver Crosses," *DOP* 41 (1987) 165–79. C. Mango, "La croix dite de Michel le Cérulaire et la croix de Saint-Michel de Sykéon," *CahArch* 36 (1988) 41–49.

—L.Ph.B., A.C.

CROSSING OF THE RED SEA, the escape of the Israelites from Egypt across the Red Sea, whose waters parted miraculously (Ex 14:15–30). This event offered a promise of salvation, both personal and collective, that was visualized as early as the 4th C. in the Via Latina catacomb and on numerous SARCOPHAGI. Didymos the Blind (PG 39:691–8), John Chrysostom, and others treated the Crossing as a type of BAPTISM (F. Dölger, *Antike und Christentum* 2 [1930] 63–69). As an image of salvation, the passage was chanted in the ambo of Hagia Sophia, Constantinople, on Holy Saturday (Mateos, *Typicon* 2:84–86). The main application of the image derived from the analogy drawn with Constantine I's triumph at the Milvian Bridge (Eusebios, *HE* 9.9.8); it provided a basis for imperial victory celebrations in the mid-10th C. (*De cer.* 610.2–5). Contemporaneously, the triumphal song chanted by Moses entered ODE

illustration. A miniature in the PARIS PSALTER shows NIGHT (Nyx), BYTHOS, and other personifications participating in the Israelites' triumph. With or without these additions, the Crossing remained a standard component of Psalter and other OLD TESTAMENT ILLUSTRATION.

LIT. K. Wessel, *RBK* 2:1–9. Grabar, *L'empereur* 95f, 236f. A. Weckwerth, *LCI* 1:554–58. —J.H.L., A.C.

CROSS-IN-SQUARE CHURCH. See CHURCH PLAN TYPES.

CROTONE (Κρότων), also called Cotrone, coastal city in CALABRIA. It was an important stronghold during the Gothic wars in Italy: Totila's army besieged it in 551/2, but Justinian I sent a special fleet that saved the city (Prokopios, *Wars* 4.25.24–26.2). During the Lombard invasion the Byz. continued to hold Crotone. Several important battles were waged near the city: Gay (*Italie* 337) suggests that in 982 Otto II chased the Arabs from Crotone but was defeated the same year; in 1052 the Normans routed ARGYROS, son of Melo, at Crotone.

Legend has it that Dionysios the Areopagite, on his way from Athens to Paris, stopped at Crotone and was for a while its bishop. The city's first attested bishop, however, was Jordanes in 551. Bishops of Crotone attended councils at Constantinople in 680, 787, and 870. When the metropolis of REGGIO-CALABRIA was created in the early 9th C., Crotone was one of its suffragans. —A.K.

CROWN (στέφανος, στέμμα), with purple robes and boots, the imperial INSIGNIA par excellence. Coins are the best guide to the chronology of changes in crown design, which evolved from simple to complex. Various terms designate crowns of different types, but their rigor and the exactness of modern identifications of terms and designs is unclear. Constantine I adopted the Hellenistic symbol of the diadem and its evolution dominated crowns down to the 12th C. It consisted essentially of a circle of jeweled panels with hanging ornaments called *prependoulia* and surmounted by a cross; it was sometimes combined with helmets. A 10th-C. ceremonial book (*De cer.*, bk.1, ch.37, ed. Vogt 1:175.10–178.15) refers to red, white, blue, or green crowns, perhaps indi-

cating cloth linings. The TORQUE was used as a crown in coronations from 360 to the 6th C. and may have developed into the collar depicted in imperial portraiture from the 11th C. Modern studies of the late Byz. crown call it *kamelaukion* and emphasize its golden top that covered the head. The MODIOLOS seems to have been used from the 5th to 13th C. Another kind of crown, the crested TOUPHA, was particularly associated with military events. Empresses' crowns resembled emperors' diadems, except that they normally showed triangular elements projecting upward from the circle. Late Roman caesars shared other imperial insignia, but not the diadem (Zosim. 6.13.1, ed. Mendelssohn, 293.10–12; *Vita Marcelli* 34, ed. G. Dagron, *AB* 86 [1968] 316); Byz. heirs presumptive wore some kind of headgear, for example, the *kamelaukion* (*De cer.*, bk.2, ch.27, ed. Reiske, 628.5–10) and *phakiolion* (*De cer.*, "Append.," ed. Reiske, 500.12–15).

Crowns were worn during ceremonies. Emperors possessed several, of which particular crowns do not seem to have been handed down, as in the West. Some were buried with the emperor, others given to churches as votive offerings (Theoph. 281.16–20, 453.27–30). Late Roman emperors removed their crown as a sign of mourning (Malal. 421.16–21; Theoph. 173.1–7), penance, and usually—to the 10th C. at least—when they went to church. This custom had changed by Palaiologan times, when it was specified (pseudo-Kod. 268.4–20) that the emperor should remove the crown during communion. When not worn, crowns, like other insignia, were entrusted to court eunuchs. The *praipositos* usually crowned or uncrowned the emperor (Theodosius in *Itineraria et alia geographica* [Turnholt 1965] 123.13–124.6). Crowns were kept in cases called *korniklia* (*De cer.*, bk.1, ch.1, ed. Vogt, 1:4.17).

Client rulers received crowns and other insignia thanks to Byz. diplomacy. The Hellenistic custom of offering golden crowns or wreaths to emperors, as at ADVENTUS, became a tax (*aurum coronarium*) and, in the 9th and 10th C., a symbolic exchange (McCormick, *Eternal Victory* 211f).

—M.McC.

Surviving Examples of Byz. Crowns. Whereas representations of Byz. diadems are copious on diptychs, coins, wall paintings, miniatures, and so forth, few actual specimens have been preserved. Some pieces of an imperial crown were found in

1860 near the Hungarian village of Nyitraivánka; it is unclear how this diadem came to Hungary—as an imperial gift or after the looting of Constantinople in 1204. Z. Kádár (*Folia archaeologica* 16 [1964] 121f) reconstructs the iconography of the crown as follows: in the center was the Pantokrator flanked by personifications of Modesty (Tapeinosis) and Truth (Aletheia); below them was a portrait of Constantine IX Monomachos with Zoe and her sister Theodora; on the back King David was represented with Sophia and Propheteia; the three dancing women beneath them suggest that it must have been a festive event (wedding or coronation) that caused the crown to be made.

The lower part of the so-called Hungarian crown of St. Stephen (*corona graeca*) contains portraits of Michael VII Doukas, his brother or son Constantine, and the Hungarian king Géza I; it was probably sent from Constantinople between 1074 and 1077 as a present to the ruler of Hungary, although Deér (*infra*) questions that the object was originally intended to be a crown.

Imperial crowns are made of precious metals and ornamented with precious stones and enamels. Much more modest are two tin-plated copper crowns (in the Byz. Museum of Athens) with inscriptions mentioning the *spatharokandidatos* Romanos, his wife, and children; the objects, probably of the 11th C., may have served either as an altar decoration or as MARRIAGE CROWNS. —A.K.

LIT. *DOC* 2:80–84, 3.1:127–30. E. Piltz, "Insignien," *RBK* 3:373–498. T. Kolias, "Kamelaukion," *JÖB* 32–33 (1982) 493–502. J. Deér, *Die heilige Krone Ungarns* (Vienna 1966) 33–88, 139–49. É. Kovacs, Zs. Lovag, *The Hungarian Crown and Other Regalia* (Budapest 1980) 18–42. G. Seewann, "Die Sankt-Stephans-Krone, die Heilige Krone Ungarns," *SüdostF* (1978) 170f. P.A. Drososyanni, "A Pair of Byzantine Crowns," *JÖB* 32.3 (1982) 529–38.

CROWNING. See MARRIAGE RITE.

CRUCIFIXION. Christ's death on the Cross (σταύρωσις), the culminating event of the PASSION OF CHRIST, was not depicted until the 5th C.; the earliest surviving representations are from the late 6th C. (RABBULA GOSPELS, fol.13r; SANCTA SANCTORUM RELIQUARY; AMPULLAE). They include many participants—the Virgin Mary, JOHN the Apostle (or Theologian), thieves, soldiers playing dice, the lance- and the sponge-bearer—and most

versions show Christ with open eyes, in spite of the open wound on his side as the unmistakable sign of death. This is explained by the theology of the cross of John Chrysostom, who provided a profoundly Antiochene stamp: "Because God loved the world (Jn 3:16), his temple, endowed with a soul, was crucified" (PG 59:159.7–8). The anti-Monophysite emphasis on Christ's mortal corporeality attests, through the simultaneously opened eyes, the inseparability of the divine Logos from the body and soul of the dead Christ (only the body of Christ sleeps on the cross, while his divinity remains awake). Post-Iconoclastic images show Christ dead with closed eyes, blood and water flowing from his side, to demonstrate his humanity (J. Martin in *LCMS* 189–96). In these representations he wears a loincloth rather than the earlier COLOBIUM.

In the marginal PSALTERS scenes of Christ being led to the cross, and its raising, indicate that narrative cycles of the Crucifixion existed by the 9th C. In the 10th–12th C., when the scene had become the feast icon for GOOD FRIDAY, the composition focused on the figures of Christ, Mary, and John, only sometimes adding further, symbolic motifs: mourning MYRROPHOROI; the centurion Longinus (the first person converted by Christ's death); personifications of EKKLESIA and Synagogue; Mary fainting beneath the Cross. In Palaiologan art the narrative is again enriched with crowds of onlookers and additional scenes (cf. the long cycles of the Crucifixion at STARO NAGORIČINO and GRAČANICA). A crucifix was placed on top of the TEMPLON from the 12th C. onward.

LIT. A. Kartsonis, *Anastasis: The Making of an Image* (Princeton 1986) 33–68. K. Wessel, *Die Kreuzigung* (Recklinghausen 1966). K. Weitzmann, *Studies in the Arts at Sinai* (Princeton 1982), pt.XIV (1972), 23–36. R. Hausscherr, "Der tote Christus am Kreuz: Zur Ikonographie des Gero-kreuzes" (Ph.D. diss., Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität, Bonn, 1963) 125–42. —G.P., A.W.C.

CRUSADER ART AND ARCHITECTURE. The presence of CRUSADER STATES in Syria and Palestine between 1099 and 1291 set the stage for vigorous artistic activity, esp. at the LOCA SANCTA in JERUSALEM, BETHLEHEM, and NAZARETH, formerly under Byz. control and at that time possessed by the Latin Kingdom. Crusader art was sponsored mainly by the resident Franks, but the artists who carried out these commissions in-

cluded western Europeans, indigenous Christians, Frankish artists born in the Crusader states, Armenians, and Byz. Greeks.

After the capture of Jerusalem on 15 July 1099, the Crusaders were challenged to settle and defend newly won territory. From 1099 to 1231 defensive architecture was a high priority, but church building was also attended to. After 1112 in Jerusalem, Crusader architects boldly unified the great Byz. rotunda of the Holy Sepulchre with the Calvary chapel to create a pointed-arch, rib-vaulted French type of pilgrimage church, reusing portions of the Byz. mosaic program. In Bethlehem, the Church of the Nativity was captured intact in 1099; the Crusaders used this Justinianic building for their early coronations and decorated it starting in 1130 with fresco painting in Romanesque styles on the nave columns. In Nazareth, by 1107 TANCRED had rebuilt the Church of the Annunciation on ruins of Byz. buildings. The barrel-vaulted Latin basilica with transepts is used at Nazareth and in Jerusalem in the Church of St. Anne, started shortly after 1113.

The richest and most diverse artistic output of the Crusaders was in the 12th C., esp. between 1131 and the early 1180s. When Melisende (died 1161), eldest daughter of BALDWIN II and his Armenian wife Morfia, came to the throne in 1131, her personal patronage apparently stimulated much activity in and around Jerusalem. The most famous work directly associated with her is the Psalter (London, B.L. Egerton 1139), completed by 1143. Three artists executed the illustrations, all Western-trained, but strongly if differently influenced by Byz.; one of them, Basilus, signed the DEESIS image in Latin. Taken together, the paintings, the text of the calendar with its notable English features, and the ivory covers with a Byz.-looking prince engaged in works of mercy, a Western iconographical concept, epitomize the mélange of East and West that characterizes Crusader art.

Completing the Holy Sepulchre was the most important project of the 1130s and 1140s. The double portal of the main façade echoes the Byz. design of the Golden Gate in Jerusalem. The rich sculptural decoration included elements from Roman, Early Christian, and Arab sources along with Byz.-inspired mosaics in the west tympanum, acanthus capitals, and two Romanesque lintels. At its dedication on 15 July 1149, the Holy Sepulchre

must have been a spectacular monumental statement of the interpenetration of artistic traditions that characterized the new Frankish art. Elsewhere in Jerusalem, sculpture in a robust French style decorated the Hospitaller complex, while on the Haram al-Sharīf some of the most beautiful nonfigural Crusader sculpture, featuring a wet-leaf acanthus motif in an Italo-Provençal manner, seems to have been sponsored by the Templars.

At Tyre the Byz. church was rebuilt, while at Ramla and nearby Lydda (DIOSPOLIS) the smaller churches of St. John and St. George, respectively, demonstrated the more typical Romanesque-Levantine basilica with a flat stone roof and a Near Eastern vocabulary of architectural sculpture. Some of the best known CRUSADER CASTLES, such as Saone, Krak des Chevaliers, and Belvoir, were begun or rebuilt in these years. Finally, Nazareth and Bethlehem emerge between 1150 and 1187 as major centers of sculpture and painting respectively. The Nazareth capitals, reflecting Romanesque style, Byz. iconography, and Islamic *muqarnas*, are the best-preserved examples of a major atelier from which nearly 100 figural fragments survive (J. Folda, *The Nazareth Capitals and the Crusader Shrine of the Annunciation* [University Park, Pa.—London 1986]). The frescoes painted on the nave columns in the Church of the Nativity include a series in the Byz. style and extensive mosaics signed by Basilus and EPHRAIM. They were completed by 1169 under the patronage of the local bishop, King AMALRIC I, and Emp. Manuel I Komnenos. The strong Byz. influence here and nearby in the frescoes of the Hospitaller church at Abu-Ghosh, along with the contemporary products of the Holy Sepulchre scriptorium, reflect the close ties between the Latin Kingdom and the Byz. Empire from the mid-1160s to the death of Amalric (1174).

Saladin's conquest drastically reduced the artistic output of the Crusaders. Only a few places held out, including the castles of Krak des Chevaliers and Margat where frescoes in Byz. style were completed despite the difficult circumstances. Tripoli, Tyre, and Antioch also remained in Crusader hands and the Third Crusade quickly restored Acre (1191), but not Jerusalem. For a century Acre was the major port and the political and artistic center of the Latin Kingdom.

Artistic activity in the Crusader states was thus diminished until the mid-13th C. Castle building

continued of necessity but only one important church was completed, Nôtre-Dame of Tartus. Only one major MS has been attributed to the period: the psalter, possibly commissioned ca. 1235 by Frederick II, combining English and Byz. aspects—notably a thoroughly Byz. Nativity and prophets holding scrolls with texts translated from the Septuagint—with a German approach to the program of scenes (Buchthal, *Latin Kingdom* 40–43).

Artistic output, esp. painting, increased sharply after 1250, stimulated by Louis IX who resided in the Latin Kingdom from 1250 to 1254. The illustrations for an Old French Bible apparently commissioned by Louis are in an accomplished Franco-Byz. style strongly related to frescoes painted in KALENDERHANE CAMII in Constantinople during the period of Latin occupation. Icons on wood panels demonstrate Byz. influence, while the strength of the Italo-Byz. style reflected the Italian presence in the merchant quarters of Acre. Paralleling developments in the West, secular codices became increasingly popular. A *Histoire Universelle*, possibly prepared as a gift for Henry II of Lusignan, has a frontispiece showing the impact of ISLAMIC ART. Surprisingly, the last important painter in Acre used a purely French Gothic style for the Hospitallers. Recently arrived from Paris, he worked in Acre in the decade before its fall in 1291.

LIT. *The Art and Architecture of the Crusader States*, ed. H. Hazard [HC, vol. 4] (Madison, Wisc., 1977). *Crusader Art in the Twelfth Century*, ed. J. Folda (Oxford 1982). K. Weitzmann, "Crusader Icons and Maniera Greca," in *Byz. und der Westen* 143–70. *The Meeting of Two Worlds*, ed. V. Goss, C. Bornstein (Kalamazoo, Mich., 1986). —J.F.

CRUSADER CASTLES. In the East the Crusaders, familiar with the motte-and-bailey castle, encountered Byz. and Arabic FORTIFICATIONS, esp. a descendant of the Roman *castra* (rectangular, with corner towers) and the irregular mountain-crest castle, usually with several defensive lines on the weakest approach. A vast Byz. crag-type fortification, perhaps 10th C., became the castle of Saone (Sahyūn, between Laodikeia and the Orontes). In the 13th C., this pattern was used on a peninsula at Château Pèlerin ('Atlit, between Haifa and Caesarea). In Frankish Greece, after 1204, the Crusaders adapted these plans to their needs. Refortified classical and Byz. sites include

the Acropolis of ATHENS and Acrocorinth (see CORINTH). CHLEMOUTSI (Clermont) in Elis is an irregular hollow hexagon crowning a low hill. KARYTAINA is a crest-type castle above a gorge in the central Peloponnesos; PLATAMON and BOUNDITZA defend the vale of Tempe and a pass near Thermopylae, respectively.

LIT. T.S.R. Boase, "Military Architecture in the Crusader States in Palestine and Syria," and D.J. Wallace, T.S.R. Boase, "The Arts in Frankish Greece and Rhodes: A. Frankish Greece," in *HC* 4:140–64, 208–28. M. Benvenisti, *The Crusaders in the Holy Land* (New York-Jerusalem 1970) 277–339. Bon, *Morée franque* 601–84. —C.M.B.

CRUSADER STATES. The states first founded by the Crusaders were on former Muslim territory, where the principal vestiges of Byz. rule were the Christian minorities (MELCHITES, JACOBITES, MARONITES). These states included the kingdom of JERUSALEM, the principality of ANTIOCH, the county of EDESSA, and the county of TRIPOLI.

Upon lands that the Crusaders later conquered from Byz., the Crusaders founded the kingdom of CYPRUS, the LATIN EMPIRE of Constantinople, the kingdom of THESSALONIKE, the principality of ACHAIA, the duchy of ATHENS, the duchy of NAXOS, and various lesser feudal units. Venice assumed direct rule over Crete, Methone and Korone in the Morea, and eventually Euboea, while Genoa acquired Chios, Lesbos, and Phokaia. Rhodes passed to the HOSPITALLERS. The populations of these states and dependencies were Byz. or partially byzantinized Slavs and Vlachs. In the Crusader states an aristocracy of Western knights and lords was superimposed on the local society. While the aristocracy followed Western feudal customs, enshrined in the Assizes of JERUSALEM and of ROMANIA, the populace generally observed Byz. law, paid dues modeled on what they had paid the emperors, and maintained their Orthodox religion.

LIT. D. Jacoby, *La féodalité en Grèce médiévale: Les 'Assises de Romanie'* (Paris 1971). J. Prawer, *The Crusaders' Kingdom* (New York 1972). —C.M.B.

CRUSADES were military expeditions launched by popes, initially against infidels for the recovery of the Holy Sepulchre in JERUSALEM. The term "bearer of the Cross" (*staurophoros*), known from Greek texts from the 4th C. onward, has been

construed as referring to monastic life, not Crusaders. The idea of the holy war prevailed during Herakleios's expeditions against the Persians. This idea reappeared in the West in the writing of Pope GREGORY VII and assumed final form in the proclamation of Pope URBAN II.

ALEXIOS I was partially responsible for inspiring the Crusades. In March 1095 his envoys met Urban II at Piacenza and appealed for Western help against the Seljuk Turks. The pope publicly urged assistance to Byz. On 27 Nov. 1095, at Clermont, Urban renewed his appeal for aid to the Eastern Christians and called for the rescue of the Holy Sepulchre.

The armies of the early Crusades passed through Byz. territory, traveling either from BRANIČEVO on the Danube through Sofia to Constantinople, or from DYRRACHION via Thessalonike. Crossing the straits, they marched through Byz. and Turkish territory to Antioch and the Holy Land. The Byz. attempted to provide markets where the Crusaders could purchase provisions, while restraining them from pillaging the countryside. Nevertheless, the undisciplined Westerners often

plundered; policing (usually by Pecheneg horse-men) was brutal. Skirmishes in which both sides suffered losses led to ill feeling.

Forerunners of the First Crusade (1095–1099) were bands led by PETER THE HERMIT and others that reached Constantinople in 1096. Faced with their turbulence, Alexios transferred them to Anatolia, where they were largely destroyed by the Turks. The survivors blamed the emperor.

The portions of the First Crusade led by nobles such as GODFREY OF BOUILLON and BOHEMUND reached Constantinople in late 1096 and early 1097. As they arrived, Alexios sought to gain each leader's favor by gifts, induce him to swear fealty to the emperor, and make him urge later arrivals to do the same. Those who took the oath pledged to return to Byz. all territories recently seized by the Turks. Some, like HUGH OF VERMANDOIS and Bohemund, readily agreed; others, like Godfrey, demurred. Godfrey, after his followers quarreled with the Byz., attacked Constantinople, but was beaten off; reconciled with Alexios, he took the oath.

The Crusaders and Byz. jointly attacked Nicaea

(May–June 1097); the former were displeased when the city surrendered to the Byz., but Alexios appeased them with gifts. He dispatched TATIKIOS and a small force to support their march across Anatolia. During the siege of Antioch, Taticios was forced to withdraw and Bohemund later used this action to justify his seizure of Antioch. The Crusaders succeeded in capturing Jerusalem on 15 July 1099.

An expedition of Lombards and some French nobles that set out from Europe in 1100 encountered difficulties in crossing Byz. territory; some Lombards even attacked the Blachernai Palace. In 1101 the Crusaders' rash conduct in Asia Minor brought them disaster. Alexios was charged with treacherously betraying them to the Turks. Byz. claimed Antioch and strove until 1180 to subordinate its princes. Alexios I's attacks caused Bohemund to join with the pope and launch a Crusade against Byz.; it was defeated in 1108.

The Second Crusade (1147–1149) consisted of a German contingent led by CONRAD III and a French one led by LOUIS VII. In 1147 Conrad's followers clashed with the Byz. in Thrace, and Manuel I was pleased to transport them over the Bosphoros before Louis arrived. Although the French enjoyed a friendly reception from Manuel, Bp. Godfrey of Langres proposed the seizure of Constantinople. Germans and French suffered heavy losses at the hands of the Turks in Anatolia. Manuel provided shipping to transport the survivors from Attaleia to Antioch (Jan. 1148), but the Byz. were blamed for betraying the Crusade. In July the French withdrew from Damascus after an unsuccessful attack.

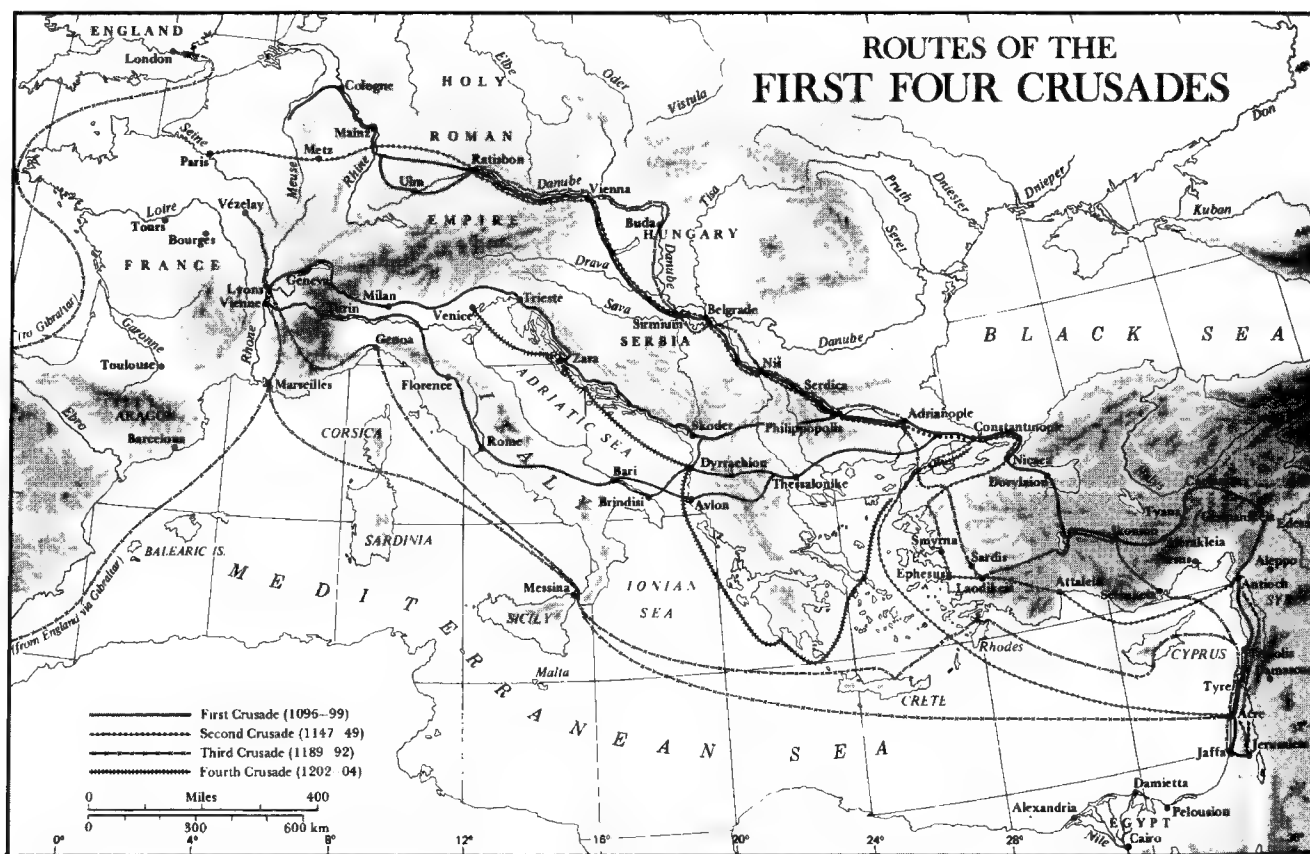
In subsequent decades, as pressure on the Crusader states from NŪR AL-DĪN and SALADIN increased, the kings of Jerusalem sought alliance with Byz. BALDWIN III married a Komnene, as did his successor AMALRIC I. A joint Crusader-Byz. force attacked Damietta (1169), but disagreements and mutual distrust caused the expedition to fail. Amalric did homage to Manuel in Constantinople in 1171. In 1177 Manuel attempted to renew the alliance, but the weakness of Amalric's successors prevented any action.

After Saladin's conquest of most of the kingdom of Jerusalem (1187), Isaac II attempted a rapprochement with him. To obtain Saladin's good will, Isaac lured the portion of the Third Crusade (1189–1192) led by FREDERICK I BARBAROSSA into

Thrace, then attempted to destroy it (1189). Enraged, Frederick wrote to his son HENRY VI ordering him to bring a fleet for an attack on Constantinople. Isaac, however, soon yielded and allowed Frederick to proceed, but he drowned in Cilicia (10 June 1190) and his army scattered. Another section of the Third Crusade, led by RICHARD I LIONHEART, seized Cyprus from its Greek ruler, ISAAC KOMNENOS. The French and English forces failed to regain Jerusalem but did capture Acre on 12 July 1191. In 1195–97 Henry VI planned a Crusade and used it to blackmail Byz. Only Henry's death saved the empire from having to pay the ALAMANIKON tribute.

Byz. hostility to the Crusades, evident in the writings of Anna Komnene and Kinnamos, and with some qualifications in Niketas Choniates, was reciprocated, as shown by Western authors such as Raymond of Aguilers, Odo of Deuil, and Ansbart. Bohemund and Frederick I had proposed a Crusade against Byz. (S. Kindlimann, *Die Eroberung von Konstantinopel als politische Forderung des Westens im Hochmittelalter* [Zurich 1969]). Pope Innocent III was ready to threaten a Crusade as a means to bring about church unity (A.J. Andrea, I. Motsiff, *BS* 33 [1972] 6–25). The Crusades had made Constantinople's wealth known in the West. PHILIP OF SWABIA and his ally BONIFACE OF MONTFERRAT had ambitions in the East. Venetian merchants wanted an assured monopoly in Constantinople (Lilie, *Handel und Politik* 557–95). Philip, Boniface, and Doge ENRICO DANDOLO of Venice assisted the refugee Alexios IV; they easily won the support of many members of the Fourth Crusade (1202–04) for a diversion against Constantinople. After Alexios IV and his successor Alexios V proved hostile, the Crusaders seized Constantinople for themselves (12 Apr. 1204) and cruelly sacked it. The hostility of the Byz. populace to the LATIN EMPIRE established by the Crusaders contributed to its short life (1204–61). The Crusader principalities founded in the MOREA, however, such as the principality of ACHAIA, enjoyed greater success.

After the Latin Empire fell, the Turkish menace to the West was recognized and the defense of Constantinople prompted several Crusades. In 1344 Smyrna was won, but the Crusade of 1396 ended in a crushing defeat at Nikopolis (see NIKOPOLIS, CRUSADE OF). A final attempt to save Constantinople resulted in the Ottoman victory



at VARNA (1444) that assured the Turkish conquest of Byz.

Economically, the Crusades stimulated the development of Venice and Genoa at the expense of Constantinople. While cultural exchange between Byz. and the West increased, their mutual hostility furthered the SCHISM. Originally intended in part to rescue Byz. from the Turks, the Crusades contributed substantially to its downfall.

LIT. H.E. Mayer, *Bibliographie zur Geschichte der Kreuzzüge* (Hanover 1960). M.A. Zaborov, *Istoriografija krestovych pochodov* (Moscow 1971). *A History of the Crusades*², ed. K.M. Setton, vols. 1–5 (Madison, Wis., 1969–85). C. Erdmann, *The Origin of the Idea of Crusade* (Princeton 1977). R.-J. Lilie, *Byzanz und die Kreuzfahrerstaaten* (Munich 1981). Idem, "Noch einmal zu dem Thema 'Byzanz und die Kreuzfahrerstaaten,'" *Varia* 1 (Bonn 1984) 121–74. —C.M.B.

CRUSADES, WESTERN HISTORIANS OF THE.

The First Crusade focused Western imagination on the seemingly providential events in Palestine (and secondarily in Byz.), stimulating new departures in Latin literature (G. Spreckelmeyer, *Das Kreuzzuglied des lateinischen Mittelalters* [Munich 1974]). Letters, like the one that Count Stephen of Blois sent his wife about Constantinople (ed. H. Hagenmeyer, *Die Kreuzzugsbriefe aus den Jahren 1088–1100* [Innsbruck 1901] 138–40), or oral and written reports, like the Gesta Francorum, brought new knowledge of Byz. shaped by the confrontation of differing civilizations and conflicting objectives. Crusader admiration or hostility centered initially on Alexios I rather than the Byz. people, reflecting the emperor's all-pervasive position. The Gesta was rewritten in the polished style required by the so-called 12th-C. renaissance for a burgeoning audience of educated clergy. Although some added little more than literary trappings, others, such as ALBERT OF AACHEN and GUIBERT OF NOGENT, supplied new material deriving from local Crusaders and, possibly, early vernacular epics. By interpreting Byz. in terms of Western society, they also unconsciously distorted it. Even non-Crusader historians such as ORDERIC VITALIS, Caffaro (see ANNALES IANUENSES), and ROGER OF HOVEDEN incorporated the Levant into their historical productions. The classicizing literary climate revived antique stereotypes about shifty, effeminate Greeks who were tacitly assimilated to the modern-day Byz. emperor. But early Crusaders did not emphasize religious differ-

ences, and the relative serenity of a Lotharingian theologian like RUPERT OF DEUTZ typifies the early 12th C.

The growth of administrative kingship and literacy meant that, from the Second Crusade, clerical record-keepers accompanied Western rulers. Some histories, like that of ODO OF DEUIL, the diarylike material of TAGENO, and the HISTORIA DE EXPEDITIONE FRIDERICI, reflect the royal retinues' contacts with Constantinople, while other Crusaders authored personal accounts like the ITINERARIUM PEREGRINORUM. Religious hostility toward Byz. swelled dramatically as Western theology's accelerating development and obsession with local heretics affected differences between the Byz. and Latin churches, exacerbating political conflicts. The old stereotypes now encompassed the Byz. people, increasingly considered as an ethnic unit. The classicizing ideals of the 12th C. revived the Trojan legend and reinforced assimilation of contemporary Byz. and ancient Greeks even as it sharpened hostility, since the "Franks" believed their ancestors came from Troy. The Crusader states, however, produced Latins who knew Byz. directly and could be essentially positive, like FULCHER OF CHARTRES, or reflect political tensions, like RADULF OF CAEN. This milieu explains the masterful portrayal of Byz. by WILLIAM OF TYRE.

Although epic overtones already pervade Albert and Radulf, written vernacular Crusader poems emerge only late in the 12th C. with the CHANSON D'ANTIOCHE and the verses of AMBROISE. Western fantasies of Byz. and its riches worked their way into fictional works like the VOYAGE DE CHARLEMAGNE and the tales of Walter MAP, even as the Third Crusade's failure diminished expectations from such enterprises. The fascination peaked tragically with the Fourth Crusade as Byz. treasures flooded Western society, accompanied by reports of the conquest like the DEVASTATIO CONSTANTINOPOLITANA and the account of GUNTHER OF PAIRIS. Count Baldwin's court in Hainault had pioneered vernacular literary innovation, and his role in the conquest combined with the primacy of French as the Crusader states' vehicular language to encourage prose histories like the ESTOIRE D'ERACLES; the works of Geoffrey VILLEHARDOUIN, HENRI DE VALENCIENNES, ROBERT DE CLARI; and, later, the CHRONICLE OF THE MOREA.

LIT. M.A. Zaborov, *Vvedenie v istoriografiju krestovych pochodov (latinskaja chronografija XI–XII vekov)* (Moscow 1966). B. Ebels-Hoving, *Byzantium in westerse ogen, 1096–1204* (Assen 1971). J. Richard, *Les récits de voyages et de pèlerinages* (Turnhout 1981). D. Jacoby, "La littérature française dans les états latins de la Méditerranée orientale à l'époque des croisades [diffusion et création]," in *Essor et fortune de la chanson de geste dans l'Europe et l'Orient latin*, vol. 2 (Modena 1984) 617–46. —M.McC.

CRYPT (from κρυπτή, "concealed place," also "vault"), a chamber beneath the main floor of a church, usually containing relics or tombs. Although never a requisite feature, crypts are found in Byz. churches of all periods and in a variety of locations. Most of the early basilicas of Constantinople were provided with a small cruciform crypt located directly beneath the altar, as in the 5th-C. STODIOS basilica. The entry into these crypts was usually by means of a narrow stairway opening in the interior of the APSE, though in other churches, such as the 6th-C. Church of St. John in HEBDOMON, access was obtained from outside the building. The spacious crypt under the transept of the 5th-C. Basilica of St. DEMETRIOS in Thessalonike enclosed a part of a Roman bath in which the saint was believed to have suffered his martyrdom. The function of many later crypts is not clear; those under such churches as the katholikon of HOSIOS LOUKAS, the ossuary of the PETRITZOS MONASTERY, and the Taxiarches in Thessalonike were designed expressly for funerary purposes.

LIT. Mathews, *Early Churches* 27, 32, 34, 57, 60, 109. Grabar, *Martyrium* 1:436–87. N. Brunov, "K voprosu o bolgarskich dvuchetažnych cerkvach-grobnicach," *Izv. BŭlgArchInst* 4 (1926–27) 135–44. —M.J.

CRYPTOGRAM, an encoded text. The most frequent system of cryptography in Byz. MSS originated in MAGIC papyri from the 3rd/4th C. and is based on the use of Greek letters as NUMBERS. The numerals are distributed in three lines, each with nine letters, which switch places within the line: alpha (i.e., one) becomes theta (nine), beta (two) becomes eta (eight), etc. The letter in the middle (epsilon, nu, phi) cannot change its place. This "three-line system" also occurs as early as the Job MS of Patmos (Patmos gr. 171) of ca.800. Another method, also based on the Greek numerals, replaces one letter by two with half of the numerical value (e.g., iota [ten] becomes epsilon-epsilon [five and five]). This kind of cryptography

is attested in dated subscriptions of the 11th–12th C. Scribes of the 14th–15th C. invented a personal cryptography by contorting the Greek letters.

LIT. Devreesse, *Manuscripts* 43–45. J. Noret, "Le cryptogramme grec du Laurentianus, XXVIII 16," *Scriptorium* 30 (1976) 45f. V. Gardthausen, "Zur byzantinischen Kryptographie," *BZ* 14 (1905) 616–19. —E.G.

CUBICULUM. See KOITON; PRAEPOSITUS SACRI CUBICULI.

ČUČER. See NIKITA, MONASTERY OF SAINT.

CULTURE encompasses all forms and results of human activity: modes of production, food, clothing, and shelter, which constitute the material aspects of life; behavior with its norms—ethics and law as well as ceremonial and religious rite; education as the means to transmit the normative; spiritual life—visual arts, literature, music, science, philosophy, and theology. The terms "culture" and "civilization" are used interchangeably with regard to Byz.

For a long time Byz. culture was considered a mechanical agglomeration of independent phenomena. In the standard textbook, S. Runciman's *Byzantine Civilisation* (New York 1933), as well as in many similar works, government and law, social life, church and monasticism, literature, science, and art form independent sections of a multistory construction, with no staircase leading from one floor to another. The first modern attempt to integrate, rather than merely to juxtapose, the various aspects of Byz. culture, was H. Hunger's *Reich der neuen Mitte* (Graz-Vienna-Cologne 1965). The structure of books that followed Hunger (A. Kazhdan, *Vizantijskaja kul'tura X–XII vv.* [Moscow 1968] and A. Guillou, *La civilisation byzantine* [Paris 1974]) differed drastically from that of Runciman; the authors dealt with economy ("the acquisition of the world"), social ties, power of the state, and what Guillou calls "culture," that is, spiritual culture, and what in Kazhdan's book is divided into "the image of the world" and AESTHETICS.

If Byz. culture is perceived not as an agglomeration but as a unified entity, the question arises as to the nature of this entity. Hunger, while situating the problem on a purely spiritual plane,

considered Byz. culture as an ancient civilization in the process of transformation into a Christian one. H.G. Beck (*infra*) shifted the emphasis: in his view, Byz. culture was determined by the role of the state, which created an atmosphere of political orthodoxy and left very little room for non-conformity; Byz. literature and theology, wrote Beck, reflected this political and ideological uniformity.

Kazhdan began his analysis of Byz. culture from a different point: according to him, social groupings (microstructures) played in Byz. a lesser role than in antiquity or in Western medieval countries, whereas FAMILY links were stronger and more stable. This situation contributed to the development of individualism, which, however, deprived of the support of any hierarchy and of social groupings, gave way to the omnipotent power of the state and became an "individualism without freedom." An extreme ambivalence with regard to cardinal concepts and a search for stability within the world of imagination determined the main lines of Byz. spiritual life.

Every culture includes traditional elements (heritage) side by side with INNOVATIONS. The problem of their interrelationship in Byz. has been hotly discussed. The well-established view, that Byz. culture was determined by the continuity of ancient elements (Greek and/or imperial Roman), was developed by G. Weiss (*HistZ* 224 [1977] 529-60) and continues to be dominant. On the other hand, A. Toynbee (*Constantine Porphyrogenitus and his World* [London 1973] 510-74) emphasized the radical differences, "the antithesis between the Byz. spirit and the Hellenic spirit," as expressed in such cultural phenomena as *proskynesis*, dress, architecture, visual art, etc. This antithesis could be explained by Beck's omnipotent state and political orthodoxy, but Averincev (*Poetika*), following Hunger rather than Beck, interpreted the non-Greek elements of Byz. culture as oriental, penetrating the empire via the Bible.

Both Weiss and Toynbee, regardless of their disagreement, dealt with Byz. as a unity, whether inherited from antiquity or replacing antiquity; Averincev also believed that previously existing "culture circles" were interconnected to form the phenomenon of Byz. culture. Kazhdan and Mango (*infra*) have a different approach, perceiving Byz. culture as a historical rather than metaphysical event. Both acknowledge the decline of ancient

urban civilization, the cultural crisis, and the subsequent revival of culture; for both of them, ancient tradition is not a simply and automatically inherited treasure, but wealth that was almost lost and later regained.

Although a unity, that is, having a common denominator, Byz. culture was far from absolute uniformity; on the contrary, a permanent ambivalence, an inner contradiction, was typical of it (H. Hunger, *Byzanz, eine Gesellschaft mit zwei Gesichtern* [Copenhagen 1984]), as of any living civilization. This ambivalence was caused by various factors: the opposition of centripetal and centrifugal forces, that is, the capital and the province, or a rigid asceticism and a joyful and tolerant approach to life, of the hermitage and *koinobion*, of patristic tradition and Hellenic heritage, of totalitarianism and nonconformity and, finally, by ethnic, linguistic, and religious divergences, as well as conflicts between classes and social groups.

LIT. Kazhdan-Franklin, *Studies* 1-22. C. Mango, *Byzantium: The Empire of New Rome* (London 1980). Idem, *Byzantium and its Image* (London 1984). H.G. Beck, *Das byzantinische Jahrtausend* (Munich 1978). *Kultura Vizantii*, ed. Z.V. Udalcova, G.G. Litavrin, 2 vols. (Moscow 1984-89). A. Kazhdan, A. Cutler, "Continuity and Discontinuity in Byzantine History," *Byzantion* 52 (1982) 429-78. M.W. Weithmann, "Strukturkontinuität und -diskontinuität auf der griechischen Halbinsel im Gefolge der slavischen Landnahme," *Münchener Zeitschrift für Balkankunde* 2 (1979) 141-76. -A.K.

CULTURE, DIFFUSION OF. Different kinds of diffusion of Byz. culture may be distinguished.

1. Diffusion of material objects does not in itself indicate any assimilation of culture. Byz. coins (see COIN FINDS) and metalwork have been discovered as far north as Scandinavia and as far east as INDIA and CHINA. They may have found their way there through trade, as loot, or as the remuneration of mercenaries.

2. The impact of Byz. on neighboring non-Christian countries was exercised both through trade and Christian communities established there, as in Sasanian Persia, whose kings were anxious to profit from higher Byz. expertise in the crafts and even to emulate a Byz. way of life. The Muslim world proved more resistant to Byz. cultural influence, though it showed interest in ancient and late antique Greek philosophical and scientific writings.

3. A higher degree of penetration was achieved

in Christian countries of Roman Catholic obedience, esp. in Italy, parts of which were Byz. for a long time, less so in Germany, Hungary, and Scandinavia. This is most noticeable in art (painting and mosaics more than architecture) that was spread either by migrant Byz. craftsmen or by the importation of objects (e.g., bronze doors), giving rise to local imitations. The West showed little interest in Byz. writings, except for the several translations made in the 9th C.: those by ANASTASIUS BIBLIOTHECARIUS (chronicles, acts of the Council of 787), the two translations of pseudo-Dionysios the Areopagite (one of them by John Scotus Eriugena), and a few works of hagiography. Forced symbiosis between Greeks and Latins, beginning with the Third Crusade, led to a greater assimilation of Latin culture by the Greeks than vice-versa. In the 14th and 15th C. a number of Greek scholars, who were attracted by Italian humanism, studied Latin and taught Greek in Italy; some (e.g., Manuel CHRYSOLORAS, GEORGE TRAPEZOUNTIOS) became distinguished teachers of Greek, others (Michael APOSTOLES, BESSARION) collected Greek MSS for Italian libraries, or, like Theodore GAZES and George Trapezountios, made translations of Greek authors, primarily Plato and Aristotle (see TRANSLATION). An exceptional case is that of Armenia, which, though non-Orthodox, was so intimately tied to the empire as to become profoundly influenced by it.

4. The most thorough diffusion was achieved in Orthodox, mostly Slavic, countries (Bulgaria, Serbia, Kievan, Halyč, and Muscovite Rus' as well as Romania, Alania, and Georgia); the countries of this cultural Byz. commonwealth owed the bulk of their civilization to Byz., including religion, ceremonial, art, alphabet, and literature. Byz. writings in Greek translated into an Old Church Slavonic *koine* circulated throughout the Slavic Orthodox world (with the Balkans, esp. Bulgaria, being the main source of such translations). In the case of Georgia, some translations were made from the Arabic as well. In Orthodox countries the diffusion of Byz. culture (esp. in art and literature) continued well beyond the fall of Constantinople; in some countries (Bulgaria, Serbia, Romania) it is attested as late as the 18th C.

LIT. P. Grierson, "Commerce in the Dark Ages: A Critique of the Evidence," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 9 (1959) 123-40. W. Ohnsorge, *Abendland und Byzanz* (Darmstadt 1958). "Abendland und Byzanz," in *RB*, Reihe

A, vol. 1, fasc. 3-6. G. Cavallo et al., *I Bizantini in Italia* (Milan 1982). O. Demus, *Byzantine Art and the West* (New York 1970). D. Obolensky, *The Byzantine Commonwealth: Eastern Europe 500-1453* (New York 1971). J. Irmscher, "Die Ausstrahlung der spätbyzantinischen Kultur," 15 *CEB Rapports* 4.2 (Athens 1980). -C.M., I.S., A.M.T.

CUMANS (Κούμανοι; in Byz. works of the 11th to 13th C. often "Scythians"; Turkic *Qipčak*, Slavic *Polovtsy*), a confederation of Eurasian nomadic and seminomadic tribes who replaced the PECHENECS in the east European steppe ca. 1050-60 and were, in turn, subjected by the MONGOLS in 1222-37. Cattle breeders and warriors (their capital was located near present-day Khar'kov, Ukraine), the Cumans were also involved in trade (esp. slave trade), for example, with SOUGDAIA and CHERSON. The Cumans appeared on the Byz. frontier on the Lower Danube at the end of the 11th C., first as allies of the Pechenegs with whom they plundered Thrace in 1087. In 1091, however, Alexios I Komnenos used the Cumans against the Pechenegs: the alliance remained ephemeral and Cuman invasions continued at least until 1160. Diaconu (*infra*) hypothesizes that ca. 1122 the Cumans destroyed DINOGETIA. At the same time the Cumans began to settle on Byz. territory; some of them were granted PRONOIAI (Ostrogorsky, *Féodalité* 48-54). After the Mongol invasion, the Cuman influx into Byz. increased: in 1241 John III Vatatzes reportedly settled 10,000 Cumans in Thrace and Asia Minor, and in 1259 Cuman contingents played an important role in the battle of PELAGONIA. Cumans were famous as skillful archers. Their loyalty, however, was sometimes doubtful: in 1256 at Didymoteichon they deserted to the Bulgarians (Angold, *Byz. Government* 188f).

The Cumans participated in the anti-Byz. revolt in Bulgaria in 1186, but it is difficult to prove that Peter and Asen I were of Cuman origin (P. Mutačiev, *Izbrani proizvedenija* 2 [Sofia 1973] 162-68), even though "Asen" was evidently a Turkic name. Archaeologically the Cumans are little known, and their tombs difficult to distinguish from those of the Pechenegs. The MAMLUK dynasty that ruled Egypt and Syria from 1250 to 1517 was partially composed of former slaves (*mamlūk*) of Cuman origin.

LIT. P. Diaconu, *Les Coumans au Bas-Danube aux XIe et XIIe siècles* (Bucharest 1978). D. Rasovskij, "Les Comans et Byzance," *IzvBulgArchInst* 9 (1935) 346-54. O. Pritsak, "The Polovcsians and Rus'," *Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi* 2 (1982)

321–80. P.B. Golden, "Cumanica I: The Qipčaq in Georgia," *Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi* 4 (1984) 45–87. A. Savvides, "Hoi Komanoi (Koumanoi) kai to Byzantio, 1105–1305 ai. m.Ch.," *Byzantina* 13.2 (1985) 937–55. E.Č. Skržinskaja, "Polovcy. Opyt istoričeskogo istolkovanija etnikona," *VizVrem* 46 (1986) 255–76. —O.P.

CURIA (βουλή), city council. In late antiquity *curiae* administered CITIES and their territories, controlled local expenditure, sent embassies to the emperor, issued honorific decrees, and appointed urban teachers (sophists). Their heaviest responsibilities were the provision and maintenance of public works and services, and collection of taxes, for which the members had collective responsibility. *Curiae* selected their own members, CURIALES or decurions, who sat for life. In the East, *curiae* were large, often with 500 members; Antioch had 1,200. None of the *curiae*'s activities involved major policy decisions, which were decided by the governor and his representatives. The financial obligations of service in the *curia* made citizens increasingly reluctant to serve and anxious to find any avenue of escape; consequently, the *curiae* declined in size and prestige, and governors came to run cities through their own officials. A law of Anastasios I effectively substituted the collective responsibility of church and landowners for the *curia*. According to JOHN LYDOS, the *curiae* were a memory by the mid-6th C. In actuality they continued to exist, but only for ceremonial purposes. Leo VI issued a novel abolishing *curiae*, but their activity is revealed in various later sources. *Curiae* met in *bouleuteria*, commonly theaterlike buildings that were kept in good repair through the 6th C.

LIT. Jones, *LRE* 724–31, 757–63. Kazhdan-Epstein, *Change* 50f. A. Bowman, *The Town Councils of Roman Egypt* (Toronto 1971). —C.F.

CURIALES (βουλευταί), members of the local council or CURIA (Gr. *boule*) of a *municipium* in the late Roman empire; the term replaced the former *decuriones*. Constantine I transformed the *curia* into a body in its own right by giving its members specific rights and obligations and prohibiting them from changing status (e.g., becoming SENATORS, military officers, or clergymen). The major purpose of this legislation was to preserve the class of urban landowners who were responsible for

the normal functioning of the city's institutions (finance, food supply, public works, entertainment). This concern was underscored in the law of 386 (*Cod.Theod.* XII 3.1) prohibiting *curiales* from selling their land and slaves. The obligations of *curiales* were burdensome, esp. their responsibility for local tax-collecting, but at the same time they possessed some fiscal and legal privileges. LIBANIOS presents the *curiales* of Antioch as an active and efficient body; probably they were less influential in the West, but even there SALVIAN of Marseilles (5th C.) described *curiales* as exploiters of the surrounding population.

The diminishing number of *curiales* and increasing state requirements in the 4th C. forced the government to take coercive measures, including the forcible subscription of criminals to the *curia*, along with official complaints on the avoidance by *curiales* of their duty. With regard to the later status of *curiales*, Bowman and Liebeschuetz emphasize the state's encroachments on the rights of the *curiales*, the introduction of offices (such as the DEFENSOR CIVITATIS) that held an intermediary position between the central government and the city, and the subjugation of the city to government control. Kurbatov, on the other hand, stresses the differentiation among the *curiales* and the appearance of an upper echelon which he identifies with feudal seigneurs. The *curia* as an institution disappeared after the 6th C., and Leo VI abrogated legislation concerning the municipal *boule* (nov.46), but the elements of MUNICIPAL ADMINISTRATION remained in Byz.

LIT. W. Schubert, "Die rechtliche Sonderstellung der Dekurionen (Kurialen) in der Kaisergesetzgebung des 4.–6. Jahrhunderts," *ZSavRom* 86 (1969) 287–333. Liebeschuetz, *Antioch* 163, 165f, 181–83. A. Bowman, *The Town Councils of Roman Egypt* (Toronto 1971). G. Kurbatov, *Osnovnye problemy vnutrennego razvitiia vizantijskogo goroda v IV–VII vv.* (Leningrad 1971) 119–71. I. Hahn, "Immunität und Korruption der Curialen in der Spätantike," *Korruption im Altertum* (Munich-Vienna 1982) 179–99. —A.K.

CURRICULUM. The meaning of *enkyklios paideia*, "general education," had already begun to narrow in Hellenistic times and continued to do so in late antiquity. John TZETZES (*Historiae* 11:518–28) plainly stated that the term *enkyklios paideia* (or *mathemata*), which previously encompassed the seven "liberal arts," now designated GRAMMAR only. The traditional three-tiered education that had still functioned in the 4th–6th C. was simplified

after the 7th C. and consisted of two stages: the teaching of the elementary skills of literacy (reading, writing, and knowledge of sections of the Bible) and *enkyklios paideia*, primarily grammar. Since the SCHOOL was predominantly private, variations and complementary components were often introduced. The revival of the ancient curriculum (including the QUADRIVIUM) probably began in the 9th C.: the professors of the MAGNAURA school taught some of these disciplines on the secondary level. As a result the 9th C. witnessed the transmission of mathematical and astronomical MSS before those of historians and poets (Wilson, *Scholars* 85–88). The attempt to resuscitate tertiary education in the 11th C. and the organization of philosophy and law schools in Constantinople had only a limited effect; the curriculum remained oriented toward grammar, PHILOSOPHY, and RHETORIC, with casual sallies into the quadrivium, MEDICINE, and some exotic sciences such as *optike*, *katoptrike* (see MATHEMATICS), and *kentrobarike* (e.g., Mich.Ital. 157.10).

LIT. A. Moffatt, "Early Byzantine School Curricula and a Liberal Education," in *Mél.Dujčev* 275–88. Lemerle, *Humanism* 111–117, 292–96. Marrou, *Education* 266f, 274–77, 409f, 568. A. Garzya, "'Enkyklios paideia' in Palladio," *AB* 100 (1982) 259–62. —A.K.

CURSING (κατάρασις), the imprecation of evil or damnation on a person or thing. Church fathers endeavored to soften the passages involving cursing in the Bible and to demonstrate that such curses were not acts of hatred but merely predictions of the future. Nevertheless, cursing remained a regular element of life, and the TIMARION (ed. R. Romano, p.67.478) says that the Byz. were particularly fond of it. Cursing was used to protect contracts, property, tombs, and so on; the curse (*ara*) of the 318 Fathers of the First Council of NICAIA is commonly invoked on purchase charters and in MSS to keep the document from being stolen. Cursing was also used to strengthen church discipline (against heretics, violators of canon law, etc.), ANATHEMA being its strongest form. Cursing was thought to bring forth the anger of God and relegate the accursed to the power of the Devil. Cursing could also be an act of evil persons, and Muhammad, among others, was accused of cursing. The EUCHOLOGION contained prayers for the lifting of curses (ed. Goar, 545–49, 693–96).

LIT. W. Speyer, *RAC* 7:1240–88. Koukoules, *Bios* 3:326–46. —R.F.T., A.K.

CURSIVE, a style of Greek script, the origin of which can be traced back to the script used in business PAPYRI. In the 4th C. Greek cursive evolved from the chancery script; it is contained within four parallel lines and shows typical features for the letters beta, eta, iota, kappa, and delta, and esp. for the epsilon with the upper stroke in the form of a beak. This script occurs in Egyptian papyri of the 6th–8th C. The MINUSCULE evolves from the cursive; this development can be seen already at the end of the 7th C. in the subscriptions of the members of the Third Council of Constantinople (680), written partly in minuscule, partly in UNCIAL. The 8th- or 9th-C. Vat. gr. 2200 is a unique codex exhibiting an alternative to the minuscule, a cursive script used for literary rather than chancery purposes (L. Perria, *RSBN* 20–21 [1983–84] 25–68). Cursive elements survived in the regular minuscule, for example, MSS copied by Ephraim in the mid-10th C. or texts written in scholarly hands. N.G. Wilson was able to assign an earlier date to codices written by scholars by comparing them with dated documents showing cursive features (in *PGEB* 221–39).

LIT. Hunger, "Buch- und Schriftwesen" 86–93. C.M. Mazzucchi, "Minuscule greche corsive e librerie," *Aegyptus* 57 (1977) 166–89. —E.G., I.Š.

CURTAIN. See KATAPETASMA.

CUSTOM (συνήθεια). Byz. legal theory recognized the normative force of custom but tried to set strict limitations on it. Like a law, a customary regulation could achieve recognition only when it had been examined and approved judicially or sanctioned directly by an emperor. When a custom hindered the efficacy of a certain law, it was interpreted as a procedural error on the part of the people to whom the law was addressed, not as the legal establishment of a counterregulation. Thus, a law based on legislation could be rendered ineffective by contrary custom, but it could not be abrogated. The high theoretical value placed on statutory law, closely linked with the concept of the emperor as the living law through God's grace, was contradicted in practice by an enor-

mous mass of customary regulations. This profusion could be explained by the inaccessibility of the legislation, the difficulty of its language, the complexity of its content, and its contradictory nature. A further explanation lies in its inability to adapt to the social developments of the Byz. state, for which only a very small proportion of the Roman imperial and late antique norms were appropriate. Finally, there were a great number of special local or ethnic regulations which the central government was unable to override in the provinces through equivalent legal measures.

Custom in Byzantine Documents and Novels. Although the Byz. clearly distinguished between the law (*nomos*) and custom (*synetheia*), they often treated them as parallel and noncontradictory concepts (e.g., *Docheiar.*, no.6.60–61, a.1118, no.40.41, a.1370/1). The legislators, however, had to cope with the cases of discrepancy between the two: many of the NOVELS OF LEO VI dealt with *synetheiai*—in 16 cases he approved of customary regulations and only in five or six cases rejected them. Passages in many documents state that a particular tax was levied or should not be levied, or a particular procedure had been performed or had not been performed *kata ten synetheian*, “according to custom.”

LIT. D. Simon, “Balsamon zum Gewohnheitsrecht,” in *Scholias: Studia D. Holwerda* (Groningen 1985) 119–33. J. de Malafosse, “La loi et la coutume à Byzance,” *Travaux et recherches de l'Institut de droit comparé de l'Université de Paris* 23 (1963) 59–69. K. Polyzoides, *To ethimon eis to plaston tes Orthodoxou Ekklesias* (Thessalonike 1986). —A.K., M.B.

CUSTOMS. Imports and exports were tightly controlled and taxed in Byz. This was done at the frontiers, in special markets, the KOMMERKIA, at the entrance of the straits leading to Constantinople (Abydos, Stena Pontikes Thalasses), and later in ports, such as Thessalonike. At least until 634, the circulation and sale of merchandise in the empire was subject to the OCTAVA (12.5 percent duty) collected by the *octavarii*. This was later (before ca.800) replaced by the *kommerkion* (10 percent and, in the mid-14th C., 2 percent) and other TITHES (esp. on wine), collected by a series of officials such as the ABYDIKOS, the KOMMERKIARIOI, the PARATHALASSITES, the *limenitai*, the *eleoparochoi*, etc. These officials supervised the circulation of merchandise and prevented all unauthorized exports, esp. those of precious or

“strategic” materials, the *kekolymena* or “prohibited items” (gold, silk, weapons, iron, lumber, etc.); from the 13th C. onward, the export of wheat from Constantinople was also prohibited if its price surpassed a certain level. Western merchants, starting with the Venetians in the 11th C., obtained privileges exempting them from the payment of these custom duties that were mandatory for almost all Byz. (except some privileged monasteries). Other burdens on merchandise were toll payments (*diabatikon*, *poriatikon*), port duties (*naulos*, *antinaulos*, *limeniatikon*, *skaliatikon*), sales tax (*pratikon*), dues for measurement of weighing, etc.

LIT. H. Antoniadis-Bibicou, *Recherches sur les douanes à Byzance* (Paris 1963). H. Ahrweiler, “Fonctionnaires et bureaux maritimes à Byzance,” *REB* 19 (1961) 239–52. —N.O.

CYCLE, in art, a conventional term for a sequence of images recounting events in the lives of biblical and other sacred figures and, in HISTORY PAINTING, of emperors. Christian cycles were, to some extent, successors to representations of the vitae of pagan mythological heroes. They existed as early as the 4th C.: the LIPSANOTHEK at Brescia displays a sequence of pictures drawn from the Passion of Christ, while events from the lives of Moses and Peter are excerpted on SARCOPHAGI of the period. Even at this stage, as in the PALESTINIAN CHRISTOLOGICAL CYCLE, dogmatic and typological considerations outweighed narrative impulses in the selection of scenes. The early existence of cycles of the lives of JOSHUA and DAVID has been hypothesized; the latter was certainly in existence by the time of the Second CYPRUS TREASURE (early 7th C.). The concept of cycles finds full development in CHURCH PROGRAMS OF DECORATION, icons, and manuscript illumination in and after the 9th C. Cycles of the Infancy, Ministry, and Passion of Christ, and of the lives of the Virgin Mary and of some saints (see HAGIOGRAPHICAL ILLUSTRATION), pervade the remaining centuries of Byz. art. Cycles in the literal sense of the term may then be said to exist in that the sequence of GREAT FEAST scenes appears to be correlated with the recurring liturgical year. In the Palaiologan era cycles multiply both in the recondite nature of their contents and in number, sometimes drawing on hymnographic material such as the AKATHISTOS HYMN.

LIT. Demus, *Byz. Mosaic*. Underwood, *Kariye Djami* 4:161–302. Weitzmann, *Roll and Codex* 193–205. —A.C.

CYNEGETICA. See OPPIAN.

CYNEGIUS MATERNUS, staunch supporter of THEODOSIOS I and praetorian prefect 384–88; died Constantinople or en route to Constantinople, March 388. Probably of Spanish origin, Cynegius was an active adversary of paganism, notorious for demolishing pagan temples in Syria and for his anti-Semitic attitude. According to J. Matthews (*JThSt* n.s. 18 [1967] 438–46), Theodosios brought to Constantinople from Spain not only Cynegius but an entire clan of his relatives, who went on to dominate court life in the capital. One of Cynegius's relatives was Aemilius Florus Paternus, proconsul of Africa (393), who kept the province loyal to Theodosios when Italy was in revolt. Matthews also postulates a family connection between the clan of Cynegius and Serena, Theodosios's niece and the wife of STILICHO. Another Cynegius, a zealous Christian, was a member of the consistorium under Arkadios.

LIT. *PLRE* 1:235f, 2:331f. J.M.-F. Marique, “A Spanish Favorite of Theodosius the Great: Cynegius, Praefectus Praetorio,” *Classical Folia* 17 (1963) 43–59. B. Gassowska, “Maternus Cynegius praefectus praetorio Orientis and the Destruction of the Allat Temple in Palmyra,” *Archaeologia* 33 (1982) 107–230. —A.K.

CYPRIAN. See KIPRIAN.

CYPRUS (*Κύπρος*), island in the northeastern Mediterranean, an important way station between East and West, with good ports, rich agricultural land, and significant mineral deposits, esp. copper. Cyprus, which constituted a province within the prefecture of Oriens, enjoyed considerable prosperity in late antiquity and urban life apparently flourished during the period. A series of terrible earthquakes devastated the island in the mid-4th C., but urban life did not collapse. Salamis in the northeast, rebuilt and renamed Constantia by Constantius II, became the capital; restructured urban centers continued at Kourion, Paphos, and elsewhere. In 536 Justinian I removed Cyprus from the jurisdiction of the prefect of Oriens and placed it, along with five other provinces, under the newly created *quaestor exer-*

citus. Cyprus continued to play an important political and economic role in the 6th and early 7th C., since it was at first spared the military upheavals that afflicted the rest of the empire.

The rise of Arab sea power, however, meant the end of peace, and Cyprus became a battlefield between Byz. and Islam. In ca.647 the island began to be the target of Arab raids, whose success forced the abandonment of many of the cities and the dislocation of others (e.g., the removal of Kourion to nearby Episkope). Justinian II resettled some Cypriots in the area around Kyzikos and in 688 he signed a treaty with the caliph 'ABD AL-MALIK, by which Cyprus seems to have become a no-man's-land in which taxes were paid both to Byz. and to the caliphate and in which both powers had access to ports (which they might use to mount attacks on each other). In the 9th C., however, pressure built within Byz. for reconquest of Cyprus, and after several false starts Basil I finally accomplished the task (at an uncertain date), incorporating Cyprus into the theme system; after seven years, however, the island resumed its former status. In 965, Nikephoros II Phokas brought Cyprus firmly within the Byz. sphere; it became a province governed by a KATEPANO. In the 11th–12th C. there was some economic recovery, and new cities were founded on the coasts near the deserted sites of antiquity: Ammochostos near Salamis, Lemessos near Amathos, while Nikosia (Leukosia) in the center of the island became the capital. Monasteries and churches sprang up throughout the island as witnesses of this new-found prosperity and cultural vigor.

In the 11th and 12th C. the Cypriots felt heavily burdened by Byz. administrative and fiscal policies, even though the complaints of Patr. NICHOLAS IV MOUZALON seem to be exaggerated. In 1043 Cyprus revolted, and the *protospatharios* Theophylaktos, “judge and *praktor* of the state revenue,” was murdered (Skyl. 429.4–12). In 1092 Cyprus and Crete simultaneously rebelled against Alexios I Komnenos, but the uprising was quelled by John Doukas. Rhapsomates, the leader of the Cypriots, was taken captive, and Alexios sent Eustathios Philokales with a strong garrison to the island. In 1184 ISAAC KOMNENOS seized control of Cyprus and proclaimed the island independent.

In the 12th C. the island became a focal point

in the struggle for domination over Syria. In 1148 the Venetians acquired trade privileges in Cyprus. Renauld of Châtillon, the Crusader prince of Antioch, raided Cyprus in cooperation with T'oros II of Lesser Armenia in 1155 or 1156; in 1161 pirates equipped by Raymond, count of Tripoli, attacked Cyprus. In 1191 RICHARD I LIONHEART occupied the island. The next year Richard sold Cyprus to the Knights of the Temple, then presented it to Guy de LUSIGNAN. Under Lusignan rule, most of the land was handed out as feudal grants and the Catholic hierarchy appropriated all the larger sees, relegating the Orthodox clergy to villages and remote areas. The Lusignan period nevertheless seems to have been prosperous, as attested by numerous archaeological sites throughout the island: not only churches and fortresses, but also villages and medium-sized farmsteads. The remains bear witness to considerable cultural contact, particularly with Italy and the Levant. In fact, during those years Cyprus was, after Palestine, the most important Western outpost in the East, the staging ground for whatever Crusader aspirations still remained.

The data concerning connections between Cy-

prus and Byz. in the 13th–15th C. are scanty. Letters addressed by the Orthodox patriarch (prob. Neophytos) and by Henri Lusignan to John III Vatatzes (K. Chatzepsaltes, *KyprSp* 15 [1951] 63–81), though limited in factual content, show friendly relations between the two states and the allegiance of the Cypriot church to Nicaea; the patriarch does not complain of the situation of the Greek church in Cyprus. Byz. influence at the court of Nikosia seems to have increased during the reign of Jean II Lusignan (1432–58) who was married first to Medea, daughter of the half-Greek marquis of Montferrat John-James Palaiologos, and then to Helena, daughter of Theodore II Palaiologos, *despotes* of Morea, who managed to place her adoptive brother Thomas as grand chamberlain; in her circle an idea arose to replace the Latin archbishop of Nikosia, Hugh (died 1442), with an Orthodox Greek (A. Vacalopoulos, *Praktika tou A' diethnous kyprologikou synedriou*, vol. 2 [Leukosia 1972] 277–80).

Even though tradition claimed that the evangelization of Cyprus was the result of the activity of St. Paul and his disciple BARNABAS, no data on the Cypriot ecclesiastical hierarchy before 325 are

known. Since administratively Cyprus was under the government of the diocese of Oriens, its church was placed under the jurisdiction of Antioch. In the 5th C. the metropolitans of Cyprus led a struggle for ecclesiastical independence, taking advantage of the conflict between Antioch and Alexandria and appealing to the authority of Rome and Constantinople (G. Downey, *PAPhS* 102 [1958] 224–28). Antioch tried to retain its jurisdiction before the Council of Ephesus in 431, but the Cypriots elected Rheginos their metropolitan, and in Ephesus he joined the cause of Cyril of Alexandria. PETER THE FULLER tried again to recover Antiochene jurisdiction expecting help from Emp. Zeno, but Anthemios, the metropolitan of Cyprus, stubbornly resisted. In 488 the tomb of the apostle Barnabas was discovered; it also contained a copy of St. Matthew's Gospel that Anthemios immediately sent to the emperor. Zeno proclaimed the church of Cyprus autocephalous (a decree confirmed by Justinian I); the metropolitan received special signs of respect: a garment of purple silk, a scepter instead of a staff, the right to sign his letters in red, and the title of *makariotes* ("beatitude"). Greek archbishops existed in Cyprus until 1260 (V. Laurent, *REB* 7 [1949] 33–41).

LIT. G.F. Hill, *A History of Cyprus*, vol. 1 (Cambridge 1940) 244–329; vol. 2 (Cambridge 1948). Jenkins, *Studies*, pt. XIV [1953], 1006–14. C.P. Kyrris, "The Nature of the Arab-Byzantine Relations in Cyprus," *Graeco-arabica* 3 (1984) 149–75. R. Browning, "Byzantium and Islam in Cyprus in the Early Middle Ages," *EKEE* 9 (1977–79) 101–16. J. Richard, "Une économie coloniale? Chypre et ses ressources agricoles au Moyen-Age," *ByzF* 5 (1977) 331–52. Idem, "Culture franque et culture grecque: Le royaume de Chypre au XVème siècle," *ByzF* 11 (1987) 399–416. M.B. Efthimiou, "Greeks and Latins on Thirteenth-Century Cyprus," *GOrThR* 20 (1975) 35–52. J. Hackett, Ch.I. Papaioannou, *Historia tes orthodoxou ekklesias Kyprou*, 3 vols. (Piraeus 1923–32). —T.E.G.

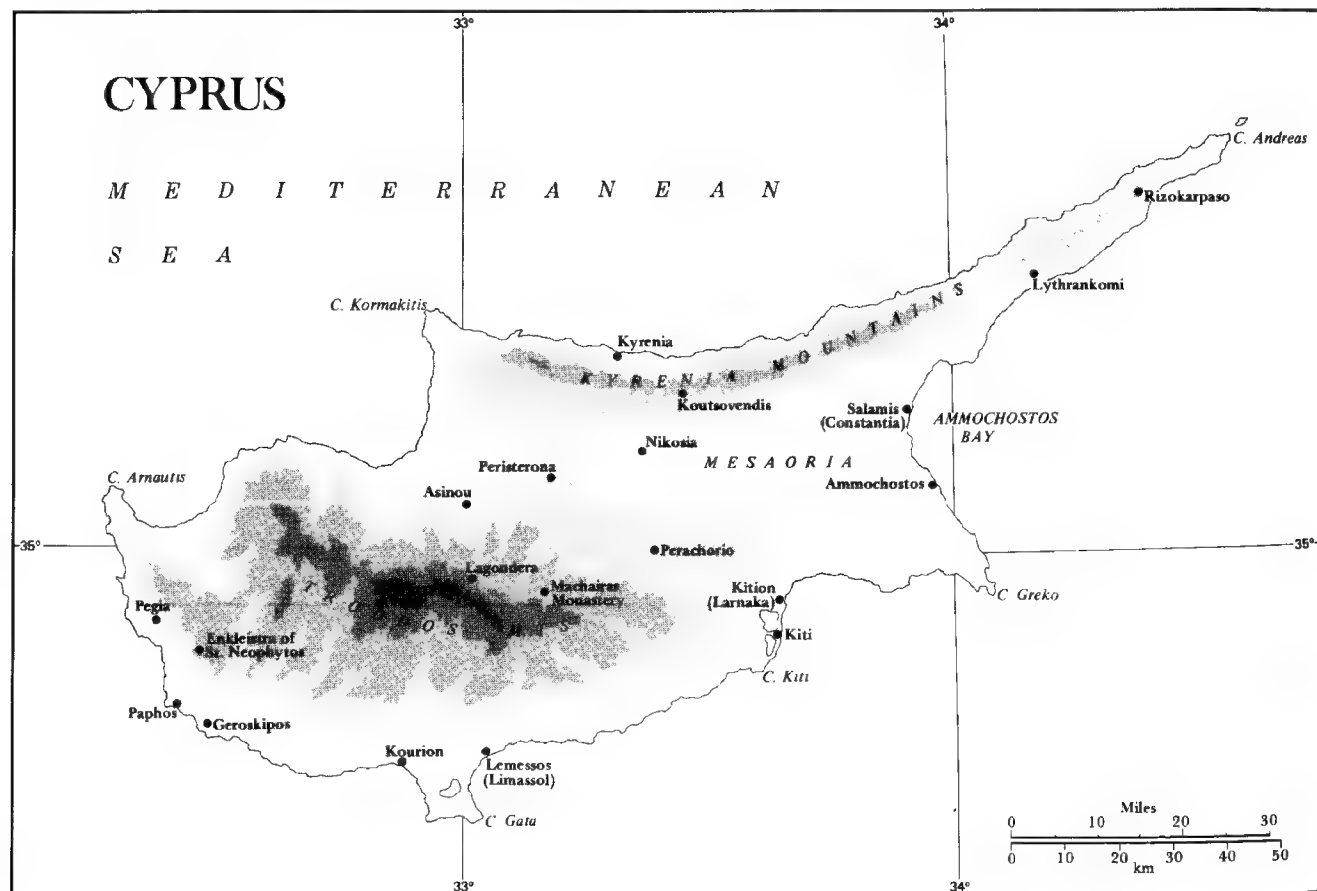
Monuments of Cyprus. Several large ecclesiastical complexes of the 4th–5th C. have been excavated on the island. Among the most impressive is Salamis. The Basilica of St. Epiphianos, which probably functioned as the cathedral of the city, is the largest Christian building discovered on Cyprus. Other important sites include a 4th-C. ecclesiastical complex at nearby Kampanopeta; Kourion, with a large 5th-C. episcopal basilica and baptistery; Pegia, with two basilicas, a baptistery, and a bath dated to the late 5th or early 6th C.; Soloi and Gialousa.

Mosaics ascribed to the 6th or 7th C. at KITI and LYTHRANKOMI were incorporated in churches rebuilt either before the Arab invasions of the 7th C. or during the Arab-Byz. treaty period (688/9–mid-10th C.). Similarly unclear in chronology are the monuments of the Karpas peninsula, including a cross-in-square church near Rizokarpaso, and three vaulted basilicas, all built over the ruins of earlier churches.

A group of triple-domed basilicas including St. Lazaros at Larnaka, St. Barnabas at Salamis, Sts. Barnabas and Hilarion at Peristerona, and St. Paraskeve at Geroskipos, may be very tentatively ascribed to the period before the Byz. reconquest of the island by Nikephoros II Phokas in 965. After the reconquest there is little evidence of artistic activity before the early 11th C., when the cross-in-square *katholikon* of St. Nicholas tes Steges received its first fresco phase, including a GREAT FEAST cycle. At the beginning of the 12th C., the image of St. Nicholas with a monastic donor was painted on a masonry partition inserted between the *diakonikon* and the *naos*. Later in the 12th C. a narthex decorated with a Last Judgment was added.

Perhaps in response to the rebellion of Rhapsomates in 1092 and the advancing armies of the First Crusade, there was much construction on the island during the reign of Alexios I. For example, Saranda Kolonnes, the fortress protecting Paphos harbor, which was initially erected in the 9th C. (?), was rebuilt (the Crusaders would make further additions to this castle after they took the island in 1191). At Koutsovendis, the monastery of Hagios Chrysostomos, founded on 9 Dec. 1090 by a *hegoumenos* George, was fortified. The complex included a domed-octagon *katholikon* built partially in cloisonné-brick with a *parekklesion*. The high-quality decoration of the latter dates from the late 11th or early 12th C. ASINOU and a large number of other churches with frescoes stylistically related to those at Koutsovendis further attest to rebuilding on the island in the late 11th and early 12th C.

The second half of the 12th C. is also rich in monumental remains. The Holy Apostles at Perachorio, a small, single-naved, domed church, was decorated with a feast cycle in the 3rd quarter of the century. The unpublished church at Kato Lefkara also seems to date from this period. The rich, painted programs of the Enkleistra of St.



NEOPHYTOS ENKLEISTOS and LAGOUDEIRA date to the end of the 12th C.

Before the Latin occupation of Cyprus, its art and to a lesser degree its architecture were informed by a tension between Constantinopolitan and local traditions. In contrast, 13th-C. painting on the island represents a distinctively regional development. The monastery of St. John Lampadistes at Kalopanagiotis is a complex of three churches. The first surviving phase of fresco decoration of St. Herakleidos, a cross-in-square church constructed probably in the 11th C., dates from the 13th C. The Panagia at Moutoullas, a small, rectangular, wooden-roofed structure, was decorated with scenes from the life of Christ for John, son of Moutoullas, and his wife Irene on 4 July 1280. The small monastic church of Panagia Amasgou at Monagri received its principal medieval decoration in the 13th C., though a few fresco fragments of the early 12th C., stylistically related to the paintings at Asinou, also remain.

LIT. Soteriou, *Mnemeia tes Kyprou*. A. and J.A. Stylianou, *The Painted Churches of Cyprus*² (London 1985). A. Papa-georgiou, "L'architecture paléochrétienne de Chypre" and "L'architecture de la période byzantine à Chypre," *CorsiRav* 32 (1985) 299–324, 325–35. A.H. Megaw, "Le fortificazioni bizantine a Cipro," *CorsiRav* 32 (1985) 199–231. Idem, "Byzantine Architecture and Decoration in Cyprus: Metropolitan or Provincial?" *DOP* 28 (1974) 57–69. –A.J.W.

CYPRUS TREASURE. Two treasures of the 6th to 7th C. are known by this name.

FIRST CYPRUS TREASURE. Found at the end of the 19th C. at Karavas, a village close to Lambousa (anc. Lapithos) west of Kyrenia in Cyprus, the First Cyprus Treasure included 39 silver objects (plate, censer, bowl [with SILVER STAMPS of 578–82, 605–10, 641–51, respectively], and 36 spoons) of which all but 11 spoons entered the British Museum in 1899. In 1906 a find of three silver plates (all with stamps of 610–30) decorated with a monogram (read as "Theodore A") was associated with this treasure by Dalton, as was eventually the Second Cyprus Treasure. Several spoons have inscribed names, including that of Theodore, and one set of 11 spoons has a series of running animals. Although the single plate, bowl, and censer have Christian decorations (cross, busts of Christ, and saints), none is inscribed with a dedication to a church and the treasure is prob-

ably domestic silver PLATE with pious ornamentation like that in the CANOSCIO TREASURE.

LIT. O.M. Dalton, "A Byzantine Silver Treasure from the District of Kerynia [sic], Cyprus now preserved in the British Museum," *Archaeologia* 57 (1900) 159–74. Idem, "Byzantine Silversmith's Work from Cyprus," *BZ* 15 (1906) 615–17. Dodd, *Byz. Silver Stamps*, nos. 28, 35, 37–39, 78. Mango, *Silver*, nos. 103–05. –M.M.M.

SECOND CYPRUS TREASURE. Discovered in 1902 very close to the find-spot of the First Cyprus Treasure, this second find consisted of two lots: 11 silver plates concealed in a walled niche and eight pieces of gold JEWELRY buried in a pot nearby. Eight bronze objects (lampstand, two lamps, five ewers) also formed part of the group. The silver objects, now divided between the Nikosia and Metropolitan Museums, included the nine DAVID PLATES of 629/30 and two dinner plates, one bearing the monogram of a certain John (with SILVER STAMPS of 605) and one bearing a small cross (with stamps of 613–30). The jewelry included a belt and a chain containing consular and imperial MEDALLIONS of Maurice (584, 585). The second treasure was probably part of the contemporary First Cyprus Treasure (which contains similar dinner plates) and belonged to a highly placed family that received imperial gifts in 584–85 and 629/30 and acquired other objects between 578 and ca.641. The objects were probably buried when the island was invaded by the Arabs in ca.647.

LIT. O.M. Dalton, "A Second Silver Treasure from Cyprus," *Archaeologia* 60 (1906) 1–24. Dodd, *Byz. Silver Stamps*, nos. 33, 54, 58–66. A. and J. Stylianou, *The Treasures of Lambousa* (Vasilia, Cyprus, 1969). *Age of Spirit.*, nos. 61, 285, 287, 292. –M.M.M.

CYRENAICA (Κυρήνη). The Roman province of Cyrenaica comprised the plateau of Djebel Akhdar on the east coast of Libya. Under Diocletian it was divided into two provinces: Libya Superior or PENTAPOLIS and Libya Inferior. Both provinces suffered from frequent attacks by the Austuriani in the 4th and 5th C., leading to the establishment of a *dux Libyarum* ca.383 and, by the late 5th C., of a *dux Libyae Pentapoleos*. Regulations regarding the provisioning of troops on the *limes* of the province, published in the reign of Anastasios I (*Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, 9.1 [Leiden 1938] no.356), indicate the continuing interest of Constantinople in maintaining control over Cyrenaica. Anastasios and Justinian I also undertook

the refortification of some towns in Cyrenaica in response to new barbarian attacks, most notably by the Mazikes (see MAURI). Despite these attacks, archaeological evidence from the cities indicates that trade, largely with the Aegean and northeast Mediterranean areas, continued from the earlier Roman period, although never in great volume. The main export was perhaps grain, but olive oil and seafood products may also have been traded. Much archaeological work remains to be done on the rural history of Cyrenaica in the late Roman period, our prime source of information still being SYNESIUS, bishop of Cyrene in the late 4th and 5th C.

Cyrenaica was subordinated to the church of Alexandria and thus affected by Egyptian religious controversies. In the 4th C. Arianism obtained support among Cyrenaican bishops. Zeno's HENOTIKON is addressed to both Cyrenaican and Egyptian clergy, indicating the existence of a strong Monophysite church in Cyrenaica in the 5th C. In 609 Herakleios marched from Cyrenaica into Egypt in his revolt against Phokas. The history of Roman Cyrenaica ends with the Arab invasions of 642 and 645.

LIT. P. Romanelli, *La Cirenaica romana (96 a.c.–642 d.c.)* (Rome 1971). *Cyrenaica in Antiquity*, ed. G. Barker, J. Lloyd, J. Reynolds (Oxford 1985). D. Roques, *Synesios de Cyrène et la Cyrénaïque du Bas-empire* (Paris 1987). M. Fulford, "To East and West: The Mediterranean Trade of Cyrenaica and Tripolitania in Antiquity," *Libyan Studies* 20 (1989) 169–92. –R.B.H.

CYRIACUS OF ANCONA, or Ciriaco de' Pizziccoli, Italian merchant; self-taught humanist and epigrapher fascinated by antiquities; born Ancona ca.1391, died Cremona ca.1455. From 1412 to 1454 he traveled incessantly over the territories once or still controlled by Byz. Beginning ca.1424, he kept in Latin a detailed diary, the *Commentaria*, that recorded his movements; the people he met, including John VIII Palaiologos (K.M. Setton, *Speculum* 33 [1958] 227f and n.14), Gemistos PLETHON, and other Byz. potentates and scholars; the places and monuments he saw and sketched; and passages from Greek (for example, B. Baldwin, *Scriptorium* 37 [1983] 110–12 on the Athos MS of Nonnos) and Latin MSS he consulted. Most important of all, he transcribed vast numbers of Greek and Latin INSCRIPTIONS, for many of which he is the oldest or only witness. In all these do-

mains he collected Byz. material no less avidly than classical, although his honesty has sometimes been questioned.

Of the multivolumed original diary only a small fragment about the Peloponnesos (1447–48) survives; more is preserved in autograph extracts that Cyriacus sent to various acquaintances, and sections of the account of his travels in Greece (1435–37) survive in copies. This complex and fragmentary textual tradition complicates the exploitation of his myriad materials. He avidly collected Greek MSS in such places as Constantinople, Thessalonike (M. Vickers, *BMGS* 2 [1976] 75–82), Chios, and Mt. Athos, where he also made a list of the MSS he examined in Nov. 1444 (ed. Bodnar-Mitchell, 49.859–56.1041).

Cyriacus, who attended the Council of Ferrara-Florence (1438–39), was devoted to church union and a crusade against the Turks despite his excellent personal relations with the sultans (F. Pall, *BSHAcRoum* 20 [1938] 9–68); he supposedly entertained Mehmed II on the eve of the conquest of Constantinople (E. Jacobs, *BZ* 30 [1929–30] 197–202). Cyriacus wrote some works in Greek, for example, a treatise on the Roman calendar (1448) for Constantine (XI) Palaiologos, *despotes* of Morea (ed. G. Castellani, *REGr* 9 [1896] 225–30), and one or two poems (D.A. Zakythinos, *BZ* 28 [1928] 270–72; cf. Bodnar, *infra* [1960] 62). For his handwriting, see D. Harlfinger, *Specimina griechischer Kopisten der Renaissance*, vol. 1 (Berlin 1974) 21f.

ED. R. Sabbadini, "Ciriaco d'Ancona e la sua descrizione autografa del Peloponneso trasmessa da Leonardo Botta," in *Miscellanea Ceriani* (Milan 1910) 181–247. *Classici e umanisti da codici Ambrosiani* (Florence 1933) 1–48. E. Bodnar, C. Mitchell, *Cyriacus of Ancona's Journeys in the Propontis and the Northern Aegean, 1444–1445* (Philadelphia 1976).

LIT. M.E. Cosenza, *Biographical and Bibliographical Dictionary of the Italian Humanists*² (Boston 1962) 1169–71. J. Colin, *Cyriaque d'Ancone: Le voyageur, le marchand, l'humaniste* (Paris 1981). E. Bodnar, *Cyriacus of Ancona and Athens* (Brussels 1960). C. Smith, "Cyriacus of Ancona's Seven Drawings of Hagia Sophia," *ArtB* 69 (1987) 16–32. –M.McC.

CYRIL, bishop of Jerusalem (ca.348/50–386/7) and saint; born near Jerusalem ca.313; feastday 18 Mar. Accused both of theological submission to his Arian superior Akakios, bishop of Caesarea, and of harboring pro-Nicene sentiments, Cyril was thrice deposed (357, 360, 367) and thrice restored (358, 362, 378). His major extant work

is a series of 24 catechetical lectures, transcribed by a listener, which were delivered as Lenten and Easter instructions for catechumens. The last five, the *Mystagogical Catecheses*, may have been written wholly or partly by his successor as bishop, JOHN II of Jerusalem. Cyril's lectures provide much information on both the liturgy and the topography of 4th-C. JERUSALEM. His observations on the EUCHARIST are particularly important, as he was the first theologian to discuss transubstantiation and to emphasize its sacrificial nature. His lectures include much on the theory and practice of BAPTISM, which for him was a prerequisite for salvation. His Christology is Nicene, although he notably eschews the term HOMOOUSIOS, more in opposition to Sabellianism than ARIANISM. The word does, however, appear in his letter to Constantius II describing the apparition of a cross of light in the sky over Jerusalem on 7 May 351; this letter also refers to Helena's discovery of the True Cross (ed. E. Bihain, *Byzantion* 43 [1973] 264–96; the letter is also preserved in a Syriac version, ed. J.F. Coakley, *AB* 102 [1984] 71–84). The presence of the term *homooousios* here may imply a Cyrilline change of mind, or simply an interpolation. A homily on the paralytic also survives.

ED. PG 33:331–1176. *Catéchèses mystagogiques*,² ed. A. Piédagnel (Paris 1988), with Fr. tr. by P. Paris. *Lectures on the Christian Sacraments*, ed. F. L. Cross (London 1951; rp. Crestwood, N.Y., 1977), with reproduction of Eng. tr. by R.W. Church (Oxford 1838). Eng. tr. L.P. McCauley. A.A. Stephenson, *The Works of St. Cyril of Jerusalem*, 2 vols. (Washington, D.C., 1969–70).

LIT. H.M. Riley, *Christian Initiation* (Washington, D.C., 1974). E.A. Boulgarakes, *Hai katecheseis tou Kyrillou Hierosolymon* (Thessalonike 1977). A.A. Stephenson, "S. Cyril of Jerusalem's Trinitarian Theology," *StP* 11 (1972) 234–41. J.H. Greenlee, *The Gospel Text of Cyril of Jerusalem* (Copenhagen 1955). —B.B.

CYRIL, patriarch of Alexandria (from 18 Oct. 412), theologian, and saint; born Mahalla in Egypt 378, died Alexandria 27 June 444; feastday 9 June. He succeeded on the patriarchal throne his uncle THEOPHILOS whom he had attended at the Synod of the Oak (403), which deposed John Chrysostom. His early years in office (up to 428) were marked by conflicts with Jews, Novatians, and pagans, the last provoking suspicion that he was involved in the murder of HYPATIA (415). In later years (between 433 and 441), Cyril wrote a detailed refutation of *Against the Galileans* by Ju-

lian, thus revealing the tenacity of Egyptian paganism.

The early writings of Cyril were mainly biblical commentaries, allegorical in method though less so than those of ORIGEN, and polemics against ARIANISM, in which he developed the Trinitarian views of ATHANASIOS. While Athanasios had to deal primarily with the question of the Trinity, Cyril wrestled with Christological problems. NESTORIUS consistently separated the God-Logos in the incarnate Christ from the Man, accepting only the *synapheia* or "contact" of the two natures. Cyril's aim was to preserve the concept of unity of the God-Man as a necessary condition of salvation. For this purpose he employed the term HYPOSTASIS (introduced by APOLLINARIS) and asserted that the Logos and the flesh (he preferred these words to "god" and "man") in Christ were not in contact but in hypostatic unity (Richard, *Opera minora* 2, no.42, pp. 243–52). Accordingly, Cyril insisted that the VIRGIN MARY had given birth not only to the man Jesus but to God and therefore deserved the appellation THEOTOKOS. Cyril did not distinguish clearly, however, between the concepts of hypostasis and nature, and sometimes assumed that Christ possessed one hypostasis or nature (*physis*). Formulations of this kind allowed for a MONOPHYSITE interpretation of his doctrines. This Monophysite cast to Cyril's writings accounts for the preservation of a great many of his works in Armenian, Syriac, Ethiopic, and Coptic. As S. Gero (*OrChr* 62 [1978] 77–97) demonstrated, there is no evidence to support the theory that Cyril encouraged icon veneration.

Representation in Art. Portraits of Cyril, with his dark pointed beard, resemble those of Basil the Great, but Cyril wears a special pointed bonnet, the prerogative of the patriarch of Alexandria. The bonnet is often decorated with crosses.

ED. PG 68–77. *Opera*, ed. P.E. Pusey, 7 vols. (Oxford 1868–77). *Select Letters*, ed. L. Wickham (Oxford 1983), with Eng. tr. *St. Cyril of Alexandria: Letters*, tr. J.I. McEnerney, 2 vols. (Washington, D.C., 1987). *Über den rechten Glauben*, ed. B.M. Weischer, Germ. tr. O. Bardenhewer (Munich 1984). *CPG*, nos. 5200–5438.

LIT. Quasten, *Patrology* 3:116–42. M. Simonetti, "Alcune osservazioni sul monofisismo di Cirillo d'Alessandria," *Augustinianum* 22 (1982) 493–511. A. Kerrigan, *St. Cyril of Alexandria, Interpreter of the Old Testament* (Rome 1952). W.J. Malley, *Hellenism and Christianity* (Rome 1978) 237–423. R.L. Wilken, *Judaism and the Early Christian Mind: A Study of Cyril of Alexandria's Exegesis and Theology* (New Haven 1971). —B.B., A.K., N.P.S.

CYRIL, jurist of the time of Justinian I. Cyril was the author of a Greek paraphrase of the DIGEST, many fragments of which have been preserved in the scholia to the BASILIKA. His paraphrase of books 41 to 50 of the *Digest* appears to have been the basis for certain sections of the *Basilika* text as well.

LIT. Heimbach, *Basil.* 6:16, 56–59. Wenger, *Quellen* 687. —A.S.

CYRIL (saint). See CONSTANTINE THE PHILOSOPHER.

CYRIL III, patriarch of Antioch (29 June 1287–ca.1308?). The third of his name to sit on the throne of Antioch (not the second; cf. V. Grumel, *MéUnivJos* 38 [1962] 260, n.3). Cyril was metropolitan of Tyre until his election as patriarch in 1287. A rival claimant, Dionysios I, was elected at the same time in Cilicia. In 1288 Cyril went to Constantinople, where Patr. GREGORY II and ATHANASIOS I refused to recognize his election. He lived in Constantinople at the HODEGON monastery and was finally recognized in 1296 by Patr. John XII Kosmas (1293–1303). He resided in the capital until his death or resignation ca.1308. Athanasios remained hostile to him and accused him of causing a schism in the church (ep.69, ed. Talbot). The chronology of the patriarchate of Antioch in the early 14th C. is not yet fully resolved; *PLP* (no.14053) suggests that Cyril may have resumed the patriarchate between 1310 and 1314.

LIT. V. Laurent, "Le patriarche d'Antioche Cyrille II," *AB* 68 (1950) 310–17. —A.M.T.

CYRIL OF SKYTHOPOLIS, monk and hagiographer; born Skythopolis (in Palestine) ca.525?, died after 559?. Cyril's father, a lawyer named John, supervised his early religious education. When still a young child, Cyril met St. SABAS, who strongly influenced his future monastic career. According to Flusin (*infra*), Cyril became an *anagnostes* shortly after 532 and in 543 was tonsured as a monk. He left almost immediately for Jerusalem, where he met St. John the Hesychast, whose biography he would later write. In 544, after spending some months as a hermit in a lavra near the Jordan, he entered the cenobitic monastery

of St. EUTHYMIOS THE GREAT at Jericho, where he spent the next ten years. Following the condemnation of ORIGENISM in 553, Origenist monks were expelled from the New Lavra of St. Sabas and replaced in 555 by Orthodox monks, among them Cyril. In 557 he moved to the Great Lavra of Sabas, where he died shortly thereafter.

Despite his short life Cyril wrote a number of biographies of Palestinian monks, such as Sabas, Abraham, Kyriakos (also preserved in Georgian), Theodosios, and Theognios. His evident aim was to produce a corpus of vitae of Palestinian saints, an ambition fostered both by local patriotism and a firm belief in the relationship between holiness and the DESERT. The historical details in his Lives, where verifiable, are accurate. He is informative on topics ranging from the phylarchs of the Par-embole in Palaestina I to the movements of HESYCHIOS OF JERUSALEM. Cyril is occasionally illuminating on Constantinople, as in the story of "the liberating of the polis and the church" (ed. Schwartz 176.1–2) from the three heresies—of Arius, Nestorius, and Origen.

ED. *Kyrrillos von Skythopolis*, ed. E. Schwartz (Leipzig 1939). Fr. tr. A.-J. Festugière, *Les moines d'Orient*, vol. 3 (Paris 1962–63). "La version Géorgienne de la vie de S. Cyriaque par Cyrille de Scythopolis," ed. G. Garitte, *Muséon* 75 (1962) 399–440.

LIT. B. Flusin, *Miracle et histoire dans l'oeuvre de Cyrille de Scythopolis* (Paris 1983). —B.B., A.M.T.

CYRIL OF TUROV. See KIRILL.

CYRIL PHILEOTES, saint; born in Philea near Derkos ca.1015, died 2 Dec. 1110 [1120, according to Karlin-Hayter, *infra*]. A holy man who remained a long time in the world, Cyril spent three years as a sailor; he had a wife and children but was very devoted to monastic life and consistently restricted both his sexual life and diet. From his homeland he frequently visited Constantinople, but he traveled even further, to Chonae and even to Rome. Cyril was connected with the Komnenoi and some of their supporters: Eumathios PHILOKALES, George Palaiologos, Michael Doukas, etc. He took the habit at the monastery founded at Philea by his brother Michael and received there his monastic name of Cyril; his secular name is unknown. Alexios I granted the monastery a confirmation of the independence of all its possessions from the treasury.

Cyril's Life, written by Nicholas KATASKEPENOS (died after 1143), has an unusual structure: every chapter or paragraph begins by stating a fact in Cyril's biography, followed by a series of patristic quotations that tend to emphasize the general significance of this fact. Kataskepenos presented a rigoristic approach to salvation: his hero performed not only traditional fasting and vigils but also self-flagellation with rope and club (e.g., ch.5.7). Unlike SYMEON THE THEOLOGIAN, Cyril is said to have approved of monastic FRIENDSHIP and to have eagerly practiced charity.

SOURCES. *La Vie de saint Cyrille le Philéote moine byzantin*, ed. E. Sargologos (Brussels 1964), with notes by P. Karlin-Hayter, *Byzantion* 34 (1964) 607-11; A. Kazhdan, *VizVrem* 28 (1968) 302-04; A.-J. Festugière, *REGr* 80 (1967) 430-44; 81 (1968) 88-109.

LIT. V. Gjuzelev, "Svedenija za istorijata na Varna i Anchialo (Pomorie) prez XI v. v žitieto na Kiril Fileot," *IzvInstBulglst* 28 (1972) 315-23. —A.K.

CYRRHUS (Κύρρος, also Hagioupolis, now Huru Pegamber in eastern Turkey), city of northern Syria in the province of EUPHRATENSIS. Bishops of Cyrrhus are known from 325 onward; between 460 and 570 it became an autocephalous metropolis. Libanios speaks of it as a small city that had formerly been great; its function as the region's fortress was usurped, under Constantius II, by HIERAPOLIS. THEODORET OF CYRRHUS, who was the city's bishop in the 5th C., describes the city primarily as a residence of hermits; his own building activity there included the construction of stoas, two bridges, an aqueduct, and the maintenance of public baths. Some revival took place under Justinian I, who stationed a garrison at Cyrrhus and ordered the repair of the city walls and the construction of a roofed aqueduct. Several inscriptions have been found in Cyrrhus bearing the names of Justinian, Theodora, and Belisarios. The *martyrion* of Sts. Kosmas and Damianos near Cyrrhus, first mentioned by Theodoret, was later called a "wonder of the world" by Arab writers; its materials were removed by al-Walīd (705-15) for his mosque at BERROIA. The circuit walls and the remains of two large basilicas, all from the period of the 4th to 7th C., still stand at Cyrrhus; a residential quarter by the *cardo* has been excavated; and two bridges survive in the area. The remains of a large basilica and traces of an aqueduct have also been discovered.

The Arabs took Cyrrhus in 637. From the 10th C. onward the Byz. tried to regain it: in 905 Andronikos Doukas plundered Cyrrhus and took its inhabitants captive. Romanos III was defeated in this region in 1030. In the 12th C. Armenians and Crusaders fought over "Guris"/"Qurus"; thereafter it is not mentioned by historians.

LIT. E. Honigmann, *RE* 12 (1925) 199-204. E. Frézouls, "Recherches historiques et archéologiques sur la ville de Cyrrhus," *AnnArchSyr* 4-5 (1954-5) 106-28. "L'exploration archéologique de Cyrrhus," in *Apamée de Syrie*, ed. J. Balty (Brussels 1969) 81-92. —M.M.M.

CYZICUS. See KYZIKOS.

CZECH LITERATURE. CHURCH SLAVONIC as a liturgical and literary language coexisted with Latin in the Bohemian (Czech) church until its use was banned in 1096/7. The basic texts were probably imported from Moravia. The earliest Church Slavonic MS of indisputably Czech provenance, the 11th-C. GLAGOLITIC *Prague Fragments*, is a Byz. liturgical text translated from Greek. All other extant Czech translations are from Latin works, although some translators may have known Greek (F. Mareš, *BS* 24 [1963] 247-50). Native literature is esp. notable for its hymnography (the *Canon to St. Václav* [Wenceslas], the hymn *Hospodine pomiluj ny*) and hagiography (numerous Latin and Church Slavonic vitae of Václav [died 929], of Václav's grandmother Ludmila [died ca.921], and probably of St. PROKOPIOS). Translated and original Czech literature was exported to the Slavic Orthodox world, particularly to Rus' (P. Devos, *AB* 72 [1954] 427-38; B. Florja, *BS* 46 [1985] 121-30). Most Church Slavonic works of Czech origin survive in Eastern Slavic MSS, the earliest dating from 1095/6. (See also KONSTANTIN MIHAILOVIĆ OF OSTROVICA).

ED. F. Mareš, *An Anthology of Church Slavonic Texts of Western (Czech) Origin* (Munich 1979).

LIT. *Magna Moravia* (Prague 1965) 435-566. Vlasto, *Entry* 90-92, 105-13. —S.C.F.

CZECHIA. In the 9th C., when reached by Byz. missionaries, Czechia was a vassal state of Great MORAVIA. According to legend, METHODIOS converted Borivoj of Prague and his wife Ludmila. After the Hungarian invasion and collapse of Moravia (ca.906) two independent princedoms

emerged: one under the Přemyslid dynasty of Prague and another (until 991) under the Slavnik dynasty of Libica. Constantine VII seems to have had some information about Czechia: his "White Serbloi" who lived beyond "Turkey" in a place called Boiki (or Boimi?—*De adm. imp.* 32.2-4) may be the Slav inhabitants of eastern Bohemia. Twelfth-century Byz. authors speak of the Tzechoi who were allied with Hungary and Kiev against Manuel I (e.g., Lampros, "Mark. kod." 174, no.320.6-7), though Kinnamos (Kinn. 223.5-8) implies that the "king of the Tzechoi" was the empire's LIZIOS at the time of the Second Crusade. Vincent of Prague (MGH SS 17:681) records that a noble Czech, Boguta of Moravia, served Manuel and was granted several castles. In 1273 Byz. and Czechia negotiated concerning a union of the

churches and the organization of a crusade. In 1451-52 a Hussite emissary, probably Matthew English, came to Constantinople and after lengthy defense of the Hussite creed obtained a letter dated 18 Jan. 1452, signed by seven church dignitaries and inviting the Hussites to join the Greek church. The letter, however, satisfied only the most moderate leaders of the Czech movement. Chalkokondyles conveys some data about the Tzechoi or Boemoi (Ditten, *Russland-Exkurs* 56f), asserting, for instance, that they were fire worshipers.

LIT. F. Dvornik, *The Making of Central and Eastern Europe*² (Gulf Breeze, Fla., 1974). M. Paulová, "Die tschechisch-byzantinischen Beziehungen unter Přemysl Otakar II," *ZRVI* 8.1 (1963) 237-44. F.M. Bartoš, "A Delegate of the Hussite Church to Constantinople in 1451-1452," *BS* 24 (1963) 287-92; 25 (1964) 69-74. —S.C.F., A.K.

D

DABATENOS, or Diabatenos (Δ(ι)αβατηνός, fem. Δ(ι)αβατηνή), a family that flourished in the second half of the 11th C., possibly of Armenian origin. A certain Davatanos, *doux* of Edessa, fell in battle ca. 1062; his brother Levon held the same position in the 1070s. We do not know whether he is to be identified with Leo Diabatenos, a general under Romanos IV, and another Leo, governor of Mesembria in 1080. Another Dabatenos, under Alexios I, served as *topoteretes* of Herakleia in Pontos and of Paphlagonia (1081); perhaps he was the same Dabatenos who more than 20 years later was *doux* of Trebizond. Even less certain is his identity with Michael Dabatenos, *protonobelissimos* in 1094/5 (P. Gautier, *REB* 29 [1971] 245f). Several Dabatenoi left seals with such titles as *sebastos*, *protokouropalates*, and *katepano*. Soon after 1100 the family position declined, and the Diabatenoi attested in the 13th and 14th C. were *paroikoi*, priests, or owners of small farms (*PLP*, nos. 5365–70).

LIT. Kazhdan, *Arm.* 114–16. V. A. Arutjunova-Fidanjan, *Armjane-chalkidonity na vostočnyh granicah Vizantijskoj imperii* (Erevan 1980) 141–43. —A.K.

DACIA, the territory north of the Lower and Middle Danube. It was conquered by Trajan and then abandoned by the Romans in the mid-3rd C. Aurelian, however, created the province of Dacia Ripensis on the south bank of the Danube between MOESIA I and Moesia II. Its major cities were Ratiaria and Oescus; PRISKOS of Panion (fr. 1) called Ratiaria a large and densely populated city. Military camps and forts, rather than cities, were typical of the province. Dacia Ripensis flourished in the mid-4th C., and the Romans even managed to recover some fortresses on the north bank of the Danube. Gothic FOEDERATI penetrated into Dacia, and some settlements probably belonging to them (e.g., a fortified village at Vit) have been excavated. This system of Germanic settlements continued after the battle of Adrianople (378), as in SUCIDAVA, where the last Roman coins are of

408–23; probably thereafter the system of forts was demolished by the Huns. The empire renewed the construction of strongholds north of the Danube at the end of the 5th C. and was able to maintain them through the end of the 6th, when Dacia was occupied by the AVARS and Slavs (O. Toropu in 9 *CEFR* [1974] 71–81).

Dacia Mediterranea lay south of Dacia Ripensis and was probably created sometime later. Its capital was SERDICA and its major cities were NAISSUS, Pautalia, and Remesiana. Dacia Mediterranea was more urban and more Greek than Dacia Ripensis and played a larger role in ecclesiastical development.

LIT. H. Vetters, *Dacia ripensis* (Vienna 1950). E. Chirilă, M. Gudea, "Economie, populație și societate în Dacia post-aureliană," *Acta Musei Porolissensis* 6 (1982) 123–54.

—A.K.

DACO-GETANS, autochthonous population on both banks of the Lower Danube. Ancient authors considered them a single group, speaking a dialect of the Thracian language, but recent scholars distinguish three ethnic elements: Thracian, Illyrian, and Daco-Moesian (C. Poghirc in *L'ethnogenèse des peuples balkaniques* [Sofia 1971] 171f). Despite romanization of the region, old Getic traditions, esp. old forms of ceramics, survived in SCYTHIA MINOR and in MOESIA through the 6th C. (C. Scorpan, *Thracia* 2 [1974] 131–34). From the 7th C. onward, the Slavs settled on the Danube, assimilating a substantial part of the autochthonous population, then the Bulgars and Pechenegs moved into the area. The ancient Daco-Getans mingled with these peoples, even though some Daco-Getans, esp. in mountainous regions, retained their latinized language and certain cultural traditions, eventually emerging as VLACHS.

The ethnic name *Dakes* reappears in the 10th–11th C. to designate PECHENECS; in the 12th–15th C. it was applied primarily to the Hungarians (Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* 2:116) and, in the 15th C., even to the Danes (E. Trapp, *JÖB* 36 [1986] 301f).

LIT. D. Protase, *Problema continuității în Dacia* (Bucharest 1966). G. Ștefan, "Le problème de la continuité sur la territoire de la Dacie," *Dacia* 12 (1968) 347–54. *Transylvania and the Theory of Daco-Roman-Rumanian Continuity*, ed. L. Löte (Rochester, N.Y., 1980). —A.K.

DAKTYLOS (δάκτυλος, "finger"), the smallest Byz. unit of length, equal to 1/16 POUS [= 1.95 cm], also called *monas* (unit).

LIT. Schilbach, *Metrolgie* 16.

—E. Sch.

DALASSENE, ANNA, mother of ALEXIOS I KOMNENOS; born ca. 1025, died 1 Nov. 1100 or 1102. Her father was Alexios Charon, her maternal grandfather Adrianos DALASSENOS (N. Adontz, *Byzantion* 10 [1935] 171–85). She married John, brother of ISAAC I KOMNENOS, in 1040 or 1045; their children included Manuel, Maria, Isaac, Eudokia, Theodora, Alexios, Adrianos, and Nikephoros. After Isaac I's abdication, Dalassene opposed the Doukas family, who had succeeded to the throne; she even disliked Alexios's marriage to IRENE DOUKAINA. She actively encouraged Isaac and Alexios's revolt against NIKEPHOROS III (14 Feb. 1081) and had to seek refuge in Hagia Sophia and then the PETRION monastery. Upon Alexios I's accession, she became powerful at court. During his campaigns (beginning in Aug. 1081), he granted her sweeping administrative powers (*Reg* no. 1073): written or verbal, rational or ridiculous, her orders were to be obeyed as the emperor's own. A copy of her PITTAKION for CHRISTODOULOS OF PATMOS (May 1088) survives (*Patmou Engrapha* 1:342–51, no. 49), and in 1095 she ordered the blinding of Nikephoros DIOGENES (An.Komn., 2:201.16–22). After popular charges of misgovernment seemingly disturbed her relationship with Alexios (Zon. 3:746.4–7), she retired to the PANTEOPTES MONASTERY. Her piety and patronage of monks were renowned; Anna KOMNENE greatly admired her.

LIT. Skoulatos, *Personnages* 20–24.

—C.M.B.

DALASSENOS (Δαλασσηνός, fem. Δαλασσηνή), a noble Byz. lineage originating from Dalasa-Talaš on the Euphrates and known from the late 10th C. Adontz's hypothesis that the family was of Armenian stock can neither be proved nor refuted. The *magistros* Damianos and his son the

patrikios Constantine were governors of Antioch in 996–998 and in 1025, respectively. Constantine, called "the lord of the Eastern land" in contemporary epigrams, was an important landowner; Constantine VIII regarded him as his heir, but in the 1030s Constantine Dalassenos fell from imperial favor and was arrested by Michael IV. His brother Theophylaktos was *doux* of Antioch according to a seal; the third brother Romanos was *katepano* of Iberia. In the 1060s and 70s the Dalassenoi served in the Balkans: Theodore as *doux* of Thessalonike and Serres, Damianos as *doux* of Skopje. Anna DALASSENE was married to John Komnenos and became mother of Alexios I Komnenos. Thereafter the Dalassenoi ceased to be military commanders: the *sebastos* Theodore served as a judge in 1196; another Theodore, *sebastos* (and eparch), is known from a seal; a third Theodore is mentioned in TIPOUKETOS as a lawyer in Eudokia's court (1067), but the high title of *protonobelissimos* makes this attribution dubious (see NOBELISSIMOS). In the later period the name Dalassenos is rare and used only in a low level of society (*PLP*, nos. 5035–36).

LIT. Cheynet-Vannier, *Études* 75–115, 121f. Adontz, *Études* 163–77. Kazhdan, *Arm.* 92–97. —A.K.

DALMATIA (Δελματία), Roman province on the eastern coast of the Adriatic Sea whose capital was SALONA. After brief domination by Odoacer, and then by the Ostrogoths, ca. 538 Dalmatia became a Byz. proconsular province, consisting of coastal cities and nearby islands, from Istria to Kotor. It prospered through maritime trade. In the early 7th C. when Slavs and Avars invaded the hinterland and destroyed the coastal cities (Salona, Epidaurus), these centers were replaced by new ones (SPLIT, DUBROVNIK). Both cities and islands remained under Byz. rule, but their ecclesiastical jurisdiction alternated between Rome and Constantinople. The metropolis became Zadar (ZARA) administered by a prior or *archon*. Whether he was a Byz. functionary or local magnate remains unclear. In the early 9th C. Charlemagne subjugated Dalmatia, and the *dux Jaderae* briefly functioned there as Frankish representative; in 812 the Franks returned Dalmatia to Byz., but it remained practically independent until the late 860s when Basil I established a Byz. theme there. Ecclesiastically it formed the metropolis of Ke-

phalia under the jurisdiction of Constantinople (*Notitiae CP*, no. 3.54).

The area consisted of several independent economic and political zones: the northern centers tended to be pro-Venetian; the mid-Dalmatian cities, mostly autonomous, wavered in their loyalties between Venice and Hungary; Dubrovnik temporarily formed a special Byz. theme; the southern cities were linked with Serbia and Zeta. After a short-lived Venetian conquest in 1000, the Byz. presence in Dalmatia weakened. Various forces—Venice, Croatia, Hungary, the Normans—contended for domination over the area, and in the 1060s real Byz. authority disappeared, except in Dubrovnik. After the union of Croatia with Hungary (1102), northern Dalmatia was under Venice; the central area under Hungaro-Croatian kings; the southern area nominally Byz., but in fact autonomous. Croatian impact on Dalmatian cities and islands intensified. Brief restoration of Byz. influence in the mid-12th C. collapsed in 1180. From 1204 to 1358 Venice dominated Dalmatia, after which all the area except Dubrovnik was conquered by Hungary. Venetian domination returned in the early 15th C. and lasted until 1797.

LIT. J. Hahn, J. Ferluga, Ž. Rapanić, *LMA* 3:444–57. J. Ferluga, *L'amministrazione bizantina in Dalmazia* (Venice 1978). N. Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata u ranom srednjem vijeku* (Zagreb 1971). Idem, *Povijest Hrvata u razvijenom srednjem vijeku* (Zagreb 1976). L. Steindorff, *Die dalmatinischen Städte im 12. Jahrhundert* (Cologne-Vienna 1984). —B.K.

DALMATIC OF CHARLEMAGNE. Neither a dalmatic nor belonging to Charlemagne, the so-called Dalmatic of Charlemagne, a piece of silk dating ca. mid-14th C., is a patriarchal SAKKOS presumably from Constantinople; documented in Vatican inventories from 1489, it is currently in the Treasury of St. Peter's. Its association with Charlemagne is purely legendary. The dark blue silk *sakkos* is decorated with an extensive gold-embroidered figural cycle on the theme of Salvation. The complex iconography begins with the TRANSFIGURATION on the back of the garment, continues with the Communion of the Apostles (see LORD'S SUPPER) on the shoulders, and ends with the PAROUSIA, the Second Coming of Christ on the front. Embroidered inscriptions include Matthew 26:26–27, John 11:25, and Matthew 25:34.

LIT. G. Millet, *La Dalmatique du Vatican* (Paris 1945). E. Piltz, *Trois sakkoi byzantins* (Stockholm 1976) 28f, 42–45, figs. 5–7, 9–10. —A.G.

DALMATOU MONASTERY, an important early monastery, evidently the first to be constructed in Constantinople. Dalmatou (Δαλμάτον, Δαλματίου) was founded in 382 by the Syrian saint Isaac outside the Constantinian walls in the eastern part of the Psamathia quarter. After Isaac's death ca. 406, he was succeeded as superior by his disciple Dalmat(i)os, a former officer of the imperial guard (died 438), after whom the monastery was named. In the 5th C. Dalmatou was a bastion of Orthodoxy, and its superior was given the title of ARCHIMANDRITE or EXARCH, supervisor of the other monasteries of the capital. Beginning in the late 7th C., the monastery was frequently used as a place of confinement for political prisoners, such as the deposed emperors Justinian II, Leontios, and Philippikos. During the Iconoclastic controversy, the Dalmatou monastery was persecuted because of its fervent support of images and even closed for a time. In the 9th C. the vita (unpublished) of Hilarion (died 845), a superior of Dalmatou and iconodule confessor, was written by a certain Sabas (*BHG* 2177, 2177b). In the late 12th C. Dalmatou was transformed into a nunnery; in 1182, Maria, widow of Manuel I Komnenos, was confined there. Thereafter the monastery disappears from the sources.

LIT. G. Dagron, "Les moines et la ville: Le monachisme à Constantinople jusqu'au concile de Chalcédoine (451)," *TM* 4 (1970) 229–76. Beck, *Kirche* 213, 558. Janin, *Églises CP* 82–84. —A.M.T.

DAMAGE BY QUADRUPEDES. Roman law regulated wrongful damage to property by the *LEX AQUILIA*, which deals primarily with the killing of another person's slave or animal and with damage by the burning, breaking, or destruction of another's property. To these two categories Byz. law added the specific case of *praida* (πραΐδα). The word is derived from Latin *praeda* (meaning "booty," and metaphorically "gain") and was used in late Roman texts in its original sense of "booty" (e.g., John Moschos, PG 87:3024B). The *FARMER'S LAW*, however, lends to this term a new legal sense, that of damage by quadrupeds, and regulates the punishments and compensations due on

both sides when an animal wanders onto a neighbor's land and causes damage or is injured (pars. 25, 48–53, 58). Some of these norms were accepted in (Italian?) provincial law. Where this "original and practical rule of arbitration" (Simon, *infra*) first arose is unclear. It could be a borrowing from neighboring countries—it exists in the Lombard *Edictum Rothari* and in its Greek translation (MGH *Leges* 4:231)—or a local Byz. development due to similar rural conditions.

LIT. Simon, "Provinzialrecht" 102–10.

—A.K.

DAMASCUS (Δαμασκός), ancient city in southern Syria situated 100 km inland from the Mediterranean between the coastal mountains and the desert, in an oasis watered by the Barada River. An important military stronghold on the eastern frontier, Damascus was one of four cities of ORIENTS with an arms factory (*NotDign* 11.18–23). The city was the metropolitan bishopric of the province of Phoenicia Libanensis, which was under the civil administration of EMESA. Little remains of Byz. Damascus. The Roman temple of Zeus Damaskenos was closed by Theodosios I and a church (later named for John the Baptist) was built within its precincts. Sauvaget (*infra*) demonstrated that the ancient street grid of Damascus evolved into an irregular "oriental" system, but subsequent attempts to date this change to the 5th–6th C., rather than later (H. Kennedy, *ByzF* 10 [1985] 170, n.91), are conjectural. SOPHRONIOS of Jerusalem was a native of Damascus.

The city was under Persian rule from 612 to 628 and was taken by the Arabs in 635. There are several conflicting accounts of the siege—including one that emphasized the role of the father of JOHN OF DAMASCUS—and the peace terms made between the victors and the people of Damascus (payment of tribute, division of property), as quoted in some sources, may be of dubious authenticity (Donner, *Conquests* 131–45, 246f). Soon after its conquest Damascus became the capital of the Umayyad Caliphate (661–750). In 708 the Church of John the Baptist was replaced by the Great Mosque, which was decorated with wall mosaics attributed by some scholars to Byz. craftsmen. In the 10th C. Damascus passed to the Ikhshidids and FĀTIMIDS of Egypt, and, while briefly controlled by the Turk Afteqin, was placed under Byz. protection in 975. From 1154 the city was

the base of NŪR AL-DĪN, and from 1174 it supported SALADIN, who died there.

LIT. N. Elisséef, *ET* 2:279–86. C. Watzinger, K. Wulzinger, *Damaskus, die antike Stadt* (Berlin-Leipzig 1921) 77–101. J. Sauvaget, "Le plan antique de Damas," *Syria* 26 (1949) 314–58. R.A.C. Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture* 2, vol. 2 (Oxford 1969) 323–72. —M.M.M.

DAMASCUS CHRONICLE. See IBN AL-QALĀNISĪ.

DAMASKENOS, PETER, monk and ascetic writer, fl. ca.1156/7. His major works, of the type of the PHILOKALIA, were entitled "Admonition [Hypomnesis] addressed to his own soul" and "Sayings in alphabetical order." They are based on tradition (the latest author cited is the 10th-C. SYMEON METAPHRASTES) and treat primarily the problem of salvation. Although Damaskenos's world view is optimistic and he argues that the way of salvation is open to lay persons (*biotikoi*), he ascribes the highest esteem to solitary (hesychastic) monks. The ideal way of salvation is neither social nor that achieved in a monastic community, but individual. The first stage of this path is the purification of body and soul, in which reading forms an important element; the second stage, called *theoria* or *gnosis*, is reached not only through meditation but through divine grace: beginning with the contemplation of Christ's passion, the soul soars up to the contemplation of God in his attributes. Damaskenos was very popular in both late Byz. and Russia.

TR. Eng. tr., *The Philokalia*, G. Palmer, P. Sherrard, K. Ware, vol. 3 (London-Boston 1984).

LIT. J. Gouillard, "Un auteur spirituel byzantin du XII^e siècle, Pierre Damascène," *EO* 38 (1939) 257–78. —A.K.

DAMASKIOS (Δαμάσκιος), or Damaskios Diadochos, last scholarch of the ACADEMY OF ATHENS; born Damascus ca.460?, died after 538. Damaskios both studied and taught rhetoric at Alexandria, also studying Plato with AMMONIOS. Moving to Athens, he studied several subjects, including mathematics, under Marinos. He eventually headed the Neoplatonist school. Sometime after Justinian's closing of the Academy in 529, he emigrated with six fellow traveling philosophers to the Persian court. Soon disillusioned, they returned to

Byz. territory in 532 under a special treaty giving them safe-conduct and freedom of expression. An epigram that he wrote at Emesa (*AnthGr* 7:553) shows him still alive in 538.

His biography of his colleague Isidore can be reconstituted from fragments in Photios (*Bibl.*, cods. 181, 242) and the SOUDA. Of his Platonic commentaries, that on the *Philebus* is wholly extant, those on the *Parmenides* and *Phaedo* partly so. A treatise *On First Principles* also survives. Several lost works include four books of *mirabilia*, thought by Photios (*Bibl.*, cod.130) to be concisely written and good of their kind. Damaskios's literary versatility continues the tradition of the SECOND SOPHISTIC, while his wedding of science and superstition is typical of late NEOPLATONISM.

ED. *Vitae Isidori reliquiae*, ed. C. Zintzen (Hildesheim 1967). *Dubitationes et solutiones de primis principiis*, in *Platonis Parmenidem*, ed. C.E. Ruelle, 2 vols. (Paris 1889). *Problèmes et solutions touchant les premiers principes*, tr. A.E. Chaignet, 3 vols. (Paris 1898). *Traité des premiers principes, I: De l'ineffable et de l'un*, ed. L. Westerink, Fr. tr. J. Combes (Paris 1986). *The Greek Commentaries on Plato's Phaedo*, vol. 2, ed. L.G. Westerink (Amsterdam 1977), with Eng. tr.

LIT. Westerink, *Prolegomena* xi–xii, xv–xviii. R. Strömberg, "Damascius: His Personality and Significance," *Eranos* 44 (1946) 175–92. —B.B.

DAMILAS, NEILOS, hieromonk of the monastery of Karkasina at Hierapetra (Crete); died ca.1417. In 1399 Damilas (Δαμιλᾶς) established nearby, at Baionaia, a nunnery dedicated to the Theotokos Pantanassa and composed a *typikon* for the nuns. His rule emphasized the cenobitic life, proper psalmody, daily reading, and strict supervision of the nuns to prevent unauthorized contact with men, whether monks, lay workers, or relatives.

Damilas knew Latin as well as Greek, and took an interest in contemporary theological controversies. He composed a treatise, addressed to MAXIMOS CHRYSOBERGES, supporting the Orthodox position on the Procession of the Holy Spirit. A bibliophile and scribe, he included in his will of 1417 (ed. S. Lampros, *BZ* 4 [1895] 585–87) an inventory of books, probably bequeathed to the nunnery at Baionaia. His library numbered 41 volumes, primarily liturgical or theological, but included one lexikon and a MS of the works of Cato, Boethius, and Manasses. In the inventory he noted that six of the MSS were in his own hand.

ED. *Typikon*—ed. S. Pétridès, *IRAIK* 15 (1911) 92–111. Treatise—ed. Arsenios of Novgorod, *EkAl* 19 (1895–96) 382f, 391f; 20 (1896–97) 7f, 31f, 61–63.

LIT. *PLP*, no.5085. Beck, *Kirche* 750f. N.B. Tomadakes, *Ho Ioseph Bryennios kai he Krete kata to 1400* (Athens 1947) 89–92. F. von Lilienfeld, "Das Typikon des Neilos Damilas—ein Zeugnis des gemäßigten 'sinaitischen' Hesychasmus," *Byzantinische Beiträge*, ed. J. Irmscher (Berlin 1964) 359–72. —A.M.T.

DAMNATIO MEMORIAE, a modern term designating a punishment for high treason or *maiestas*, inherited from Rome. The name *damnatio memoriae* derives from the fact that traitors could be tried posthumously. As a formal procedure, *damnatio memoriae* is attested only in the late Roman period (e.g., *Institutes* 4.18.3; cf. Theophilos in Zepos, *Jus* 3:268.34–38). It entailed obliteration of the condemned's memory through destruction of his images, erasure of his name from inscriptions, and cancellation of his legal acts (*Cod.Theod.* XV 14.1–13). *Damnatio memoriae* was carried out chiefly against usurpers and their appointees, as the consular datings suggest (R.S. Bagnall et al., *Consuls of the Later Roman Empire* [Atlanta 1987] 25). In later centuries the formal procedure lapsed, but some of its features crop up in measures taken after a change of government, as when Emp. Alexander's name was removed from literary works (J. Grosdidier de Matons, *TM* 5 [1973] 229–42) and images of Nikephoros II Phokas were destroyed after his fall. Acts of BASIL THE NOTHOS were invalidated unless countersigned by Basil II (*Reg* 1, no.774). Likewise, certain names were suppressed or restored to the liturgical diptychs, depending on the doctrinal tendency of the moment.

LIT. F. Vittinghoff, *Der Staatsfeind in der römischen Kaiserzeit* (Berlin 1936). C.A. Bourdara, "Quelques cas de *damnatio memoriae* à l'époque de la dynastie macédonienne," *JÖB* 32.2 (1982) 337–46. —M.McC.

DANAË, a mythological figure, daughter of the Argive king Akrisios. She was secluded by her father in a chamber and there conceived a child by Zeus, who visited her in a shower of gold. The image was used in Byz. literature in its direct form, for example, as a simile for a person imprisoned and chained, "like Danaë by Akrisios of old" (Nik.Chon. 56.44). More important, the myth of Danaë had an impact on the creation of Christian legends about noble girls secluded by their

fathers in a tower or an isolated palace where a visiting angel would initiate them into the Christian creed. One of the "Christian Danaës" was St. BARBARA; another was St. Irene-Penelope, daughter of King Licinius, who was secretly baptized by Timotheos, disciple of the apostle Paul (BHG 952y-954c).

LIT. A. Wirth, *Danaë in christlichen Legenden* (Prague-Vienna-Leipzig 1892). —A.K.

DANCE (ὄρχησις) was inherited by the Byz. from their Greco-Roman past. The attitude toward dance was hotly discussed in late antiquity, when the church fathers rejected dance together with the THEATER as an embodiment of immorality. On the other hand, in 361 LIBANIOS published an oration, *On the Dancers* (ed. R. Foerster, 4:420-98), defending both the art of dance and dancers. Although his oration was a refutation of Ailios ARISTEIDES (J. Mesk, *WienSt* 30 [1908-09] 59-74), he was definitely referring to contemporary matters. Dancing on stage died out as did the theater, but dance performances survived in court festivities. They are represented on several artifacts, such as the crown of Constantine IX Monomachos and the silver vase of the 12th C. from Berezovo; the dancers wear long dresses, usually with broad sleeves, and wave kerchiefs over their head. As part of court ceremonial, the members of factions (DEMOI) performed an "exotic" dance, the Gothic Pageant (*De cer.*, ed. Vogt, 2:88f, 102-04, 149f, 182-85).

Despite rhetorical attacks on dance, it remained popular with different levels of Byz. society: the wife of Digenes Akritas danced for her husband on a small carpet (*blattis*) to the accompaniment of a lyre (*kithara*); the *logothetes tou dromou* John Kamateros is described by a 12th-C. historian (Nik.Chon. 113.95) as dancing the licentious *kordax*, "kicking his legs to and fro." Lewd dances with suggestive movements and nudity are further documented by the 15th-C. *Comedy of Katablattas* (ed. P. Canivet, N. Oikonomides, *Diptycha* 3 [1982-83] 29.43-46, 43.194, 210, 73.647). Dance formed an indispensable element of all feasts—the CALENDs and BRUMALIA, for example—and esp. WEDDINGS. The festival of St. Agathe included dancing by women in the cloth-making trades (A. Laiou in *Festschrift Stratos* 1:112f); in TAVERNS men danced with women to the music of flute and cymbals and the clapping of hands.

LIT. Koukoules, *Bios* 5:206-44. Darkevič, *Svetshoe iskusstvo* 177-80. —Ap.K., A.K.

DANDOLO, ANDREAS, jurist, historian, and doge of Venice (from 4 Jan. 1343); born 30 Apr. 1306, died 7 Sept. 1354. As doge, Dandolo allied Venice with Cyprus and the Hospitallers against the Turks (1343-45) and waged war against Genoa in alliance first with John VI Kantakouzenos and then John V Palaiologos. In St. Mark's, he sponsored the restoration of the PALA D'ORO and commissioned the baptistery mosaics and the chapel of St. Isidore. Dandolo ordered the overhaul of the statutes of Venice (*Liber Sextus*, 1343-46; *Volumen statutorum legum ac iurium tam civilium quam criminalium DD. Venetorum* [Venice 1709]) as well as a systematic collection of instruments relative to Venice's role in the Levant, *Liber albus*, which is a precious source on Byz.-Venetian relations (e.g., the treaty of MANUEL I with Venice, *Reg* 2, no.1365), and *Liber blancus*, which is on Italy.

Before becoming doge Dandolo had written a concise chronicle from Venice's origins to 1342, but his most important work, the *Chronica per extensum descripta* (A.D. 48-1280) was begun after assuming power. Although its chronological framework derives from the universal chronicle of Paulinus, bishop of Pozzuoli (died ca.1344), it transcribes 40 documents and summarizes about 240 others, including numerous Byz. instruments. Aside from the latter (e.g., Emp. Leo V's order of an embargo on trade with the Arabs, 144.31-33; *Reg* 1, no.400), this chronicle provides most valuable evidence for the period after that covered by the CHRONICON VENETUM, which it used. Dandolo organized his account after the 8th C. by reigns of doges; he is favorable to the Byz. monarchy at the outset, but his account becomes hostile in the second half of the 12th C. owing to Byz.'s religious deviance; his glorification of the policies of his ancestor ENRICO DANDOLO may reflect anti-Turkish projects afoot at the time of the work's composition (F. Thiriet, *RESEE* 10 [1972] 5-15).

ED. G.L.F. Tafel, G.M. Thomas, *Der Doge Andreas Dandolo und die von demselben angelegten Urkundensammlungen zur Staats- und Handelsgeschichte Venedigs* (Munich 1856) 1-167. *Chronica per extensum descripta*, ed. E. Pastorello [= *RIS* 2 12.1] (Bologna 1938-58).

LIT. Karayannopoulos-Weiss, *Quellenkunde* 2:497. G. Ravagnani, *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani* 32 (Rome 1986) 432-40. L. Margetić, "Vjerodostojnost vijesti Andrije Dandola o Dalmaciji u XI st.," *ZRVI* 19 (1980) 117-46.

—M.McC.

DANDOLO, ENRICO, doge of Venice (1192-1205); born Venice ca.1107 or later, died Constantinople ca.29 May 1205. Before becoming doge, Dandolo (Δάνδουλος) served on embassies to Manuel I (1172) and Andronikos I (1184). According to later legend, a Byz. emperor had him blinded, but the story is unconfirmed; his impaired vision did not hinder his vigorous activity. Elected doge ca. Apr. 1192, Dandolo found himself drawn into protracted negotiations with Alexios III; his shrewd foresight is evident in his instructions to envoys sent in 1197. Despite Alexios's renewal of Venetian privileges (1198), Byz. officials abused Venice's rights. In 1201 Dandolo and his council contracted with envoys of the Fourth Crusade to construct a large fleet in return for payment and to send 50 galleys at their own expense. In 1202, when an insufficient number of Crusaders appeared to repay Venice's expenditures, Dandolo offered to postpone the debt, provided that the expedition recover ZARA. With Dandolo's encouragement, the Venetians joined the Crusade. At Zara, Dandolo welcomed the suggestion of PHILIP OF SWABIA and the future Alexios IV that the Crusade place Alexios on the throne; he had possibly negotiated earlier with Alexios.

Dandolo played a leading role in the capture of Constantinople in 1203, in the ensuing discussions with Alexios IV and Alexios V, and in the conquest of 1204. By the Treaty of March 1204 and the PARTITIO ROMANIAE, he secured for Venice repayment of its expenses and three-eighths of the empire. He was at Adrianople when Emp. Baldwin I was captured; Dandolo facilitated the Crusaders' retreat but died shortly after. He was buried in Hagia Sophia, Constantinople. VILLEHARDOUIN admired Dandolo's ability and forceful leadership; Niketas CHONIATES stigmatized his cunning and vengefulness and imputed to him the Crusade's diversion against Byz.

LIT. H. Kretschmayr, *Geschichte von Venedig* (Gotha 1905; rp. Aalen 1964) 1:275-322. R. Cessi, "L'eredità di Enrico Dandolo," *Archivio veneto* 67 (1960) 1-25. D.E. Queller, *Medieval Diplomacy and the Fourth Crusade* (London 1980) pts. XII-XIII. —C.M.B.

DANELIS, or Danielis (Δανιηλῖς), a rich widow in Patras; born ca.820, died Naupaktos? ca.890. She sponsored the future emperor BASIL I when he came to Patras ca.850 in the service of the imperial official Theophilos. According to the biography of Basil by CONSTANTINE VII (*TheophCont*

226-28), a monk in Patras prophesied that Basil would obtain imperial power, and Danelis lavished attention upon him and made him spiritual brother of her son John. Later, Basil appointed John *protospatharios*. Danelis left almost all her property to LEO VI (p.317-21) instead of to her grandson (her son John predeceased her). Her wealth struck the imagination of her contemporaries; she reportedly owned "innumerable" slaves, 3,000 of whom Leo VI freed and settled in southern Italy; she controlled "not a small part of the Peloponnesos as her personal property," and even for her dispossessed heirs she retained 80 *proasteia*. Given the general paucity of great estates in 9th-C. Byz., Danelis's case requires special explanation. Runciman suggested that her wealth was based on a flourishing silk production in the Peloponnesos, but E. Weigand (in *Eis mnemen Spyridonos Lamprou* [Athens 1935] 504) pointed out that the description of her riches mentioned no silk, only *sidonia erga*. It is worth noting that Constantine VII states that Basil I was ready to proclaim Danelis mistress (*kyria*) of "the whole of this land" (p.228.14-15) and that she returned from her voyage to Constantinople "as the lady (*despoina*) and queen (*basilissa*) of the country" (p.319.8). Possibly Danelis's estates around Patras, an area that in the early 9th C. was controlled by Slavic tribes, still formed a semi-independent "princedom" in the middle of the century. Granting the title *protospatharios* to foreign princes was not atypical of this period.

LIT. S. Runciman, "The Widow Danelis," in *Etudes dédiées à la mémoire d'André Andréadès* (Athens 1940) 425-31. —A.K.

DANIEL (Δανιήλ), Old Testament prophet. Daniel figured in the liturgy and popular piety as a PROPHET, a just man, and a providentially rescued saint. His vision (ch.2 and esp. ch.7) decisively marked Byz. chronology and thus the popular view of history (G. Podskalsky, *Byzantinische Reicheschatologie* [Munich 1972] 57-61; O. Meinardus, *OrChrP* 32 [1966] 394-449). The Septuagint contains three main passages that are not in the original Hebrew and Aramaic of the Book of Daniel: the Prayer of Azarias and the Song of the Three Hebrews (after Dan 3:23); a second trial in the Lions' Den, called Bel and the Dragon (as the end of Dan 12); and Susanna and the Elders (as Dan 13; in the Greek text of Theodotion it precedes ch.1).

Exegetical literature on the Book of Daniel is surprisingly scant (Podskalsky, *ibid.* 16–40). Fragments (on Dan 3:49 [Septuagint numbering], 7:13–18, and 9:26) of a verse-by-verse commentary by Eusebios of Caesarea survive (PG 24:525–28). Theodoret of Cyrrihus wrote an extensive verse-by-verse commentary on the entire text (PG 81:1255–1546), with a sharp polemic against the Jews. The *catena* of John Droungarios relied greatly on his numerous predecessors (partial edition in A. Mai, *Scriptorum veterum nova collectio* 1.2 [Rome 1825] 1–56). Daniel's name recurs in prophetic literature and ONEIROKRITIKA (Krumbacher, *GBL* 628, 630). Symeon Metaphrastes discusses the four figures together (PG 115:371–404).

Origen, in his fourth homily on Ezekiel (PG 13:699–704), led the church fathers in distinguishing three types of just man, represented by Noah, Daniel, and Job (H. de Lubac, *Exégèse médiévale*, vol. 1.2 [Paris 1959–61] 571–74). Daniel in the Lions' Den (Dan 6) and the Three Hebrews were types of the Resurrection, according to, for example, ORIGEN (*Contra Celsum* 7.57). During Daniel's second sojourn in a lions' den, Habakkuk brought him bread, which Hippolytos and others interpreted as a eucharistic prefiguration. The COMMENDATIO ANIMAE prayer refers to the rescue narratives of the Book of Daniel—Daniel in the Lions' Den, the Three Hebrews, Susanna and the Elders. The Life of DANIEL THE STYLITE, who was named after Daniel, alludes to him frequently and refers to Nebuchadnezzar (ch.68), Susanna (ch.71), and the Three Hebrews (ch.92).

Daniel's relics and tomb, preserved at the church of St. Romanos in Constantinople, were visited by pilgrims. With the THREE HEBREWS, Daniel was commemorated on 17 Dec. at Hagia Sophia (G. Majeska, *DOP* 28 [1974] 363).

Representation in Art. Images of Daniel are found, particularly with the soteriological implications attached to the story of the Lions' Den, from the 4th C. onward on sarcophagi and ivory pyxides (*Age of Spirit.*, nos. 421, 436) as well as on objects of daily use (no.377). This scene, with Daniel ORANS between two lions, was repeated with few changes in illuminated MSS of KOSMAS INDIKOPLEUSTES and in the MENOLOGION OF BASIL II. In the marginal PSALTERS, Daniel's vision of the great mountain (Dan 2:34–5) is added. In such miniatures, as in his appearances among the PROPHETS in church domes, Daniel is usually clad in Persian costume. The eschatological implica-

tions of the Book of Daniel were virtually ignored in art.

LIT. G. Podskalsky, "Marginalien zur byzantinischen Reicheschatologie," *BZ* 67 (1974) 351–58. H. Leclercq, *DACL* 4:221–48. *BHG* 484v–488n. K. Wessel, *RBK* 1:1113–20. H. Schlosser, *LCI* 1:469–73. Lowden, *Prophet Books*. P.J. Alexander, *The Byzantine Apocalyptic Tradition* (Berkeley 1985). —C.B.T., J.I., J.H.L., A.C.

DANIEL OF SKETIS, monk and *hegoumenos* of Sketis; saint; born early 6th C., died after 576 in Tambok, Lower Egypt, according to Coptic tradition. His activity is known from a series of short stories that in Ethiopic and Coptic versions form a unified work. The stories are presented as if told by Daniel himself or his associates and contain precious details not only about monks (e.g., the repentant Mark who lived in Alexandria pretending to be a fool) but also of craftsmen (the *argyroprates* Andronikos in Antioch) and members of the upper class (the *patrikia* Anastasia, who fled from Constantinople to Sketis). The stories, simple in structure (similar to the APOPHTHEGMATA PATRUM), combine adventures with moral indoctrination: Daniel was supposedly captured three times by "barbarians" in the desert; the third time he killed his captor, which so upset Daniel that he visited ecclesiastical and secular authorities in Alexandria, Rome, Constantinople, Ephesus, Jerusalem, and Antioch in search of punishment, but he was exonerated everywhere. Another story deals with the eternal question of the damaging influence of wealth: rewarded through Daniel's prayer, a stonemason named Eulogios found a cave full of coins, moved to Constantinople, and became "eparch of the holy praetoria." Wealth and glory did not make Eulogios happy; involved in the NIKA REVOLT of 532, he was forced to flee to his village from Justinian I's revenge. Only Coptic and Ethiopian traditions made him a staunch anti-Chalcedonian (H. Bacht, *LThK* 3:155). Besides the Greek original, Daniel's stories are known in Syriac, Coptic, Ethiopic, and Arabic, the last very close to the Greek version.

Representation in Art. Portraits of Daniel, very rare, can be found at HOSIOS LOUKAS and in the Enkleistra of St. NEOPHYTOS: the saint is portrayed as a monk with a white beard, which, in the Enkleistra, has five strands.

SOURCES. *Vie et récits de l'abbé Daniel le Scétiote*, ed. L. Clugnet [= BHO 1] (Paris 1901), also in *ROC* 5 (1900) 49–73, 254–71, 370–406, 535–64; 6 (1901) 51–87, with rev.

M. Bonnet, *BZ* 13 (1904) 166–71. Additional stories—F. Nau, *ROC* (1903) 98f; E. Mioni, *OrChrP* 17 (1951) 92f. LIT. *BHG* 2099z–2102d. G. Garitte, *DHGE* 14 (1960) 70–72. —A.K., N.P.S.

DANIEL THE STYLITE, saint; born in village of Meratha near Samosata 409, died near Constantinople 11 Dec. 493. At age 12 he entered a monastery. After visiting SYMEON THE STYLITE THE ELDER, Daniel set off for Constantinople and in 460 mounted a pillar in Anaplous on the Bosphoros. His anonymous Life is preserved in two versions: Delehaye (*infra*, xxxv) regards it as a contemporary work; Beck (*Kirche* 411) dates it ca.600. The hagiographer presents Daniel as a legitimate heir of Symeon—he received Symeon's leather tunic after the stylite's death. The hagiographer also stresses Daniel's political role: for example, he acted as mediator between Emp. Leo I and Gubazes, king of Lazika; he descended from his pillar to resolve the conflict between Patr. AKAKIOS and BASILISKOS. The power of this STYLITE exceeded that of the emperor: when Leo I dared to mount a horse in sight of the saint, the horse threw him. Daniel was above the elements, too: after the wind tore off Daniel's tunic one winter night, his disciples found him atop the pillar, his body seemingly lifeless and covered by icicles, but they revived him using sponges with warm water. His funeral was regal—tens of thousands of candles were lit, and a large sarcophagus of precious stones was prepared for him. SYMEON METAPHRASTES reworked Daniel's Life.

Representation in Art. Portraits of Daniel show an elderly monk behind a grill atop his column (MENOLOGION OF BASIL II, p.237) or under a little protective shelter letting down a basket (THEODORE PSALTER, fol.26v); in church decoration he is paired with other stylites, esp. St. Symeon the Stylite the Elder, who occupy corresponding positions in the church. At NEA MONE on Chios, he is portrayed as having hair that comes down over his shoulders and a very long beard. A mosaic portraying Daniel is also preserved in MONREALE.

SOURCES. Delehaye, *Saints stylites* 1–147 (also in *AB* 32 [1913] 121–229). Eng. tr. Dawes-Baynes, *Three Byz. Sts.* 7–71.

LIT. *BHG* 489–490. N.H. Baynes, "The Vita S. Danielis Stylitae," *EHR* 40 (1925) 397–402. D. Miller, "The Emperor and the Stylite: A Note on the Imperial Office," *GOrThR* 15 (1970) 207–12. J. Myslivec, *LCI* 6:33.

—A.K., N.P.S.

DANIIL II (Danilo), Serbian churchman and writer; born ca.1270, died 19 Dec. 1337. A monk and superior (1305–11) in HILANDAR on Athos, he defended the monastery against the CATALAN GRAND COMPANY (1307–09). In 1311 he returned to Serbia, where he served as bishop of Raška (1311–15), bishop of Hum (1317–24), and archbishop of Serbia (1324–37). He was also the confidant and adviser of several Serbian rulers, for whom he undertook diplomatic missions to Tŭrnovo and Constantinople. Daniil condemned Michael VIII's policy of church union. He wrote a series of biographies in Slavonic of Serbian kings and archbishops of the second half of the 13th and the early 14th C., which were combined by his pupils after his death into a kind of chronicle, and later extended to 1385. The Lives are a rich and reliable source for Serbian and Bulgarian history and for Byz. relations with the states of the northern Balkans. In spite of his poetic and often panegyric tone, Daniil was a well-informed, realistic, and critical observer of political and military affairs.

ED. *Životi kraljeva i arhiepiskopa srpskih*, ed. Dj. Daničić (Zagreb 1866; rp. London 1972). Germ. tr. S. Hafner, *Serbisches Mittelalter: Altserbische Herrscher-Biographien*, 2 vols. (Graz-Vienna-Cologne 1976).

LIT. M.M. Vasić, "Arhiepiskop Danilo II, monah i umetnik," *PKJfJ* 6.2 (1926) 231–64. Kašanin, *Srpska književnost* 210–33. S. Ćirković, *LMA* 3:542f. —R.B.

DANIIL IGUMEN, an early 12th-C. superior (*hegoumenos*), presumed to be from southern Rus'; sometimes identified with Daniil, bishop of Jur'ev (1114–22). He wrote an account of a journey from Constantinople to the Holy Land, normally dated 1106–08, though conjectures span 1104–09. Daniil traveled by sea, stopping at Ephesus and several islands, onward via Cyprus to JERUSALEM. During his 16-month stay in the Holy Land he was based at the Lavra of St. SABAS, one of whose monks acted as his guide. Daniil's account is exceptionally broad in scope and diverse in detail: his terse descriptions are dense with information on measurements and distances; shapes and dimensions; and local crops, weather, and produce. He also reports stories (often apocryphal and perhaps oral) connected with the sites he visits. Relations between the Orthodox and the Latins are cordial: on a trip to Galilee, Daniil travels with King Baldwin I of Jerusalem for safety; he accepts the blessing of the Latin monks on Mt.

Tabor; and he describes at length the joint celebration of the descent of the Holy Light at the Holy Sepulchre at Easter (probably 1107), confirming in all essentials the 1101 account by FULCHER OF CHARTRES.

ED. Chozenie, *Wallfahrtsbericht*, ed. M.A. Venevitinov (rp. Munich 1970), rev. A. Poppe, *RM* 2 (1975) 166–77. *The Pilgrimage of the Russian Abbot Daniel in the Holy Land, 1106–1107 A.D.*, tr. C. Wilson (London 1895).

LIT. Ju. Glušakova, "O putešestvii igumena Daniila v Palestinu," in *Problemy obščestvenno-političeskoj istorii Rossii i slavjanskich stran* (Moscow 1963) 79–87. Podskalsky, *Rus'* 196–200. —S.C.F.

DANIŞMENDIDS (Τανισμάνιοι), a Turkoman dynasty that ruled over Cappadocia, the Iris valley, and the regions of SEBASTEIA and MELITENE. Its founder, Emir Danişmend, appeared after 1085 during a period of anarchy in Muslim Asia Minor. Later he fought against the soldiers of the First Crusade: in 1100, near Melitene, he captured one of its most prestigious leaders, BOHEMUND, whom he imprisoned in NEOKAISAREIA. Emir Danişmend is the hero of a Turkish epic poem combining history and legend, the DANIŞMENDNĀME. He was succeeded by Emir GHĀZĪ, who increased his power by intervening in the dynastic strife among members of the SELJUK house; he also fought against the Byz. emperor JOHN II KOMNENOS in the region of KASTAMON. Around the mid-12th C. the Danişmendid territories were divided by dynastic struggle from which the Byz. profited. MANUEL I KOMNENOS allied with the Danişmendid Yaghi-Basan and used him against the Seljuks. The Seljuks, however, defeated the Byz. in 1176 at MYRIOKEPHALON; after they conquered Melitene in 1178 the Danişmendid dynasty disappeared. Some preserved coins of the Danişmendids bear Greek or Greek and Arabic inscriptions.

LIT. I. Mélikoff, *EI*² 2:110f. C. Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey* (London 1968) 82–86, 89–106. N. Oikonomides, "Les Danishmendides, entre Byzance, Bagdad et le sultanat d'Iconium," *RN*⁶ 25 (1983) 189–207. Vryonis, *Decline* 118–22, 155–59, 220f. —E.A.Z.

DANIŞMENDNĀME, or *Book of Melik Danişmend*, a Turkish epic composed in 1360 by Arif Ali, but based on a mid-13th-C. version by Mawlana ibn Ala, now lost. A mixture of simple prose and poetry, the *Danişmendnâme* recounts the legendary deeds of Emir Danişmend (died 1104), known to Anna Komnene as Tanismanes, the founder of

the DANIŞMENDID *beylik* in northern Anatolia. As a whole, the *Danişmendnâme* depicts the emir's confrontation with Christians of Asia Minor as a perfect expression of *ghaza*, or holy warfare, in the cause of Islam. This aside, the work indubitably reflects the mentality of the Turcomans who conquered Anatolia in the 11th–12th C. as well as the character of the conquest.

ED. I. Mélikoff, *La Geste de Melik Danişmend: Étude critique du Danişmendnâme*, 2 vols. (Paris 1960), with Fr. tr.

LIT. Bombaci, *Lett. turca* 309f. Vryonis, *Decline* 176–79. —S.W.R.

DANUBE (Δανούβιος), ancient Istros, the most important river of central and southeastern Europe. The name *Danoubios/Danoubis* was being used already in late antiquity (Julian, pseudo-Kaisarios, Stephen of Byzantium), but it did not totally replace the classical Istros. The Danube rises in the Black Forest of Germany and empties into the Black Sea, forming a huge delta. Some of its right-bank tributaries (Sava, Drina, and Morava) connected Byz. territories with the Danube. The river is divided into three almost equal sections: the upper (down to Vienna), middle (to the Iron Gate, near Orşova, Rumania), and lower reaches.

The Romans made the Danube their frontier and established the following provinces to its south: RAETIA, NORICUM, PANNONIA, MOESIA I and II; DACIA was to the north. They built a fortified LIMES, many ports, and cities (e.g., SIRMIIUM, SINGIDUNUM, DOROSTOLON). In the division of the empire in 395, Raetia, Noricum, and Pannonia were ceded to the Western Empire. Soon afterward, however, the territory south of the Danube was occupied by the Germanic peoples, the Huns, and finally (568) by the Avars. Anastasios I and Justinian I tried to fortify the Danubian frontier in its middle and lower reaches, but by 600 the Avars and SKLAVENOI destroyed what was left of the *limes*. The SKLAVINIAI began to emerge; the "Seven Tribes" settled along both banks of the Lower Danube and by 680 the whole of Moesia was under BULGAR control.

Byz. reconquered the south bank of the Danube between 971 and 1018 and retained it in the 11th–12th C., establishing the themes of Sirmium and PARISTRION. Byz. struggled to protect this area from raids of the PECHENECS, UZES, and CUMANS and competed with HUNGARY in the 12th C. for the region of ZEMUN and BRANIČEVO.

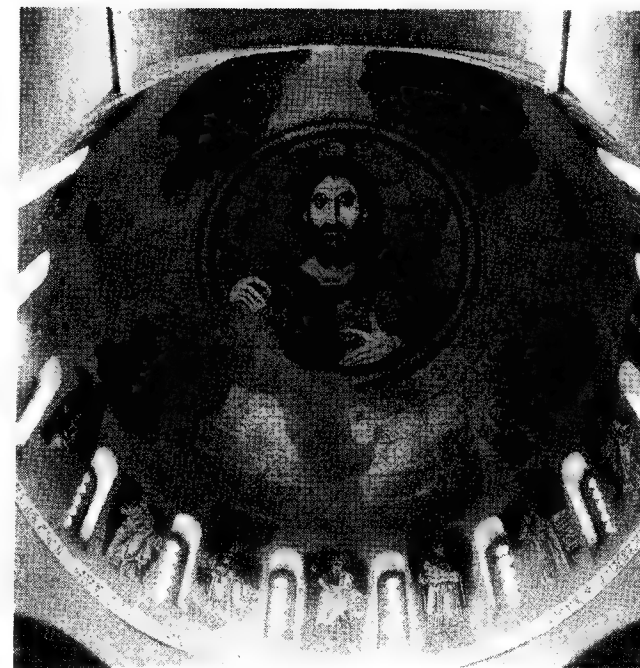
The Danube was an important mercantile route but, being on the Byz. frontier, did not much influence its internal development. Protected by a fleet and a system of fortresses, it created a serious obstacle for invaders; but the nomads of the steppe learned to cross it—on ice in rare winters when the Danube froze, or swimming behind their horses, or in small boats.

LIT. F. Heiderich, *Die Donau als Verkehrsstrasse* (Vienna 1916). A. Ristić, *Dunav* (Belgrade 1931). *Limes u Jugoslaviji*, vol. 1 (Belgrade 1961). P. Koledarov, "Otkrivena granica sistema na Bŭlgarskata dŭrŭava ot 681 do 1018 g.," *Voennoistoričeski sbornik* 3 (1978) 109–23. A.G. Poulter, "Roman Towns and the Problem of Late Roman Urbanism: The Case of the Lower Danube," *Hephaistos* 5/6 (1983/84) 109–32. E. Chrysos, "Die Nordgrenze des byzantinischen Reiches im 6. bis 8. Jahrhundert," in *Die Völker Südosteuropas im 6. bis 8. Jahrhundert* (Berlin 1987) 27–40. —O.P.

DAPHNE. See ANTIOCH.

DAPHNI (Δάφνειον, Δαφνίον), located approximately 10 km west of Athens, the site of a celebrated monastery dedicated to the Mother of God and best known for the mosaics of its *katholikon*. Sculptural remains led Millet (*infra*) to suggest that an earlier church on the site dated from the reign of Justinian I. There is no textual support for this supposition, however; Daphni is not named among the more than 100 monasteries whose representatives attended the Second Council of NICAIA in 787 (Mansi 13:152–56). The dates of construction and decoration of the present church, laid out as a Greek cross-octagon (see CHURCH PLAN TYPES), are unknown, although the mosaics are generally held to be of the late 11th C. The monastery was certainly in existence in 1048 when Dionysios, "monk and priest of the monastery of Daphni," attached his name to the *typikon* of a CONFRATERNITY serving Hosios Loukas. Several seals of the monastery, one of a *hegoumenos* Paul (Laurent, *Corpus* 5.2, no.1245), have been attributed to the 10th–12th C. Daphni is briefly mentioned in the 12th-C. vita of MELETIOS THE YOUNGER (ed. Vasilevskij, 55.31).

Although it is sometimes assumed to be an imperial foundation, the construction of the church cannot be connected with two later, much damaged frescoes of emperors in its narthex. Cistercian monks settled at Daphni between 1207 and 1211, building an exonarthex and a small cloister on the south side. It remained in Latin hands



DAPHNI. Mosaics of Christ Pantokrator and prophets in the dome of the *katholikon*, Daphni monastery.

until the Ottoman occupation of Attica in 1458. Apparently abandoned in the 18th C., the monastery was partially restored after World War II (E. Sikas, *DChAE*⁴ 3 [1962–63] 1–47).

The mosaics of Daphni, some employing silver tesserae and set against expanses of gold, are dominated by a Pantokrator in the dome, made more fierce in a restoration of 1889–97, and prophets in the drum. Below, four Great Feast scenes in the squinches and others in panels on the walls concentrate on the life of Christ. Despite the church's dedication, the only Mariological pictures in the nave are the Birth of the Virgin in the northern arm of the cross and her Dormition over the west door. Other scenes from her life are found in the southern portion of the narthex. Throughout, portraits of saints are far fewer than at Hosios LOUKAS. The style of the mosaics, often described as having a "classical" or "antique" aspect, is unparalleled in works later than the MENOLOGION OF BASIL II. Their serene monumentality is due in part to balanced composition, in part to skillful framing within ornamental arches on the walls or, as in the squinches, their setting above a finely cut marble cornice.

LIT. G. Millet, *Le monastère de Daphni* (Paris 1899). D. Mouriki, "Stylistic Trends in Monumental Painting of Greece

during the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries," *DOP* 34-35 (1980-81) 94-98. Janin, *Églises centres* 311-13. *TIB* 1:141f. Panagopoulos, *Monasteries* 56-62. —A.C.

DAPHNOPATES, THEODORE, high-ranking official and writer; died after 961. *Protasekretis*, *patrikios*, and *magistros* (according to the headings of his works), Daphnopates (Δαφνοπάτης) played a very important role at the court of Romanos I; he probably lost influence under Constantine VII, but Romanos II briefly appointed him to the post of eparch of Constantinople. The correspondence of Daphnopates sometimes has an official character and sheds light on Byz. international and domestic politics (including the enthronement of Patr. THEOPHYLAKTOS and relations with SYMEON OF BULGARIA). The letters deal also with Armenian affairs; Daphnopates apparently knew Armenian. The correspondence treats theological questions as well, and two letters are dedicated to the interpretation of a dream of Romanos II. Daphnopates wrote homilies, one of which describes the miracles worked in Antioch by a holy relic (the hand of John the Baptist), its theft from Antioch and transfer to Constantinople. He also composed several hagiographical works (on St. George, Theophanes the Confessor, Theodore of Stoudios) and a collection of excerpts from John Chrysostom arranged systematically, a work typical of 10th-C. *ENCYCLOPEDIISM*. Skylitzes describes Daphnopates as a historian, and some scholars have suggested that he wrote the last section of the chronicle of THEOPHANES CONTINUATUS. I. Dujčev (*DOP* 32 [1978] 252f) considers Daphnopates as the most probable author of an anonymous speech on the BULGARIAN TREATY.

ED. *Correspondance*, ed. J. Darrouzès and L.G. Westerink (Paris 1978). *Dve reči*, ed. V. Latyšev, *PPSb* 59 (1910). See also list in Beck, *Kirche* 552f.

LIT. M. Sjužumov, "Ob istoričeskom trude Feodora Dafnopata," *VizObozr* 2 (1916) 295-302. —A.K.

DARA (Δάρας, also called Anastasiopolis, now Oğuz in Turkey), city built by Anastasios I in 505-07 as a military stronghold on the Byz.-Persian frontier, a rare example in this period of the new foundation of an urban center. A long description of building operations, including the wages paid to workers, is given by ZACHARIAS OF MYTILENE (ch.6), details of which conflict in part with the account given by Prokopios (*Buildings*

2.1.4-2.3.26), where some of the same work (e.g., walls, two churches, waterworks) is attributed instead to Justinian I. Seat of the *doux* of MESOPOTAMIA from 527 to 532 and perhaps of the *magister militum* from 540 to 573, Dara was also metropolitan bishopric of the newly formed ecclesiastical province of southern Mesopotamia. The city remained under Persian control from 573 to 591 and from 604 to 628, falling to the Arabs in 639. Extensive ruins include walls, a bridge, a storehouse, cisterns, and a church.

LIT. Bell-Mango, *Tur 'Abdin* 102-05. I. Furlan, *Accertamenti a Dara*, vol. 1 (Padua 1984). M. Whitby, "Procopius' Description of Dara," in *The Defence of the Roman and Byzantine East* (Oxford 1986) 737-83. J. Crow, "Dara, A Late Roman Fortress in Mesopotamia," *Yayla* 4 (1981) 12-20. B. Croke, J. Crow, "Procopius and Dara," *JRS* 73 (1983) 143-159. M.C. Mundell, "A Sixth Century Funerary Relief at Dara in Mesopotamia," *JÖB* 24 (1975) 209-27.

—M.M.M.

DARDANELLES. See HELLESPONT.

DAVID (Δαβίδ), the greatest king of Israel, according to the Bible. David was venerated in Byz. as the author of the Psalms and creator of Christian music and poetry. He was also treated as a prefiguration of Christ: his fight with Goliath symbolizes Christ's victory over Satan, his function as shepherd presages Christ's role as shepherd of souls, etc. The ambivalence of the biblical David—his vices and humility when set against his heroic exploits—attracted Byz. interest, and his penitence for his sins (infidelity, the murder of Absalom) was frequently discussed. David became an esp. popular figure in political rhetoric of the 12th C. when Manuel I and Andronikos I were compared to him. Michael CHONIATES (1:215.9-24) specifically compares Isaac II to icons of David.

Representation in Art. David normally appears in imperial garb; when this regalia changed, that of David did not. In monumental painting he is found among the PROPHETS or with Solomon in the ANASTASIS. In PSALTER illustration David is shown holding the text, inspired by God, or leading musicians. Illustrating the events of 1-2 Kings, he occurs in many narrative situations, such as the anointing by Samuel or slaying Goliath; both scenes occur already on the DAVID PLATES. In the PARIS PSALTER and elsewhere, David the shepherd and musician appears as ORPHEUS, inspired by

the personification of Melodia. This composition passed into secular art, serving as the centerpiece of a 12th-C. silver bowl with a representation of DIGENES AKRITAS and Eudokia (Darkevič, *Svetskoe iskusstvo* 132-39).

LIT. J. Daniélou, *RAC* 3:594-603. M. Philonenko, "L'histoire du roi David dans l'art byzantin," in *Les pays du Nord et Byzance* (Uppsala 1981) 353-57. K. Wessel, *RBK* 1:1145-61. A. Cutler, "The Psalter of Basil II," *ArtVen* 30 (1976) 9-14. A. Kartsonis, *Anastasis: The Making of an Image* (Princeton 1986) 186-200. —J.H.L., J.L., A.C.

DAVID, SYMEON, AND GEORGE OF MYTILENE, three Iconodule brothers from Lesbos; saints; feastday 1 Feb. Born to a family possessing a modest amount of property, they lived as hermits and monks on Lesbos; George was elected bishop of Mytilene. Only Symeon is said to have been exiled to the Aegean island of Lagousas, whence he set off for Constantinople, fleeing Arab attacks; he stood on a column near Pegai on the Black Sea. On the basis of their Life, van den Gheyn (*infra* 210) constructs this chronology of the brothers: David, 716-83/93; Symeon, 764-843; George, 763-844. Halkin (*infra* 468) questioned the authenticity of the Life, which contains serious chronological contradictions. On the evidence of a 10th-C. Life of George, Patm. gr. 254 (AB 72 [1954] 22f), Halkin calculated that George was born ca. 776, became bishop in 804, and died on 7 Apr. 821. I. Phountoules attempted to distinguish three different Georges of Mytilene. The Life of the three brothers seems to have been written after Petronas's victory over the Arabs in 863 and before the assassination of BARDAS (865), to whom George prophesied a happy future (ed. van den Gheyn, p.252.22-30). Anti-Iconoclastic in its tendency, the Life eulogizes the empress THEODORA and reveals a good knowledge of her circle; it provides a vivid, contemporary account of the restoration of images (H. Grégoire, *Byzantion* 8 [1933] 517-20). The collective hero of the Life is a pious family: the "pure virgin" Hilaria, sister of David, Symeon, and George, is also praised, as well as their uncle; the brothers were buried in a common "family" tomb.

SOURCES. I. van den Gheyn, "Acta graeca Ss. Davidis, Symeonis et Georgii Mitylenae in insula Lesbo," *AB* 18 (1899) 209-59. I. Phountoules, *Lesbiakon heortologion* (Athens 1959) 33-43.

LIT. BHG 494, 2163. F. Halkin, "Y a-t-il trois saints Georges, évêques de Mytilène et confesseurs [sic] sous les

Iconoclastes?" *AB* 77 (1959) 464-69. A. Kazhdan, "Hagiographical Notes," *Byzantion* 54 (1984) 185-88. —A.K.

DAVID I KOMNENOS, last emperor of Trebizond (1459-Aug./Sept. 1461); born between ca.1407 and 1409, died Constantinople 1 Nov. 1463. Third son of ALEXIOS IV KOMNENOS, David held the title of *despotes* during the reign of his brother JOHN IV KOMNENOS. In 1458 he went to Adrianople to pay tribute to the Ottoman sultan MEHMED II. Shortly after David ascended the throne, he surrendered TREBIZOND to the Ottomans, who had attacked by land and sea. He was taken prisoner, together with his family. After a brief period of exile in Adrianople and Serres, David was accused of a conspiracy and subsequently executed.

LIT. Miller, *Trebizond* 96-109. Kuršanskis, "Descendance d'Alexis IV," 239-47. *PLP*, no.12097. K. Barzos, "He moiraton teleutaion Megalon Komnenon tes Trapezountos," *Byzantina* 12 (1983) 273-76, 279-86. —A.M.T.

DAVID II/IV THE RESTORER, BAGRATID king of Iberia (1089-1125). Benefiting from the withdrawal of Byz. after MANTZIKERT in 1071 and the collapse of Seljuk rule 20 years later (1092), David restored the power of the Georgian crown over the rebellious native dynasts with the help of mercenaries recruited from among the northern Caucasian Kipchak tribes. He reunited the principalities of ABCHASIA, K'aheti, and K'art'li into a single kingdom, with Tblisi, which he had retaken from the Muslims in 1122, as its capital. His military victories, together with his foundation of cultural and intellectual centers such as the monastery of GELATI, laid the foundation for Georgian power which, in the second half of the 12th C., reached into Armenia and Azerbaijan.

LIT. Allen, *Georgian People* 95-100. C. Toumanoff, "Armenia and Georgia," *CMH* 4:1:622-24. Š.A. Badridze, "Istoki i evolucija gruzino-vizantijskich političeskich vzaimnošenij na grani XI-XII vv.," 15 *CEB* (Athens 1976) 4:46-54. —N.G.G.

DAVID KOMNENOS (sometimes called David I Komnenos), ruler of Paphlagonia (ca.1204-12); monastic name, Daniel; died Sinope 13 Dec. 1212. Younger brother of ALEXIOS I KOMNENOS of Trebizond, David helped conquer Trebizond, then, in late 1204, pushed west with Georgian and other

mercenary troops to occupy Paphlagonia. His lands extended from Sinope to Pontic Herakleia. Nominally, David was subject to his brother. Attacking Nikomedeia in 1205, his general Synadenos was defeated and captured by Theodore I Laskaris. Under pressure from the Nicaeans, David allied himself with Henry of Flanders; with aid from Constantinople, he survived Theodore's siege of Herakleia (1206). But after his ally Thierry de Loos was defeated and captured by Theodore's general Andronikos Gidos (1207), David was forced onto the defensive. He lost Herakleia to Theodore ca. 1207; after his death the rest of Paphlagonia passed to the Nicaeans.

LIT. Savvides, *Byz. in the Near East* 67–70. S. Karpov, "U istokov političeskoj ideologij Trapezundskoj imperii," *VizVrem* 42 (1981) 103f. —C.M.B.

DAVID OF TAYK'/TAO, dynast of upper TAYK'/TAO (from 961); junior member of the Iberian BAGRATID house and ruler of the Armeno-Iberian marchlands; died 31 Mar. 1000. David's support of Emp. Basil II against Bardas SKLEROS won him the title of *kouropalates* and extensive territories along the Armeno-Byz. border from Tayk'/Tao by way of THEODOSIOPOLIS to MANTZIKERT, which he retook from the Arabs between ca. 992 and 994. David's eminent position allowed him to play the role of arbiter in both Armenia and Georgia, and his bilingual court was a great intellectual and artistic center. In 963 David founded a church at Oški (in southern Tao-Klarjet'i), where he and his brother are represented as donors in stone reliefs, once flanking a Deesis and again in the south cross arm. Georgian inscriptions identify "David Magistros" and "King Bagrat, duke of dukes," as builders of the church, a model of which they hold in the first set of images (W. Djobadze, *BZ* 69 [1976] 39–62).

Childless, David intended to make Bagrat III of ABCHASIA his heir and worked to unify other Georgian lands under him, until quarreling with him in 988. After David supported Bardas PHOKAS, Basil II forced him in 989 to will his lands to Byz. David's death, possibly instigated by the pro-Byz. party among his nobles, gave Basil a pretext to annex Tayk'/Tao and to transform it into the core of the new theme of IBERIA, an event that marked the beginning of the Byz. conquest of the Armenian plateau.

LIT. Z. Avalichvili, "La succession du curopalate David d'Ibérie, dynaste de Tao," *Byzantion* 8 (1933) 177–202.

K.N. Yuzbashian, "L'administration byzantine en Arménie aux Xe–XIe siècles," *REArm* n.s. 10 (1973–74) 154f. C. Toumanoff, "The Bagratids of Iberia from the Eighth to the Eleventh Century," *Muséon* 74 (1961) 37–40. —N.G.G., C.M.B., A.C.

DAVID OF THESSALONIKE, saint; born Mesopotamia ca. 450, died ca. 540 on a boat en route to Thessalonike; feastday 26 June. He went as a boy to Thessalonike from the east, became pious, lived (for three years?) in an almond tree near a church, and later inhabited a cell. Aristeides, archbishop of Thessalonike, sent David to Constantinople to request the transfer of the eparch's residence from Sirmium (endangered by Avar invasions) to Thessalonike. David, an Abraham-like hermit with hair down to his loins, was respectfully received by Empress THEODORA and then by Justinian I, in whose presence David worked a miracle—he held hot charcoal embers without burning his hands. He died after his successful mission. According to John MOSCHOS, a certain Palladios in Alexandria related how David dwelt in a cell outside the walls of Thessalonike and how soldiers observed a miraculous fire pouring out of his cell windows. David's anonymous *Life*, written in Thessalonike ca. 720, contains a surprising eulogy of Theodora. David's exploits were praised by JOSEPH THE HYMNOGRAPHER, MAKARIOS MAKRES, and others.

Representation in Art. The saint is depicted as a hermit with a long beard that sometimes reaches his feet, for example, in a relief of ca. 900 (A. Xyngopoulos, *Makedonika* 2 [1941–52] 143–66); in the parekklesion at CHORA, he is depicted seated in a nest atop an almond tree whose branches substitute for the capital of a STYLITE's column. The church of HOSIOS DAVID in Thessalonike was dedicated to him.

ED. *Leben des heiligen David von Thessalonike*, ed. V. Rose (Berlin 1887). B. Laourdas, "Anekdoton enkomion eis ton hosion Dabid," *Makedonika* 10 (1970) 244–52. V. Latyšev, "O žitijach prepodobnogo Davida Solunskogo," *Zapiski Odesskogo obščestva istorii i drevnostej* 30 (1912) 236–51 (and as a separate book).

LIT. BHG 492y–493m. A. Vasiliev, "Life of David of Thessalonika," *Traditio* 4 (1946) 115–47. R.-J. Loenertz, "Saint David de Thessalonique," *REB* 11 (1953) 205–22. K. Kunze, J. Myslivec, *LCI* 6:37f. —A.K., N.P.Š.

DAVID PLATES, a set of nine plates decorated with a series of scenes from the life of King DAVID, now divided between the Nikosia and Metropoli-



DAVID PLATES. Plate depicting David and Goliath; silver, early 7th C. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

tan Museums. Part of the Second CYPRUS TREASURE, the plates, made of solid silver chased from the front, all have SILVER STAMPS dated to the period 613–629/30 and bear witness, therefore, to high standards of metalworking in the early 7th C. Of three graduated sizes, these dishes were intended as display PLATES; the biblical scenes, which include David's combat with Goliath, have been interpreted as commemorating the war HERAKLEIOS waged with the Sasanian Persians, which ended in 628, thereby narrowing the date of the plates to 629/30. A plate from another possible David series, found in Russia (*Age of Spirit*, fig. 61), suggests that several sets may have been made for imperial distribution as LARGITIO DISHES.

LIT. Dodd, *Byz. Silver Stamps*, nos. 58–66. S. Wander, "The Cyprus Plates and the *Chronicle* of Fredegar," *DOP* 29 (1975) 345f. *Age of Spirit*, nos. 425–33. E. Foltz, "Zur Herstellungstechnik der byzantinischen Silberschalen aus dem Schatzfund von Lambousa," *JbRGZM* 22 (1975) 221–45. J. Trilling, "Myth and Metaphor at the Byzantine Court: A Literary Approach to the David Plates," *Byzantion* 48 (1978) 249–63. —M.M.M.

DAVID THE PHILOSOPHER, a pupil of OLYMPIODOROS in Alexandria in the second half of the 6th C.; Greek sources attribute to him an *Intro-*

duction to Philosophy and a *Commentary on Porphyry's Eisagoge*. In Armenian tradition, however, David the "Invincible" Philosopher was thought to be a pupil of MESROP MAŠTOC'. Medieval accounts of his defense of Armenian orthodoxy against the Council of Chalcedon are legendary. Armenian translations of the two Greek works noted above and of Greek commentaries on Aristotle's *Categories* and *Analytics* were attributed to him. Certainly, the Armenian renderings of these standard philosophical texts were of fundamental importance for the development of Armenian philosophy. Numerous Armenian commentaries on the *Prolegomena*, or "Definitions and Divisions of Philosophy," were written in the 13th and 14th C.

ED. Greek texts in CAG 18.2, ed. A. Busse. Arm. text of *Prolegomena*—B. Kendall, R. Thomson, *Definitions and Divisions of Philosophy by David the Invincible Philosopher* (Chico, Calif., 1983) with Eng. tr.

LIT. *David Anghat' the 'Invincible' Philosopher*, ed. A.K. Sanjian (Atlanta 1986). K.N. Juzbašjan, "David Nepobedimyj i ego vremja," *Voprosy istorii* (1980) no. 5, 101–10.

—R.T.

DAY (ἡμέρα). The Byz. followed Roman usage in dividing the full day (*nychthemeron*) into night (*nyx*) and day (*hemera*), each being further divided into 12 HOURS. Each new full day began at midnight and each day at sunrise. A seven-day week prevailed throughout the Byz. world, although this was not a natural division of TIME. The Hebrew tradition of seven days concluding with the Sabbath, adopted by Christianity, gradually penetrated the Roman world at a time when the seven-day week had become normal, with each day possessing its own mystical and liturgical significance: Wednesday as the day Christ was betrayed and Friday the day he was crucified became special fast days. The first day of the week, the day of the Resurrection (Mk 16:2), was known as the Lord's day (*Kyriake*, Lat. *dies dominica*) while the Sabbath (*Sabbaton*) was always held in respect. In place of pagan Roman usage whereby the days were named after planets, the Byz. followed the strictly Christian tradition in naming the days *Kyriake* (SUNDAY), Deutera (lit. "second {day}," Monday), Trite (lit. "third {day}," Tuesday), Te-tarte (lit. "fourth {day}," Wednesday), Pempte (lit. "fifth {day}," Thursday), Paraskeve (lit. "preparation," Friday), and Sabbaton (Saturday).

In the Cotton GENESIS MS (M.Th.d'Alverny, *CahArch* 9 [1957] 271–300) the days of Creation are personified as young women with wreaths on

their heads, on the model of the HOURS represented in floor mosaics at Antioch and elsewhere. Personified days played a part in the iconography of the SEASONS.

LIT. Grumel, *Chronologie* 165f.

—B.C., A.C.

DAYR ANBĀ HADRĀ. See SYMEON, MONASTERY OF SAINT.

DAZIMON (Δαζιμών), a site in PONTOS, probably at the modern village of Dazmana (see P. Wittek, *Byzantion* 10 [1935] 55) above the Iris River, east of Amaseia, at the edge of an extensive plain. Although first mentioned in 375, Dazimon only became important in the wars between Byz. and the Arabs. In those years, the neighboring plain, an imperial estate in the late 6th C., formed an APLEKTON where the troops of the ARMENIAKON joined the emperor on eastern campaigns. In 838 Dazimon was the site of a major battle between Emp. Theophilos and the Arabs led by Afshīn. In spite of initial Byz. success, the Arabs won a major victory that enabled them to capture Ankyra and eventually AMORION. The Byz. forces took refuge in Amaseia; news of the defeat at Dazimon provoked a riot in Constantinople. Remains of the site have not been reported. Dazimon has alternatively been identified with Tokat, whose jagged peak bears a fortress, some of which is Byz.

LIT. Vasiliev, *Byz. Arabes* 1:154–59. F. & E. Cumont, *Studia Pontica*, vol. 2 (Brussels 1906) 239–47. —C.F., A.K.

DEACON (διάκονος “attendant, servant”), a specific office in the Byz. church. A deacon’s duties both in the primitive and patristic period were distinctly ministerial. He assisted at baptism (see also DEACONESS), served at the celebration and distribution of the Eucharist (which, however, only a PRIEST or BISHOP could perform), supervised the charities dispensed by the church, managed the diocese’s properties and finances, and acted as the bishop’s secretary (cf. Council of Laodikeia, canons 21, 23, 25). The latter duty normally fell to the archdeacon, a title which first emerged in the 5th C. Despite his wide authority as the bishop’s chief assistant, the deacon was subordinate to both priest and bishop. He was, as such, the lowest in

rank among the three major orders of the CLERGY. Conciliar legislation emphasized the inferiority of the office and even forbade the deacon to sit among the priests (NICAIA I, canon 18). This was later modified for a deacon representing his bishop at a council (Council in TRULLO, canon 7).

From the 11th C. the deacons of HAGIA SOPHIA at Constantinople, esp. those who were members of the ENDEMOUSA SYNODOS, managed to acquire and wield considerable power and influence within the patriarchate (V. Tiftixoglu, *BZ* 62 [1969] 33–36). Under Emp. Herakleios the number of deacons at Hagia Sophia was fixed at 150 (*Reg* 1, no. 165), although by the late 12th C. their number had probably dwindled to about 60 (P. Wirth, *ByzF* 2 [1967] 380–82).

Canonically, the deacon was ordained to a specific diocese or church at age 25 or above (Trullo, canon 14). Marriage was permitted, but only before ordination. The deacon’s characteristic vestments were the ORARION and STICHARION. (See also SUBDEACON.)

LIT. P.A. Leder, *Die Diakonen der Bischöfe und Presbyter und ihre urchristlichen Vorläufer* (Stuttgart 1905; rp. Amsterdam 1963). S. Salaville, G. Nowack, *Le rôle du diacre dans la liturgie orientale: Étude d'histoire et de liturgie* (Paris 1962). J.G. Plöger, H.J. Weber, *Der Diakon* (Freiburg im Breisgau–Basel–Vienna 1980). S. Zandoni, *I diaconi nella Chiesa* (Bologna 1983). —A.P.

DEACONESS (διακόνισσα). The feminine form of the term deacon dates from the 4th C. (NICAIA I, canon 19). Her chief liturgical function was to assist at the baptism of women, which, for reasons of decency, could not be performed exclusively by the male clergy. The decline of adult baptism, however, hastened the demise of the office. By the 12th C. it had indeed lapsed, although the title was still being used (“improperly,” according to BALSAMON) for certain women monastics (PG 137:441D). In the EUCHOLOGIA, their ordination (Goar, *Euchologion* 218–22) paralleled that of the DEACON. It was permissible only to widowed or unmarried women, however. Still, priesthood was never conferred upon a deaconess, although it could be conferred upon her male counterpart. EPIPHANIOS of Salamis emphasizes that deaconesses were not priests but women-elders (PG 42:744D–745A). The age for ordination, 60, was later reduced to 40 (Council of CHALCEDON, canon 15; Council in TRULLO, canon 14).

LIT. A.G. Martimort, *Les diaconesses: Essai historique* (Rome 1982). C. Vagaggini, “L’ordinazione delle diaconesse nella tradizione greca e bizantina,” *OrChrP* 40 (1974) 145–89. R. Gryson, *The Ministry of Women in the Early Church* (Collegeville, Minn., 1976), tr. J. Laporte, M. Hall. —A.P.

DE ACTIONIBUS, an anonymous treatise on actions in civil lawsuits. The work has the practical aim of enabling potential plaintiffs to give the correct name to their ACTION. Its original version derives probably from the legal literature connected with the Justinianic ANTECESSORES, since its association with the 5th–6th-C. theory of CIVIL PROCEDURE (libel suits) is evident. The treatise was still copied and supplemented in MSS of the 11th and later centuries, although the procedural act (*editio actionis*) appropriate to it cannot be provided for that period.

ED. *De actionibus*, ed. F. Sitzia (Milan 1973), with rev. by D. Simon, *IURA* 24 (1973) 339–44, *ZSavRom* 92 (1975) 417–24. —D.S.

DE ADMINISTRANDO IMPERIO, conventional and incorrect title of a book compiled by CONSTANTINE VII or under his supervision and dedicated to his son Romanos II. The plan, according to the preface, consisted of four points: the relationship of the “nations” (*ethne*) with the Rhomaioi and the means of using some *ethne* to defeat and subdue dangerous neighbors; the gifts desired by the *ethne*; the characterization of their geographical situation and their customs; the changes that took place in the “empire of the Romans.” Moravcsik (*Byzantinoturcica* 1:362f) tried to demonstrate that the work conforms to the plan despite occasional repetitions, contradictions, and errors; on the contrary, Lemerle (*Humanism* 320f) emphasized the book’s incoherence and heterogeneity. *De administrando imperio* has two levels, purely informative sections taken from archival documents and didactic indoctrinations concerning methods of diplomacy; accordingly, one must distinguish between the date of compilation (probably the 950s) and the date of texts included. Some materials are of signal importance (e.g., ch.9 describing the “way from the VARANGIANS to the Greeks”), some are based on unreliable legends, but as a whole *De administrando imperio* is a unique source for the history of the Caucasus, the north shores of the Black Sea (Rus’, Pechenegs, Hungarians, Khazars), and the Serbians and Croa-

tians. The announced fourth section on changes within the empire remained unwritten.

ED. *De administrando imperio*, vol. 1, ed. Gy. Moravcsik, R. Jenkins (Washington, D.C., 1967), with Eng. tr.; vol. 2, *Commentary* by F. Dvornik, R. Jenkins, B. Lewis, et al. (London 1962).

LIT. J.B. Bury, “The Treatise De administrando imperio,” *BZ* 15 (1906) 517–77. *VizIzvori* 2:9–74. P. Yannopoulos, “Histoire et légende chez Constantin VII,” *Byzantion* 57 (1987) 158–66. T. Lounges, “To kephalaio 27 tou ‘De Administrando Imperio,’” *Byzantina* 13.2 (1985) 1069–91. Lj. Maksimović, “Struktura 32. glave spisa De administrando imperio,” *ZRVI* 21 (1982) 25–32. G. Litavrin, “Iz komentarija k 49–oj glave Konstantina Bagrjanorodnogo ‘Ob upravlennii imperiej,’” *Byzantina* 13.2 (1985) 1347–53. —A.K.

DEATH (θάνατος). There was no fixed Byz. terminology for death; it is variously designated as a separation, passing away, the end of life, return, repose, payment of the common debt, and other formulations. The Byz. view of death, derived from Greco-Roman philosophy, is that it is the separation of the soul from the body; this separation was construed as temporary since eventually the soul would be reunited with its body. Death occurs through the commandment of God and is brought about by an angel sent for that purpose. There were divergent views, however, as to whether the hour of death was predetermined by God. Only the saints could foretell the day of their demise. The soul (naked and without gender) is usually envisaged as leaving the human body through the mouth in order to begin a 40-day journey in the company of the angel. In its ascent to heaven it must pass through the *teloneia*, or tollhouses, of the demons (cf. vita of BASIL THE YOUNGER), which charge it for its sins. Thereafter it has the opportunity to see both PARADISE and HELL, and is then brought to a place of rest until the Day of LAST JUDGMENT. Doctrines of the wandering of the soul and reincarnation were totally rejected. Both Neoplatonic philosophy and Christianity saw death as a liberation from captivity, and yet laid greater stress on the positive aspect of birth to a new life. For this reason, such theologians as Basil the Great (PG 31:484A) and John Chrysostom criticized loud and excessive mourning over the dead. There was even objection in some radical monastic circles to a special BURIAL (PG 65:105BC).

The rites of the FUNERAL liturgy and certain representations of the hereafter, which derive from

customs and beliefs antedating Christianity, were transformed by Christianity in a specific way. The ancient beliefs in a journey taken by the soul after death, in the need to provide *ephodion* (victuals) for the journey (G. Grabka, *Traditio* 9 [1953] 1–43), and in a ship and escort of souls, were taken over by the church fathers but filled with new content. Angels took over the role of the *psychopompoi*, the church became the ship of souls, while the *ephodion* was seen above all as the Eucharist received before death, though we find it occasionally given a wider meaning so that it includes faith, baptism, or the monastic life. That the Eucharist could sometimes be understood almost superstitiously as a kind of dowry for the hereafter is shown in the recommendation that eventually resulted in the repeated reception of the Eucharist on the day of death in the hope that one would die with the Host in one's mouth (PG 29:CCCXV, BC). According to Chrysostom, the reception of communion (as an unrivaled means of nourishment) on one's deathbed ensured the escort of angels (rather than demons), while at the Second Coming (PAROUSIA) the righteous entered directly into the dominion of God (PG 61:364.30–34). Numerous Byz. adopted the monastic habit on their deathbed in greater hopes of salvation.

Another custom, that of KOLLYBA, is derived from the pagan tradition of a (private) funeral meal conducted by relatives at the tomb of the deceased. It was unanimously opposed by the church in the West as a pagan superstition, but the practice survived in the Byz. church. *Kollyba* were distributed and liturgical prayers were said for the dead particularly on the 3rd, 7th (or 9th), and 30th (or 40th) day after death (G. Dagron in *Temps chrétien* 419–30); the prayers were seen as accompanying the soul of the deceased on its journey. These dates were believed to represent important stations on the soul's journey either to the final vision of or banishment from God. The deceased were also commemorated on the anniversary of their death and on the Saturday before Meatfare Sunday (*to Sabbaton tes Apokreo*). The Byz. believed that the fate of the soul could be influenced through the prayers and intercessions of the living and made generous donations to churches and monasteries in order to ensure the proper commemoration of deceased relatives.

The contemplation of death (*melete thanatou*), taken from Stoicism, found a particularly vibrant resonance in the monastic milieu. Church fathers illustrated the frailty of human life by referring to the once-famous Alexander the Great whose grave was unmarked and unknown, while the innumerable graves of the martyrs were everywhere held in the highest honor. Monks desired to know what their brethren saw and experienced in the hour of death; they even contrived to consult the bones of the dead over their fate in the hereafter in order to learn the effectiveness of their intercession; even resurrection of the dead by the saintly desert fathers was reported (PG 34:244B–246A). The death of a saint is often connected with the vision of light, and the effusion of a clearly perceptible fragrance. Conversely, death itself generally brings one near the realm of the “black one” (“Ethiopian” = devil), and is connected with the symbol of the sword (and on icons with the cup of poison). The pre-Constantinian church gave the highest value to martyrdom as a baptism of blood, an imitation of the Lamb of God, and birth into heaven. The martyrs, therefore, as those who had been redeemed, continued to intercede for the living.

Hagiography uniformly stresses the serenity with which the dying saint faced death, because of his belief that death meant freedom from the bonds of the body and union with the divine. The prevailing attitude in epitaphs and MONODIES is quite different, however. Death is likened to the mythical CHARON, who cuts man's tree of life. Untimely death is generally seen as unjust and as a blow to the family and friends of the departed.

LIT. H.G. Beck, *Die Byzantiner und ihr Jenseits* (Munich 1979). P.J. Fedwick, “Death and Dying in Byzantine Liturgical Tradition,” *EChR* 8 (1976) 152–61. D. Abrahamse, “Rituals of Death in the Middle Byzantine Period,” *GOrThR* 29 (1984) 125–34. C. Walter, “Death in Byzantine Iconography,” *EChR* 8 (1976) 113–27. J. Pelikan, *The Shape of Death* (London 1962). J. Rivi  re, “Mort et d  mon chez les p  res,” *RSR* 10 (1930) 577–621. *Morte e immortalit   nella catechesi dei padri del III–IV secolo*, ed. S. Felici (Rome 1985). E. Freistedt, *Allchristliche Totenged  chtnistage und ihre Beziehung zum Jenseitsglauben und Totenkultus der Antike* (M  nster 1928). —G.P., R.S., Ap.K.

DEBT (χρε  ς, Lat. *debitum*) designated in Roman law both an obligation that originated from the contract of a LOAN and the object of this contract, that is, a sum of money or a thing owed by one

person to another. Byz. society reluctantly accepted transactions on credit: Kekaumenos, for instance, considered a loan to be a risky transaction for both parties and recommended avoidance of borrowing (Kek. 190f). Nevertheless, credit transactions were common, and complaints about the burden of debts and greed of usurers appear often in hagiographical and rhetorical texts. Patr. Euthymios appealed to Leo VI asking the emperor to free imprisoned debtors; Romanos I Lekapenos reportedly paid the debts of all debtors in Constantinople—both magnates and the poor; their contracts (*homologiai*) were thrown into the fire (*TheophCont* 429.17–21). Soon thereafter, the author of the *PHILOPATRIS* expressed the hope that the emperor would pay CREDITORS all the debts of the inhabitants of Constantinople.

The relationship of loan and debt are often treated in Byz. legal texts, which prescribe a written contract (*engraphon*) in the presence of witnesses (*Peira* 26.10) and security (*enechyron*) (*Peira* 19.2). *Peira* 6.2 lists three major reasons for mortgaging a house: to receive a loan (without specifying the purpose of the loan); to take up a state assignment (*demosiake douleia*); to conclude a marriage. *Peira* 26.1 cites a particular case of borrowing—to buy goods at a *panegyris*. Borrowing to ransom a relative is often mentioned in later texts.

Cases of debt are common in documents of the Palaiologan period. Thus, in 1325 the family of the late *stratopedarches* Petzikopoulos borrowed 50 hyperpers from the monks of Hilandar, giving over to the monks as security (HYPOTHEC) three houses on the condition that if the Petzikopouloi returned the money within a year, they would get back their houses; if they were unable to repay, Hilandar would give them an additional 90 hyperpers and receive full title to the houses and the adjacent land (*Chil.*, no.112.30–43). The contract did not state who was in physical possession of the houses during the period in question. Clearer is the short charter of 1302 (*Vazelon*, no.97) in which Theodora Theophilaba acknowledged the receipt of 100 *asproi* from the monastery of Vazelon; she gave the monastery her *choraphion*, which was to be restored to her as soon as she paid her debt. On the other hand, in an act of 1285 Theodore Komnenos Branas related that he received olive trees from Angelina, the widow of Chrysoberges, only after she proved insolvent (MM

4:114.17–26); she retained, however, her right to buy back her trees.

LIT. O. Tafrali, *Thessalonique au XIVe si  cle* (Paris 1913) 104–17. —A.K.

DE  ANSKI. See STEFAN URO   III DE  ANSKI.

DE CEREMONIIS, in full, *De ceremoniis aulae byzantinae*, the modern title for a 10th-C. treatise of CONSTANTINE VII PORPHYROGENNETOS that treats COURT CEREMONY in the spirit of ENCYCLOPEDIA for the glorification of the emperor and his servants. Major and minor ceremonies are described in minute detail from the perspective of court officials who staged secular rituals. To interpret *De ceremoniis* requires knowledge of each section's origin because it compiles 5th–10th-C. records (see Table) that document Byz. government, diplomacy, prosopography, Constantinopolitan topography—esp. that of the GREAT PALACE—and historical events. The complete MS (Leipzig, Univ. Lib. 28) is dated to the 10th C. (I. Rochow, *Klio* 58 [1976] 193–97). It is less a finished work than a dossier that contains instructions for ceremonies and descriptions of actual performances intended as raw material for the former: thus book 2, chapter 38, was stripped of specifics to form the prescriptive book 2, chapter 14 (G. Ostrogrosky, E. Stein, *Byzantion* 7 [1932] 185–233 and F. D  lger, *BZ* 36 [1936] 145–57). It also includes sundry memoranda on subjects ranging from officials' salaries to military logistics. The imperial family implied by book 1, chapters 1–9, fits a time frame of ca.957–59, while datable references reveal revisions no earlier than Constantine's last years (bk.1, ch.28—after 27 Feb. 956; bk.2, ch.15—after autumn 957); the text was certainly revised under Nikephoros II Phokas and book 1, chapter 97, may suggest a connection with BASIL THE NOTHOS.

Constantine states that book 1 derives from records. Chapters 1–83 offer fairly homogeneous prescriptive material on holy-day processions to Constantinopolitan sanctuaries (1–37) and secular ceremonies (38–83), such as CORONATIONS, marriages, funerals, officials' promotions, and circus celebrations. Chapters 84–95 are unrevised extracts from PETER PATRIKIOS, including verbatim

Chronological Synopsis of the Sources of *De ceremoniis*

Book and Chapter	Subject	Date
<i>Book 1</i>		
Chs. 1–9 (Vogt 1:3–56.8)	Processions and acclamations from Christmas to after Pentecost (interrupted by a lacuna)	ca.957–59
Chs. 9–18 (Vogt 1:56.9–105)	Yearly processions from Easter to Ascension	Probably Michael III (ca.847–62?); rev. ca.900–03 and ca.957–59
Chs. 19–21	Feasts of the Prophet Elijah, the Nea Ekklesia, and St. Demetrios	Probably Basil I; rev. under Leo VI
Chs. 22–23	Processions of 14 Sept. and Christmas	Same as chs. 9–18
Ch. 24	Feast of St. Basil the Great	900
Chs. 25–35	Processions from Epiphany to Holy Saturday	Same as chs. 9–18
Ch. 36	Feast of the Union of the Church	After 920: 957–59?
Ch. 37	Imperial costume for processions	ca.900–03; rev. ca.957–59?
Chs. 38, 40, 42 (Vogt 2:3–5, 13, 17–15, 15, 24–25)	Acclamations	ca.957–59
Ch. 41	Empress's coronation and wedding (Irene)	17 Dec. 768
Chs. 43–44	Promotions to caesar and <i>nobelissimos</i>	2 Apr. 769
Chs. 46–52 (except next section)	Various promotions	Probably Isaurian
Ch. 48 (Vogt 2:57.9–60.11)	Acclamations for promotion to patrician	ca.957–59?
Ch. 53	Acclamations for promotion to eparch	ca.957–59?
Chs. 54–58	Promotions	Isaurians?
Chs. 62–63	Faction audiences	Constantine VII
Ch. 64	Faction audience	Michael III
Ch. 65	Dance	Constantine VII
Ch. 66	Winter faction audience	Michael III
Ch. 67	Arrangement of dignitaries during faction audiences	Constantine VII?
Ch. 68	Hippodrome	Late 7th, early 8th C.
Chs. 69, 71–73	Hippodrome	Michael III?; rev. Constantine VII
Ch. 69 (Vogt 2:136.13–23)	Acclamations on vanquished emir	863
Ch. 70	Hippodrome	Same as ch. 68, but heavily revised?
Chs. 84–95	Extracts from Peter Patrikios	5th- and 6th-C. material compiled ca.548–65
Ch. 96	Acclamations for Nikephoros II	963
Ch. 97	Promotion to <i>proedros</i>	963–69
<i>Book 2</i>		
Chs. 1–25	Secular ceremonies	Constantine VII
Ch. 14	Enthronement of patriarch	After 933
Ch. 15 (Reiske 570.11–598.12)	Receptions of ambassadors from Tarsos and reception of Olga	946 and 957
Ch. 17	Coronation of Romanos II (lost)	945

Sources of *De ceremoniis* (continued)

Book and Chapter	Subject	Date
Ch. 19	Triumph in the Forum	956
Ch. 20	Triumph in the Hippodrome	956 or 958–59
Ch. 23 (Reiske 622.1–17)	Leo VI's first haircut	866–70?
Chs. 27–30	Herakleios's ceremonies; funeral of Patr. Sergios I	638–39
Chs. 31–37	Promotions and audiences	Michael III
Ch. 38	Enthronement of Patr. Theophylaktos	933
Chs. 40–41	Ceremonial costume	945/6–959
Ch. 42	Imperial tombs and obits (partially lost: see CHRONICON ALTINATE)	Constantine VII; rev. after 959
Ch. 44	Expeditions against Crete and Italy	911; 935
Ch. 45	Expedition against Crete	949
Ch. 47 (Reiske 681.5–682.17)	Styles of address for Bulgar ruler	ca.922–24
Ch. 48 (Reiske 690.6–16)	Same as above	ca.920–22; rev. 945–59
Chs. 49–50	Payments to officials	Leo VI
Ch. 51	Inspection of Constantinople's granaries	Same as bk. 1, chs. 84–95?
Chs. 52–53	<i>Kletorologion</i> of PHILOTHEOS	899
Ch. 54	Pseudo-Epiphanius of Cyprus	Herakleios
Ch. 56	Factions' payments	After 963

protocols of accession from Leo I to Justinian I (chs. 91–95, partly recycled in acclamations for Nikephoros II Phokas [bk.1, ch.96]).

Constantine's claim that book 2, possibly an afterthought, draws only on oral tradition holds generally for book 2, chapters 1–25, although even they contain historical records (see Table). The disparate documents of chapters 25–56 may have been physically associated with Constantine's own copy and transcribed as they were found at the end of the Leipzig MS; they shed precious light on such matters as military mobilization (bk.2, chs. 44–45) against Crete and Italy (cf. G. Huxley, *GRBS* 17 [1976] 295–300), while a diplomatic style sheet (bk.2, chs. 46–48) illuminates the hierarchy of STATES (Dölger, *Byzanz* 183–96; W. Ohnsorge, *BZ* 45 [1952] 320–39). The remaining chapters concern mostly officials' precedence, fees, and payments (bk.2, chs. 49–50, 55; 56 concerns BRINGAS). The language of *De ceremoniis* provides valuable testimony on vernacular usage (G. Moravcsik, 5 *CEB*, vol. 1 [Rome 1939] 514–20) and governmental technical terms, esp. of Latin origin

(partial list: A. Landi, *Koinonia* 2 [1978] 301–22).

A treatise, *On Imperial Expeditions*, incorrectly dubbed *Appendix ad librum I* (Reiske, *infra* 444–508), precedes *De ceremoniis* in the Leipzig MS. Constantine based it largely on a lost work by Leo Katakylas, *magistros* under Leo VI, and dedicated it to his son. It details the logistics of an imperial campaign into Anatolia (G. Huxley, *GRBS* 16 [1975] 87–93; Hendy, *Economy* 304–15) and concludes with records of TRIUMPHS by Justinian I, Theophilos, and Basil I.

ED. J.J. Reiske, *Constantini Porphyrogeniti imperatoris De ceremoniis aulae byzantinae*, 2 vols. (Bonn 1829–30), with indispensable comm. A. Vogt, *Constantin VII Porphyrogénète, Le livre des cérémonies*, 4 vols. (Paris 1935–40) (bk.1, chs. 1–83; with Fr. tr.). Corr. by Ph.I. Koukoules, *EEBS* 19 (1949) 75–115 and *EEPhSPA* 5 (1954–55) 48–65; A.J. Festugière, *RPhil* 45 (1971) 240–57.

LIT. J.B. Bury, "The Ceremonial Book of Constantine Porphyrogennetos," *EHR* 22 (1907) 209–27, 417–39. C. Mango, I. Ševčenko, "A New Manuscript of the *De ceremoniis*," *DOP* 14 (1960) 247–49. Guiland, *Institutions and Topographie*. Av. Cameron, "The Construction of Court Ritual: the Byzantine Book of Ceremonies," in Cannadine-Price, *Rituals* 106–36.

—M.McC.

DECIUS, a Roman aristocratic family that flourished under THEODORIC THE GREAT. Its connection with the earlier Roman family of the same name is unclear. Caecina Decius Albinus (*PLRE* 1:35–36), urban prefect of 402, probably a descendant of the CEIONII, may have been the founder of the Decius family. Caecina Decius Acinatius Albinus, urban prefect of 414, may be his son. The family is better known from the end of the 5th C., when Caecina Decius Maximus Basilius was consul (480), as were two of his brothers (484, 486). All four of Basilius's sons attained consular rank: Albinus in 493 (presumably the first consul appointed by Theodoric), Avenius (501), Theodorus (505), and Importunus (509). They formed, however, a house divided into two pairs of brothers, the first two supporting Pope SYMMACHUS, the other two his rival Laurentius. Circa 519 Albinus was involved in religious discussions to end the schism between Rome and Constantinople, and ca. 522 the *referendarius* Cyprian accused Albinus of having sent treacherous letters to Justin I. BOETHIUS attempted to defend Albinus, but they were both arrested. In 525, however, Theodoric sent Theodorus and Importunus with Pope JOHN I as ambassadors to Constantinople. Their relatives continued to serve as consuls until 534.

LIT. *PLRE* 2:1324. J. Moorhead, "The Decii under Theodoric," *Historia* 33 (1984) 107–15. —A.K.

DECORATIVE STYLE (*olim* "Family 2400," "Nicaea School," "Karahisar script") is the provisional name for a group of more than 100 illuminated Greek MSS of the 12th and 13th C. More than half are Gospel books; liturgical books are few and most of the group seem to reflect commissions for private use. The MSS are linked by their black ink and distinctive script; by recurrent iconographic patterns in their author portraits, Psalter cycles, and extensive Gospel cycles; by their exceptionally lavish ornament using carpet headpieces and extravagantly shaped canon tables; and by their decorative style with strongly profiled figures, ornate, screenlike architecture, and hot, pinkish color schemes. The group's few dated examples—two Gospel books of 1153 and 1156 (Vat. Barb. gr. 449; Gospel book owned by H.P. Kraus, New York), another from around 1208 (Moscow, Lenin Lib. F181 gr. 11), a Psalter from before 1213 (London, B.L. Add. 40753), and the

noted Gospel book in Berlin (Staatsbibl. gr. Quarto 66) from shortly before 1219—indicate that it flourished ca. 1150–ca. 1250. It includes most of the illuminated books surviving from the late 12th C. and comprises the only known group of luxury MSS from the period of the Latin occupation of Constantinople (1204–61). Its place of origin is unclear. Early examples are provincial (Cypro-Palestinian?), but the group's quality rises over time, and the later books may have been commissioned by members of the NICAENAN COURT.

LIT. A.W. Carr, *Byzantine Illumination, 1150–1250: The Study of a Provincial Tradition* (Chicago 1987). P. Canart, "Les écritures livresques chypriotes du milieu du XI^e siècle au milieu du XIII^e et le style palestino-chypriote 'epsilon'," *Scrittura e civiltà* 5 (1981) 17–76. H. Buchthal, "Studies in Byzantine Illumination of the Thirteenth Century," *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen* 25 (1985) 27–102. —A.W.C.

DECURIONES. See CURIALES.

DEEDS OF PURCHASE. See SALE.

DEER (ἔλαφος, νεβρός). Along with the gazelle and wild goat the deer was a popular object of HUNTING; miniatures depict scenes of dogs or domesticated leopards in pursuit of deer. According to legend, Basil I was pursuing on horseback a huge stag that suddenly dragged the emperor from his saddle and carried him away on its antlers. Venison was recommended during cool seasons, but not in summer when it was considered poisonous. The horns of the deer were viewed as symbols of marital infidelity. Andronikos I reportedly exhibited antlers of the deer he had hunted, ostensibly to show the size of the killed beasts but actually to mock the inhabitants of Constantinople for the adultery of their wives.

Christian legend described the hart or male deer as fighting and killing SNAKES, and in this capacity the deer became a symbol of Christ. The 4th-C. exegete Philon (of Karpathos or Karpasia?) describes Christ as turning toward the Gentiles and running like a gazelle or deer to the ends of the world (PG 40:76B). Since the nature of the deer is destructive, comments Cyril of Alexandria (PG 69:825A), and snakes flee from its smell and color, the Lord is rightly called *neβros* since he tramples on and destroys the power of adversity. Apostles, preachers, saints, and all the righteous



DEESIS. Deesis; mosaic, 13th C. South gallery of Hagia Sophia, Istanbul.

were also compared with harts as crushing the power of the serpent.

Representation in Art. The image of the hart or stag entered Christian art partly because of Psalm 42:1: "As the hart panteth after the water brook, so panteth my soul after thee, O God." The thirsting soul was associated particularly with BAPTISM, and the hart was widely used in 4th-C. BAPTISTERY decoration, esp. floor mosaics. Constantine I is supposed to have given the Lateran baptistery in Rome seven 80-pound silver harts that spouted water, and many other baptisteries had hart-shaped fountains or spigots. In Ravenna 5th-C. mosaics in the "Tomb" of GALLA PLACIDIA show harts flanking streams and the Tree of Life.

Harts appear beside Psalm 42 in the marginal PSALTERS and occasionally atop CANON TABLES.

LIT. Koukoules, *Bios* 5:416f. H. Leclercq, *DACL* 2.2:3301–07. —A.K., A.W.C.

DEESIS (δέησις, lit. "entreaty"), the word used since the 19th C. to identify as an image of intercession the Byz. composition of the Virgin Mary and JOHN THE BAPTIST standing on either side of Christ with their hands extended toward him. Byz. used the word *deesis* for this composition, too, but not for it exclusively: the Virgin Mary praying, or the Virgin or a donor presenting a petition were also called *deesis*. Intercession, moreover, was neither the exclusive nor the original

significance of the "deesis" composition. Initially, it was intended to express the privileged role of the Virgin and John as the first witnesses to Christ's divinity, an idea that continued into the 12th C. After the 9th C., however, the composition appeared more and more in contexts that suggested intercession: it adopted the imagery of the imperial court with Christ enthroned between Mary and John like an emperor enthroned between interceding courtiers; it became the core of the "Great Deesis" used on *TEMPLON* beams and devotional ivories, a composition developed from the liturgical prayers of intercession, and comprising Christ, the Virgin, and John flanked by *APOSTLES* and saints; and it formed the center of the *LAST JUDGMENT* and *Prophetic VISIONS* where the Virgin and John intercede for mankind. These intercessory applications came to dominate the composition's content.

LIT. A. Cutler, "Under the Sign of the Deesis: On the Question of Representativeness in Medieval Art and Literature," *DOP* 41 (1987) 145-54. C. Walter, "Two Notes on the Deesis," *REB* 26 (1968) 311-36. —A.W.C.

DEFENSOR CIVITATIS, an official of the late Roman Empire who functioned as a semiprivate advocate of provincial citizens in relations with the central government. The origin of the office remains unclear. It is probable that in the first half of the 4th C. in the eastern provinces of the empire (Egypt, Arabia) there existed the so-called *syndikoi* or *ekdikoi*, who acted as advisers of the urban populace in conflicts with the administration; in the West the institution was introduced by Valentinian I in a law of 368 (for Illyricum) as an element in the emperor's anti-aristocratic policy (A. Hoepffner, *RH* 182 [1938] 225-37). The first *defensores* were chosen from the upper class of former functionaries such as *AGENTES IN REBUS* or governors, and some had senatorial rank. The importance of the *defensores* declined gradually, but Justinian I attempted to return the office to its former significance. The functions of the *defensor* were vaguely defined; primarily he was to record all complaints and by so doing check the malpractice of local administrators. The *defensor* also had judicial authority in minor cases (Justinian I, nov. 15.3.2, 4). With the decline of the city in the 7th C. the office of *defensor civitatis* fell into disuse.

LIT. O. Seeck, *RE* 4 (1901) 2365-71. V. Mannino, *Ricerche sul "defensor civitatis"* (Milan 1984). B.R. Rees, "The

defensor civitatis in Egypt," *Journal of Juristic Papyrology* 6 (1952) 73-102. —A.K.

DEHES, village in northern Syria, in the mountains between Antioch and Chalkis ad Belum. The history of Dehes, as revealed by archaeological excavation, illustrates the region's economic development. The village prospered in the 4th-6th C., when the enlargement of an *OLIVE PRESS* suggests flourishing *OLIVE* cultivation. The buildings grew larger; the houses of nuclear families were transformed into the habitats of extended families. Construction techniques and planning improved—from an irregular to an orthogonal system. After the mid-6th C. the growth of Dehes stopped, even though coin finds indicate economic activity through the reign of Constans II and probably until 674. There are no signs of a catastrophic destruction, but slow decline led to the abandonment of the site ca. 900. Incidental Byz. coins of the 11th C. (down to Alexios I) testify to the Byz. penetration of northern Syria in that period.

LIT. J.P. Sodini, G. Tate et al., "Déhès (Syrie du Nord): Campagne I-III (1976-1978)," *Syria* 57 (1980) 1-208. —A.K.

DEIFICATION. See *THEOSIS*.

DEIPNON. See *ARISTON* AND *DEIPNON*; *LORD'S SUPPER*.

DEIR ZA'FARAN MONASTERY, the "Saffron monastery," also called Mar Hananiya, Monophysite monastic complex built ca. 530 northwest of DARA in Mesopotamia, 5 km east of Mardin in Turkey. Its early history is obscure, but Deir Za'faran should perhaps be identified with the monastery of Natapha where Monophysite bishops sought refuge during the persecution of Justin I. The well-preserved triconch main church of Deir Za'faran displays a complete example of the early 6th-C. type of ornate architectural sculpture found in fragments at, for example, AMIDA, DARA, and SERGIOPOLIS. Refounded in 793 by Mar Hananiya and again ca. 1125 after short periods of abandonment, from the 12th C. Deir Za'faran was the seat of the Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch. It formerly housed an important Syriac library, which contained a 6th-C. illuminated MS.

LIT. M.C. Mundell, "The Sixth Century Sculpture of the Monastery of Deir Za'faran in Mesopotamia," 15 *CEB* 2 (Athens 1981) 511-28. —M.M.M.

DEKANOS (δεκανός), originally a subaltern officer in the Roman army. From the 4th C. onward, the term designated palace messengers, esp. those of the empress. According to Kallinikos's vita of HYPATIOS OF ROUPHINIANAI (ed. Bartelink, ch. 41.13), there were mounted *dekanoi*. They served also as guardians of gates. JOHN LYDOS equates them with lictors (*rabdouchoi*). In the *Kletorologion* of Philotheos the *dekanos* is a modest functionary under the *PROTASEKRETIS*. According to the *De ceremoniis*, while accompanying the emperor on an expedition *dekanoi* were in charge of imperial papers (*chartia*). The seals of *dekanoi* are few; the owner of one (Laurent, *Corpus* 2, no. 215, 11th C.) was *protospatharios*, *praipositos*, and *dekanos*. The term was applied as well to hermits in command of ten other monks, to subaltern patriarchal officials, and to ecclesiastical *fossore*s whose function was to bury the dead. It was also used to render the Syriac *dihkan*, a notable of modest rank (P. Devos, *AB* 64 [1946] 95). The term does not appear in pseudo-Kodinos, but patriarchal *dekanoi* are mentioned in later hierarchical lists, at the very bottom (Darrouzès, *Offikia* 557.32).

In accord with the many functions served by *dekanoi*, figures labeled as such on works of art display considerable variety. On an early votive icon at Mt. Sinai, the *dekanos* Leo is shown wearing a square nimbus, a blue mantle with pearly borders over a yellow chiton, and a red belt and shoes. In the Paris Chrysostom (Paris, B.N. Coislin 79, fol. 2r) a dignitary standing at the emperor's left is inscribed *ho proedros kai dekanos*. He wears the red mantle decorated with golden ivy leaves of the *PROEDROS* over a blue chiton and a red hat with black tassels.

LIT. Bury, *Adm. System* 98. Guiland, *Institutions* 2:89-92. H.U. Instinsky, *LAC* 3:608-11. Weitzmann, *Sinai Icons*, no. 14. Spatharakis, *Portrait* 110, fig. 71. —A.K., A.C.

DELICT. In Justinianic law a textbook distinction was made between private offenses (*delicta*, *hamartemata*, *plemmelemata*) and crimes that were prosecuted through public CRIMINAL PROCEDURE (*crimina*, *enklemata*) (*Digest* 47-48). THEFT, ROBBERY, damage (see *LEX AQUILIA*), and HYBRIS were considered primary forms of civil wrongs (*Institutes* 4.1), while crimes included TREASON, ADUL-

TERY, MURDER, FORGERY, violence, embezzlement of public money, and kidnapping (4.18). Through the politically motivated expansion of criminal jurisdiction, however, this distinction had already largely lost its practical meaning. The terminology in the legal texts was vague, and post-Justinianic legal collections eventually placed even the regulations on damage in the area of criminal law (*Ecloga* 17.7-9; *Basil.* 60.2-5). The list of punishable offenses inherited from Roman law changed with the christianization of the law: actions that violated the church's sexual and moral standards were penalized ever more harshly. —L.B.

DELJAN, PETER, Bulgarian leader of a revolt in 1040-41; died after 1041. His Slavic name, meaning "victor," normally rendered (Ὁ)δελεάνος in Greek, was distorted by Psellos (*Chron.* 1:76, ch. 40.5-7) into Dolianos, from *dolos*, "treachery" (M. Dinić, *PKJIF* 30 [1964] 237f). The revolt, caused by a grave economic situation in Bulgaria, was worsened by the tax reform of JOHN THE ORPHANOTROPHOS, who replaced payment in-kind by cash. Deljan's origin is unknown; an 11th-C. historian (Skyl. 409.89-90) states that he was a slave who fled from Constantinople. Deljan proclaimed himself a son of SAMUEL OF BULGARIA. Marching from Belgrade, Deljan occupied Niš (Naissos) and Skopje. The troops of the theme of Dyrrachion, who joined the revolt, elected a soldier, Tichomir, *basileus* of Bulgaria. At a meeting of the two rebel groups (probably at Skopje), after an oration by Deljan, Tichomir was stoned to death. Deljan seized Dyrrachion, sent troops to Thebes, and marched on Thessalonike. Probably at this time the theme of Nikopolis joined the Bulgarian rebels; to Deljan's camp also came courtiers of MICHAEL IV, such as Manuel Ibatzes. ALOUSIANOS became Deljan's co-ruler, but in 1041 blinded him and betrayed him to Michael IV. The Byz. then subdued Bulgaria; Deljan and Ibatzes were brought to Constantinople for Michael's triumph. The entire story, from Deljan's rise to his blinding, is lavishly illustrated in the Madrid Skylitzes (Grabar-Manoussacas, *Skylitzès*, nos. 524-29, figs. 255-58).

LIT. Litavrin, *Bolgarija i Vizantija* 376-96. Ferluga, *Byzantium* 379-93. G. Cankova-Petkova, "Petür Deljan prez pogleda na negovite süvremennici," *Istoričeski pregled* 22.4 (1966) 97-106. A. Miltenova, M. Kajmakanova, "The Uprising of Petär Delyan (1040-1041) in a New Old Bulgarian Source," *BBul* 8 (1986) 227-40. —A.K., C.M.B., A.C.

DELLA PORTA, LEONARDO, first Cretan vernacular poet; born Chandax, Crete, shortly before 1346?, died Chandax? 1419/20. Born to a noble Orthodox family on Venetian-occupied Crete, Della Porta (Ντελλαπόρτας) received a broad education and was bilingual in Greek and Italian. He spent most of his career in the service of Venice as soldier and ambassador. He commanded a warship that fought the Genoese near Negroponte and campaigned in Italy during the Chioggia War (1378–81). In May 1389 he was made a lawyer (*dikegoros*) in Chandax; he served as Venetian envoy to the Ottoman sultan MURAD I, to THEODORE I PALAIOLOGOS of Morea, and ca. Nov. 1389 to the Hafsid sultan of Tunis, Abū al-Abbās Aḥmad (M.I. Manousakas, *EEBS* 27 [1957] 340–68). His final embassy, in 1403, was to the emir of MENTESHE at Miletos. Shortly thereafter he fell into disgrace and was imprisoned on charges of fathering an illegitimate child.

While in prison, Della Porta wrote four poems in political verse. The longest and most important poem is a dialogue between the poet and Truth, in which Della Porta protests his innocence and relates many autobiographical details. His other three poems are *On Retribution*, *On the Sufferings of Christ*, and prayers to Christ and the Virgin.

ED. Poem on retribution—"To 'Hypomnestikon' tou Leonardou Ntellaporta kai to pezo prototipo tou," ed. M.I. Manousakas, *EEBS* 39–40 (1972–73) 67–72.

LIT. M.I. Manusakas, "Un poeta cretese ambasciatore di Venezia a Tunisi e presso i Turchi: Leonardo Dellaporta e i suoi componimenti poetici," in *Venezia e l'Oriente fra tardo medioevo e rinascimento*, ed. A. Pertusi (Florence 1966) 283–307. Idem, "Nea anekdota benetika engrapha (1386–1420) peri tou Kretos poietou Leonardou Ntellaporta," *KretChron* 12 (1958) 387–434. Beck, *Volksliteratur* 9, 199–201. —A.M.T.

DELOS (Δῆλος), small island in the Cyclades in the central AEGEAN SEA, formerly a chief place of the cult of APOLLO. In late antiquity there was a substantial community on the island, largely dependent on trade. From the 7th C. the site was abandoned. The remains of several churches survive, including that of St. Kerykos south of the Agora (mid-6th C., with fragments of the ambo) and another near the Asklepion (perhaps late 7th C.). All of these are simple single-aisled basilicas.

LIT. D.I. Pallas, *RBK* 1:1186–90. A.C. Orlandos, "Délou chrétienne," *BCH* 60 (1936) 68–100. —T.E.G.

DELPHI (Δελφοί), city in central Greece on the southern slope of Mt. Parnassos, site of the ancient sanctuary and oracle of APOLLO; it attained civic status sometime before the 4th C. and enjoyed the attention of several 4th-C. emperors (C. Vatin, *BCH* 86 [1962] 229–41). Constantine I removed various monuments from Delphi, including the famous Tripod of Plataia, which was set up in the Hippodrome of Constantinople. The pagan cult apparently continued throughout the 4th C., and the Pythian Games were celebrated at least until 424 (*Cod. Theod.* XV 5.4). The city was probably abandoned in the 6th–7th C. Delphi was apparently a bishopric, although perhaps only briefly, since only a single incumbent is attested. A notitia of the late 8th or 9th C. mentions a bishopric of Delphi (*Notitiae CP*, ch.3.719).

The late antique city of Delphi was probably located in an area west of the sanctuary, where the remains of a large three-aisled basilica with figural mosaics were found. In the sanctuary itself only *spolia* of the 4th–6th/7th C. have been securely identified (G. Daux, *BCH* 86 [1962] 909–12). Recent excavation in the gymnasium suggests, however, that there was a church in that area.

LIT. *TIB* 1:143f. E. Dyggve, "Les traditions culturelles de Delphes et l'église chrétienne," *CahArch* 3 (1948) 9–28. —T.E.G.

DEMARCHOS (δήμαρχος), a term designating the leader of a circus FACTION. The *demarchoi* played a prominent role in the HIPPODROME and in imperial CEREMONIAL, at least until the 10th C. The term is first attested in 602; the reference in the PATRIA OF CONSTANTINOPLE to two *demarchoi* under Theodosios II is late and suspect. They are sometimes called *dioiketai* in popular usage (*Miracles* of ARTEMIOS, ch.21, p.26.25). Cameron (*infra*) considers *demarchoi* to have been the conductors of a choir or clique, whereas G. Manojlović (*Byzantion* 11 [1936] 630f) saw them as military commanders of the DEMOI.

By 842 or 843 at the latest (cf. Zacos, *Seals* 1, no.2017, for the seal of a *demarchos* John assigned to the 8th C.), the TAKTIKA show they had been coopted into the imperial hierarchy and held dignities such as HYPATOS or PROTOPATHARIOS. *De ceremoniis* (bk.1, chs. 63 [55]–65 [56], ed. Vogt 2:75–80; cf. bk.1, ch.89 [80], Vogt 2:178f) pre-

serves protocols for promoting *demarchoi* and their assistants: besides *chartoularioi* and notaries, a deputy (*deutereuon*); specialists, a poet and a composer (*melistes*), for acclamations; the CHARIOTEERS; and GEITONIARCHAI, whose function ("neighborhood supervisors") remains unclear.

Demarchoi of the 11th C. held posts such as SYMPONOS or LOGARIAS (Zacos, *Seals* 2, nos. 601–02; Laurent, *Corpus* 2, nos. 819, 1056). Although *demarchoi* continue to crop up in the sources, the nature and extent of the continuity of their institutional attributes is uncertain. In the early 14th C., "two of the *demarchoi*" monitored the grain trade and bread production of Constantinople (Patr. ATHANASIOS I of Constantinople, ep.100, pp. 256f, 429), a ceremonial book mentions their banners or *phlamoula* (pseudo-Kod. 196.28–33), and they administered Constantinople's GEITONIAI. During the siege of 1453, they played a military role (Matschke, *Fortschritt* 101f). When pseudo-Sphrantzes (Sphr. 386.24) relates that Constantine XI appointed GIUSTINIANI LONGO *demarchos* and *strategos* over 400 warriors, the word evidently has a military connotation.

LIT. Cameron, *Circus Factions* 258–61. R. Guiland, "Études sur l'Hippodrome de Byzance," *BS* 30 (1969) 1–17. A.P. Djakonov, "Vizantijskie dimy i fakcii," *VizSb* 158–60. Oikonomides, *Hommes d'affaires* 106f.

—A.K., M.McC., A.M.T.

DEMESNE, or domain, a Western medieval term designating that portion of the lands of an ESTATE not granted to tenants but retained by the landlord for his own use. When applied to Byz. conditions the term refers to those lands that were operated by the owner or his representatives, either by exploiting the labor of slaves or the ANGAREIAI of dependent peasants or by leasing the lands on a short-term basis. Despite the abundance of papyri we have only a very vague idea of the structure of demesne in Egypt. I. Fikhman (*Oksirinch gorod papirusov* [Moscow 1976] 73) suggests that the estates of the APIONS consisted of AUTOURGIA, where the "permanent personnel" and hired laborers worked (i.e., demesne), and the allotments of tenants; the *autourgia*-demesne formed the smaller part of the estates.

There is no data, even approximate, on the size of demesne until the end of the 11th C. when it appears astonishingly large. According to F. Dölger (*Bulletin of the International Committee of Histor-*

ical Sciences 5 [1933] 9) in 1073 the demesne of the estate of Baris composed about 4/5 of the entire property. Litavrin (*VizObsčestvo* 51f) calculates that in the 12th C. the demesne of the Lavra on Athos was 2 to 3 times larger than the tenures assigned to the *paroikoi*. The table composed by Ostrogorsky (*infra* 298) shows that in the 14th C. the demesne of Hilandar was five times greater than the peasant lands and the demesne of Zo-graphou almost 12 times greater. In a *praktikon* of 1318 the Xenophon monastery was granted 2170 *modioi* of arable land, only 70 of which were possessed by *paroikoi* (*Xénoph.*, no.12.41–42). Contrasting with this enormous proportion of domanial land is the insignificant quantity of corvée-*angareia* and the scarcity of domanial implements and livestock to till the soil, probably indicating that only a portion of the demesne was worked by MISTHIOI and laborers who used *doulika zeugaria*, whereas most of the demesne was leased for short terms. The term demesne has also been used by scholars to designate state lands and the private estates of emperors.

LIT. N. Svoronos, "Remarques sur les structures économiques de l'Empire byzantin au XIe siècle," *TM* 6 (1976) 51–63. Kazhdan, *Agrarnye otnošenija* 127–34. Ostrogorsky, *Féodalité* 296–302. R. His, *Die Domänen der römischen Kaiserzeit* (Leipzig 1896).

—A.K.

DEMETRIAS (Δημητριάς), city in east central Greece, on the Pagasitic Gulf, just southwest of modern Volos; the ancient city was of considerable importance because of its harbor. Prokopios (*Buildings* 4.3.5) names Demetrias among Thes-salian *poleis* allegedly refortified by Justinian I, but ancient urban life may have already come to an end by the beginning of the 6th C. (P. Marzolff in *Demetrias* 3 [Bonn 1980] 39f). Its territory was settled by the Slavic Belegezilai in the 7th–8th C. The city was placed either in the province of Thessaly (Hierokl. 642.3; *De them.* 2.41, ed. Pertusi, 88), or Hellas (*TheophCont* 364.12). It was plundered by the Arabs in 901 or 902 and by the rebellious Bulgarians in 1040. After 1204 Demetrias was granted to the empress EUPHROSYNÉ DOUKAINA KAMATERA and in 1210 to Margaret, widow of Boniface of Montferrat. After 1240 Demetrias was supposedly a possession of Manuel of Thessalonike, but in fact it was controlled by the family of the Melissenoi. In the late 13th C. Demetrias was contested between Byz. and the Vene-

tians of EUBOEIA. In 1310 it was plundered by the Catalans, who held it until at least 1381. From 1333 the inhabitants began to migrate to Volos; in 1393 Demetrios fell to the Turks. The bishop of Demetrios, known from 422, was the first suffragan of Larissa.

Byz. Demetrios occupied only a fraction of the ancient city. Besides traces of the walls, there survive the remains of a 4th-C. basilica and another (4th/5th C.) near the northern harbor, along with an aqueduct restored in Byz. times.

LIT. TIB 1:144f. S.C. Bakhuizen et al., *Die deutschen archäologischen Forschungen in Thessalien: Demetrios* 5 (Bonn 1987). —T.E.G.

DEMETRIOS (Δημήτριος), personal name. Common in antiquity, it became quite rare in the later Roman Empire (PLRE 1:247f, 2:352); not a single theologian of this name is known from that period, but a priest Demetrios was active in Carthage ca.393 (A. Mandouze, *Prosopographie chrétienne du Bas-Empire*, vol. 1 [Paris 1982] 271). St. Demetrios, the savior of Thessalonike in the 7th C., is an exceptional hero of this name in the hagiographical calendar (another Demetrios is said to have suffered under the Iconoclasts, the third was an obscure saint in Sicily). The name does not appear in Theophanes the Confessor. Skylitzes mentions St. Demetrios and three other Demetrioï, one of whom was Bulgarian and another Georgian ("Abasgian"). The name became popular in the later period and probably in the countryside; at any rate, in the acts of *Lavra*, vols. 2–3 (13th–15th C.), we find 222 Demetrioï, holding third place after John and George. —A.K.

DEMETRIOS, CHURCH OF SAINT. Located in Thessalonike, this was a major pilgrimage church in the central part of the city, probably built in the 3rd quarter of the 5th C. (W. Kleinbauer, *Byzantion* 40 [1970–71] 40) when the cult of St. DEMETRIOS was transferred from Sirmium. Tradition ascribes its construction to the Roman governor Leontios in 412/13; M. Vickers (BZ 67 [1974] 348) has identified him with Leontios, praetorian prefect in ca.435–41 (PLRE 2:669). The church is a cross-transept basilica, more than 55 m long, with five aisles, galleries, and low clerestory windows. Piers and column groups alternate in the nave and, although the columns are *spolia*, they

are arranged according to their color. The capitals of the nave arcade date from the 5th C. According to the Sotirious, the church was constructed on the site of several Roman buildings, including a bath and/or nymphaeum incorporated in the crypt under the sanctuary—this may have been the source of the sweet-smelling oil believed to flow from the saint's relics. Krautheimer (*infra* 474, n.49), however, suggests that the apse excavated beneath the present nave may be rather a remnant of an earlier church built by Leontios. A silver ciborium, probably located in the main aisle of the church, housed a silver image of the saint and became the focus of the cult (D. Pallas, *Zograf* 10 [1979] 44–58). The church was damaged by fire between 629 and 634, and restored immediately thereafter; it was again virtually destroyed by fire in 1917, and the present basilica was rebuilt, as far as possible with original materials.

Much of the interior decoration of the church was destroyed in the various fires, but a number of mosaic panels have survived; others are known through texts or from watercolors made shortly before the fire of 1917 (R. Cormack, *BSA* 64 [1969] 17–52). The mosaics do not appear to have ever constituted a coherent program, but are a series of independently commissioned dedicatory panels. Some date before the 7th-C. fire, others just afterward or as late as the 11th C. While the earliest ones show the saint *orans* approached by donors (or worshipers) with their children, sometimes in landscape settings, the late 7th-C. panels celebrate the saint's actions on behalf of the larger community (e.g., his rescue of the city from the "barbarous flood of barbarian ships," probably a naval attack of 647). The increased abstraction of design and elegance of costume of these later 7th-C. mosaics, executed after the fire, may indicate a closer connection with the art of Constantinople. There were also frescoes of unknown date, now lost, depicting the life and miracles of the saint. One extant fresco depicts an ADVENTUS, probably that of Justinian II into Thessalonike in 688.

A chapel dedicated to St. EUTHYMOS THE GREAT, added to the southeast corner of the church, was frescoed in 1303 at the behest of Michael the *protostrator* (Michael Tarchaneïotes GLABAS) and his wife Maria, the couple that was also responsible for the decoration of the *parekklesion* of the Church of the PAMMAKARISTOS in Constantinople.

The frescoes, which include a cycle of the life of the saint (T. Gouma-Peterson, *ArtB* 58 [1976] 168–83), were executed by painters working in a style closely related to that found in the PROTATON on Mt. Athos; the paintings help confirm the Thessalonican origins of the artists of the Milutin school (see MICHAEL [ASTRAPAS] AND EUTYCHIOS). Another Church of St. Demetrios in Thessalonike was located on the seashore (S.D. Mantopoulou, *Makedonika* 20 [1980] 175–91).

LIT. G.A. and M.G. Soteriou, *He basilike tou Hagiou Demetriou Thessalonikes* (Athens 1952). A. Xyngopoulos, *He basilike tou Hagiou Demetriou Thessalonikes* (Thessalonike 1946). Krautheimer, *ECBArch* 125–28. Janin, *Église centres* 365–72. P. Lemerle, "Saint Démétrius de Thessalonique et les problèmes du martyrium et du transept," *BCH* 77 (1953) 660–94. Th. Papazotos, in *Aphieroma ste mneme St. Pelekani-dou* (Thessalonike 1983), 365–76. —T.E.G., N.P.S.

DEMETRIOS ANGELOS DOUKAS (Angelodoukas in a MS of 1244—L.Politis, *BZ* 51 [1958] 269f), *despotes* of Thessalonike from before 25 Sept. 1244–Dec. 1246; born ca.1220, died Lentiana? in Bithynia. Younger son of THEODORE KOMNENOS DOUKAS, Demetrios succeeded his brother John as ruler of Thessalonike; the title of *despotes* was bestowed on him, as on his brother, by John III Vatatzes. Some charters of Demetrios, including a "chrysobull with a seal of silver," are mentioned in the inventory of Hilandar (A. Solovjev, *SemKond* 10 [1938] 33–38, nos. 9, 39, 54, 55), but have since disappeared. Demetrios's brief reign ended in 1246, when some of the leading citizens of Thessalonike organized a conspiracy to surrender the city to the Nicaean emperor. There was little Demetrios could do: he was young and dissolute and real power lay in the hands of the chief families. Following his deposition, he was imprisoned at Lentiana, where he probably died.

LIT. Nicol, *Epiros* I 141–47. Polemis, *Doukai* 93, no.46. —M.J.A.

DEMETRIOS OF LAMPE, diplomat and secular theologian; born Lampe (near Atramyttion), fl. 1160s. Kinnamos reports that after missions to Italy and Germany, Demetrios rejected the Western teaching that Christ is at the same time inferior to God the Father and equal to Him (Kinn. 251–56). He had a disputation with Manuel I, who defended this doctrine and emphasized the existence of two natures in Christ. Then Deme-

trios submitted a treatise in which he developed his concept. Kinnamos, who thought that only professors, ecclesiastics, and emperors were entitled to discuss theological subtleties, avoids presentation of the core of the dispute. No richer is the information provided by the 12th-C. German theologian Gerhoch of Reichersberg, who knew that Hugo ETERIANO argued against Demetrios. Despite the resistance of the emperor and of Patr. LOUKAS CHRYSOBERGES, Demetrios found many partisans among the élite of the capital, and his case stirred up heated discussion at the local council of 1166–67 in Constantinople (see under CONSTANTINOPLE, COUNCILS OF).

LIT. P. Classen, "Das Konzil von Konstantinopel 1166 und die Lateiner," *BZ* 48 (1955) 339–68. —A.K.

DEMETRIOS OF THESSALONIKE, saint, often called the "Great Martyr" and *myroblytos*, "giving forth myrrh"; feastday 26 Oct. The early lists of martyrs (including a Syriac martyrology of 411) mention Demetrios (or Demetrios the deacon) in Sirmium. By the 6th C., however, Demetrios was closely connected with Thessalonike, where he reportedly worked many posthumous miracles; Emp. Maurice tried to obtain relics of Demetrios from Thessalonike, but in response to his request Archbp. Eusebios stated that the inhabitants of the city did not know the site of his interment (Lemerle, *Miracles* 1:89:20–25).

Demetrios's biography, unknown before the 9th C., is preserved in three versions: that of Photios (*Bibl.*, cod.255), paralleled by an anonymous Greek account and a Latin translation of ANASTASIOS BIBLIOTHECARIUS produced in 876; the anonymous story in Vat. gr. 821 (11th-C. MS); and that of SYMEON METAPHRASTES. According to the version known to Photios, Demetrios was a "teacher of piety" executed by Emp. Maximian in Thessalonike when the emperor was returning from the stadium where the young Christian NESTOR defeated in single combat and killed Maximian's favorite, the gladiator Lyaïos. There is no link between Demetrios and Nestor in Photios's version—Demetrios was murdered only because Maximian "was intoxicated by wrath and impiety." Nestor appears as the actual hero of the story, and Demetrios only as a passive victim; nothing is said about his background.

The link between the two martyrs was created

(or developed?) in the 10th C. In the version of Symeon Metaphrastes, Demetrios inspires Nestor, and in the *Synaxarion of Constantinople* Nestor is said to have come to the arena with the cry: "God of Demetrios, help me!" Metaphrastes stresses emphatically (PG 116:1185A) that Demetrios did not become famous through the brilliance of his ancestors; in contrast, in Vat. gr. 821, Demetrios is depicted as a noble senator, military commander, and *anthypatos* of Hellas (PG 116:1173B). Photios mentions Leontios, the future eparch (governor) of Illyricum, who supposedly found in Thessalonike the place "in which the body of the martyr was laid to rest" and built there "the famous shrine." The parallel anonymous Greek text adds that it was near the stadium and public bath. The identification of Leontios causes problems since Leontios, prefect of Illyricum, was the addressee of two laws of Theodosios II issued in 412 and 413 (*Cod.Theod.* VII 4.32, XII 1.177), but M. Vickers (*BZ* 67 [1974] 348) rejects this date and places him ca.435-41 (*PLRE* 2:669). The story of Leontios was developed (AASS, Oct. 4:94E-95A): he allegedly attempted to remove Demetrios's relics from Thessalonike but was stopped by the saint himself; so he took only Demetrios's garment, and brought it to Sirmium, where he built another church. Vickers hypothesizes that the cult of Demetrios originated in Sirmium, whereas P. Lemerle (*Miracles* 2:202) argues that it was transferred from Thessalonike to Sirmium.

Miracles performed by Demetrios were described by many authors: the earliest accounts are those of JOHN I, archbishop of Thessalonike in the first half of the 7th C., and an anonymous late 7th-C. writer. The old legends are a very important source for the history of the Slav attacks on Thessalonike. The topic of the sufferings and miracles of Demetrios was very popular in Byz. literature; there are later versions of his miracles—Niketas of Thessalonike, mid-11th C. (A. Kazhdan, *Byzantion* 52 [1982] 420-22); John Staurakios, late 13th-C. (I. Dujčev, *AB* 100 [1982] 677-81)—and *enkomia* in his honor by Archbp. John (D. Hemmerdinger-Iliadou, *BalkSt* 1 [1960] 49-56), Archbp. Plotinos (V. Tūpkova-Zaimova, *BBulg* 3 [1970] 119-23), Leo VI, Eustathios of Thessalonike, Constantine Akropolites, Nicholas Kabasilas, etc. The cult of Demetrios was widely spread among the Slavs.

Representation in Art. The numerous extant 7th-C. portraits of the saint in his grave church in Thessalonike (see DEMETRIOS, CHURCH OF SAINT) celebrate the role of Demetrios as protector both of individuals and of the city as a whole. The most important image of the saint, which was housed in the ciborium, is known, however, only from texts (Cormack, *infra*). There was once a mosaic (7th C.?) on the façade of the church depicting Demetrios's cure of the prefect Marianos and inside the church were frescoes of the saint's martyrdom. But extensive cycles with relevant episodes from the life of St. Nestor as well as Demetrios's rescue of Thessalonike from the Slavs exist only elsewhere; on a 12th-C. silver reliquary in the Vatopedi monastery on Mt. Athos (A. Xyngopoulos, *ArchEph* [1936] 101-36; A. Grabar, *DOP* 5 [1950] 3-5) and in wall painting (MISTRA and SERBIA). ENKOLPIA containing tiny figures of the saint lying in his tomb (A. Grabar, *DOP* 8 [1954] 307-13) served as PILGRIM MEDALLIONS and PILGRIM TOKENS.

Originally portrayed as a youthful princely martyr clad in tunic and *chlamys*, the image of Demetrios as a military saint had emerged by the 10th C. Demetrios was thereafter often paired with St. GEORGE; the two are shown side by side in full armor or both on horseback, and differ essentially only in their hairstyle (that of Demetrios being less full and rarely covering the ears). His image as a warrior was used by Alexios I Komnenos on his coins (Hendy, *Coinage* 437).

SOURCES. P. Lemerle, *Les plus anciens recueils des Miracles de s. Démétrius*, 2 vols. (Paris 1979-81). PG 116:1081-1426.

LIT. BHG 496-547g. Delehay, *Saints militaires* 103-09. F. Barišić, *Čuda Dimitrija Solunskog kao istoriski izvori* (Belgrade 1953). P. Lemerle, "Note sur les plus anciennes représentations de Saint Démétrius," *DChAE* 10 (1981) 1-10. A. Xyngopoulos, *Ho eikonographikos kyklos tes zoes tou Hagiou Demetriou* (Thessalonike 1970). C. Walter, *Studies in Byzantine Iconography* (London 1977), pt.V [1973], 157-78. J. Myslivec, *LCI* 6:41-45. R. Cormack, *Writing in Gold* (New York 1985) 50-94. —A.K., N.P.S.

DEMETRIOS PALAIOLOGOS, *despotes* of Morea (1449-60); born Constantinople ca.1407/8, died Adrianople 1470 as monk David. Fifth son of MANUEL II, he is described by Zakythinos (*infra* 241) as ambitious but of immoral character. A mysterious flight to Hungary in 1423 suggests difficulties with his family. In 1442 he besieged

Constantinople in league with the Turks (Lampros, *Pal. kai Pel.* 2:52-57 and I. Vogiatzides, *NE* 18 [1924] 78-84). Despite his anti-Unionist views, he accompanied John VIII to the Council of FERRARA-FLORENCE (1437-39). When CONSTANTINE XI became emperor in 1449, Demetrios left his appanage on the Black Sea for Mistra to share the despotate of the MOREA in its final years with his brother THOMAS PALAIOLOGOS. Throughout his career Demetrios was willing to seek accommodations with the Turks; he requested assistance from the sultan during his conflicts with Thomas. After surrendering Mistra to the Ottomans in 1460, Demetrios married his daughter Helena to MEHMED II and was treated honorably by his son-in-law. He moved to Adrianople and received sizable revenues from Ainos and the islands of Lemnos, Imbros, Thasos, and Samothrace.

LIT. Zakythinos, *Despotat* 1:119f, 188, 216, 241-87, 356. Papadopoulos, *Genealogie*, no.96. PLP, no.21454. —A.M.T.

DEMOCRACY (*δημοκρατία*). In a shift that illuminates the social distribution of political power in Byz., democracy's earlier meanings, which had relatively positive connotations ("popular government," "republic," or even "Roman Empire"), faded by the 5th C. and the term assumed the pejorative overtones that dominated Byz. usage: "disturbance" or "riot" associated with "the people" or lower classes (DEMOI).

LIT. G.E.M. de Ste. Croix, *The Class Struggle in the Ancient Greek World from the Archaic Age to the Arab Conquests* (Ithaca 1981) 300-26. S. Vryonis, Jr., "Byzantine Demokratia and the Guilds in the Eleventh Century," *DOP* 17 (1963) 289-314. G.I. Bratianu, "'Démocratie' dans le lexique byzantin à l'époque des Paléologues," in *Mém.L.Petit* 32-40. —M.McC.

DEMOGRAPHY. In broad terms, historical demography addresses two interrelated issues: the absolute size of population in a city or region and the composition and natural growth (or decline) of such populations. The former is influenced by incidents of natural catastrophe (esp. famines and epidemics), by wars, foreign immigration, and by patterns of migration from one district to another or between urban areas and their hinterlands. The latter is determined by such considerations as average duration of women's childbearing years; rates of fertility and infant mortality; the normal

age of MARRIAGE; LIFE EXPECTANCY; quality of DIET and medical care; and by the size, wealth, and cohesiveness of FAMILY/household units. Where the number of households is known, a coefficient can be employed to estimate total population; where more complete documentation exists, this population may be broken down according to age and sex and compared to a statistical model ("life table"), which in turn permits calculations of birth and mortality rates, expectations of life at various ages, and rates of population replacement.

Unfortunately, sources for Byz. demography remain fragmentary. Although some judicial compilations provide valuable insights regarding the size and stability of litigant families, Byz. authors did not otherwise ordinarily concern themselves with demographic issues, and most information must be derived either from physical evidence or from surviving government records. Excavations reveal both a qualitative (desertion or repopulation) and a quantitative picture: using as data the size and number of excavated houses, A. Jakobson (*VizVrem* 19 [1961] 154f) calculated that the average 10th-11th C. city had about 5,000 inhabitants. Osteological material and remnants of grain furnish evidence on medieval diet, while funerary inscriptions provide data on births and mortality, although in many cases this information is insufficient or presented in a manner unsuitable for statistical analysis (Patlagean, *Structure*, pt.IX [1978], 169-86).

The most important sources are PRAKTIKA, primarily of 14th-C. southern Macedonia. Many offer detailed listings for members of peasant families dwelling on the estate; since a number of areas underwent recurrent assessments—in 1300-01, 1316-18, 1320-21, and 1338-41—their *praktika* give some indications concerning household stability. At the same time, *praktika* should be employed with extreme caution. As fiscal documents, they tend to omit information deemed inessential for taxation; in particular the ages of the population are not recorded—nor is it certain at what age a child was first enrolled—and any division into age groups can thus form at best only a rough approximation (P. Karlin-Hayter, *Byzantion* 48 [1978] 501-18). It also seems likely that women, when not acting as heads of households, were persistently undercounted, and the registers do not appear always to have taken fully

into account either newly arrived families or those who no longer worked on the estate but might remain in the same (or a neighboring) village (D. Jacoby, *Speculum* 61 [1986] 677f).

Literary texts provide isolated population figures for individual cities: 4th-C. Antioch, 150,000–200,000 inhabitants; 6th-C. Jerusalem, 53,000; 10th-C. Thessalonike, 200,000 (an exaggeration); 11th-C. Edessa, 35,000; 13th-C. Nicaea, 30,000–35,000. The population of Constantinople (Jacoby, *Société*, pt.I [1961], 81–109) could not have been larger than 400,000 in the 5th–6th C. All attempts to provide a reliable estimate for the entire population of Byz. have failed, but it is possible to chart its broad fluctuations over the centuries. The steady growth of the 4th and 5th C. seems to have given way during the 6th and 7th C. to a precipitous decline under the recurring impact of FAMINES, PLAGUES (esp. that of 542), and foreign invasions; this was followed in turn by a period of slow recovery. Evidence for the 11th and 12th C. is ambiguous: economic expansion and a modest urban revival indicate growth, while political decline suggests stagnation. The territorial losses of the late 11th C. cost the empire a large portion of its population, and from 1200 onward the areas that remained appear to have experienced virtually continuous demographic regression, exacerbated during the 14th C. by civil wars, the Black Death, and the disruptions caused in Macedonia by marauding mercenaries of the CATALAN GRAND COMPANY; by 1450 the population of Constantinople itself did not exceed 40,000–50,000.

We also possess information regarding certain aspects of fecundity and life expectancy. Although the legal age for marriage was set at 12 (women) and 14 (men), the usual age appears to have been older (about 15 and 20, respectively); women might normally remain fertile until age 40–45. Infant mortality remained high in all periods (perhaps as great as 50 percent), and the presence of religiously inspired CELIBACY and heretical groups that rejected procreation probably exercised a significant—if unquantifiable—limiting influence on birthrates (Patlagean, *Structure*, pt.VIII [1969], 1353–69). In addition, ABORTIONS, CONTRACEPTION, and abandonment of infants are all attested, esp. in the early centuries. Evidence from 4th–7th-C. Palestine indicates that

half the adult male population died by age 45, three-quarters by 65, and that women suffered significantly higher rates of early mortality.

Our knowledge of life expectancy in succeeding centuries must remain inferential: NICHOLAS I MYSTIKOS (ep.29, ed. Jenkins-Westerink, 200.47–49) states that few of his contemporaries survived to 70, while Basil PEDIADITES (S. Lampros, *Kerkyraika anekdota* [Athens 1882] 48.21–3) considered an individual over 60 to be decrepit; nevertheless a comparison reveals the possibility that the Byz. in the 11th–12th C. had a longer life expectancy than their predecessors in the 4th–6th C. and their Western contemporaries (A. Kazhdan, *ByzF* 8 [1982] 116f). The subsequent centuries probably experienced a demographic crisis: A. Laiou (*FM* 6 [1984] 279–84) suggests that in 13th-C. Epiros the number of children per family was below the level required for the population to replace itself; she also calculates (*Peasant Society* 296) that in 14th-C. Macedonia 71 percent of females died by age 45 and 74 percent of males by age 50.

LIT. Patlagean, *Pauvreté* 73–112. J.C. Russell, *Ancient and Medieval Population* (Philadelphia 1958) 92–94, 99–101. A. Bryer, H. Lowry, *Continuity and Change in Late Byzantine and Early Ottoman Society* (Birmingham–Washington, D.C., 1986). —A.J.C.

DEMOI (δῆμοι), without further qualifiers, usually means “the people.” It can refer to members of the circus FACTIONS and is sometimes used this way alongside *meros* or *demotai*, esp. in technical texts like DE CEREMONIIS. Th. Uspensky (*VizVrem* 1 [1894] 1–16) mistakenly connected the political districts of ancient Athens, also called *demoi*, to the very different Byz. meanings. This misidentification fueled the notion that factions resembled political parties and preserved some vestige of ancient Hellenic DEMOCRACY, which in turn led to far-reaching interpretations of 5th–7th-C. Byz. history based on the interplay of factional riots, the presumed or attested factional loyalties of various emperors, and the social, economic, and religious identities ascribed to each faction. In fact, as Sjuzumov and Cameron (*infra*) independently demonstrated, the *demoi*, whether in the singular or plural, have little to do with districts or political parties in the modern sense.

LIT. G. Manojlović, “Le peuple de Constantinople,” *Byzantion* 11 (1936) 617–716. M. Ja. Sjuzumov, “Političeskaja bor’ba vokrug zrelšč Vostočno-Rimskoj imperii IV veka,” *Učenyje zapiski Ural’skogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta imeni A.M. Gor’kogo* (Sverdlovsk 1952) 88–98. Cameron, *Circus Factions* 25–39. A.A. Čekalova, “K voprosu o dimach v rannej Vizantii,” *VizOč* 4 [1982] 37–53. —M.McC.

DEMONOLOGY. Byz. demonology is substantially derived from the patristic synthesis laid down by John of Damascus. Witch hunts appear not to have taken place, as in the West, but there was widespread interest in the theme of DEMONS not only among the common people but among scholars as well. The latter is instanced in two systematic tracts falsely attributed to Michael PSELLOS. In the longer of the two, *Timotheos, or On demons*, the unknown author uses the form of a Platonic dialogue to provide an overview of the opinions of the pagans and distinguishes six kinds of demons, which dwell in the vicinity of the moon, in the air, on the earth, in the water, under the earth, and in the darkness. The author also states that the Euchites or MESSALIANS, who are the focus of the dialogue, erred when they saw Satan as the Son of God, since he is simply the prince of lies, cast into the darkness because he thought he could be equal to God. Demonology was frequently connected with idolatry.

SOURCES. P. Gautier, “Le De daemonibus du Ps.-Psellos,” *REB* 38 (1980) 105–94. Idem, “Ps.-Psellos, *Graecorum opinionum de daemonibus*,” *REB* 46 (1988) 85–107.

LIT. P. Ioannou, “Les croyances démonologiques au XIe s. à Byzance,” 6 *CEB*, vol. 1 (Paris 1950) 245–60. J. Grosdidier de Matons, “Psellos et le monde de l’Irrationnel,” *TM* 6 (1976) 325–49. R.P.H. Greenfield, *Traditions of Belief in Late Byzantine Demonology* (Amsterdam 1988). —G.P.

DEMONS (δαίμονες, also *allotrioi*, lit. “strangers, aliens”), evil spirits. In addition to rejecting the view that demons were offspring of marriages between angels and daughters of Cain (Gen 6:1–4), Christianity also repudiated the dualist idea of uncreated demons, who were creators of the material world. God created them good and with free will, but they chose the path of evil because of their envy of man. Sometimes they were identified with pagan gods.

Although these fallen ANGELS were incorporeal (contrary to previous views acknowledging a certain kind of body in demons), they were not free from physical desires. They inhabited the earth

(esp. dark places like tombs and caves) and its surrounding atmosphere, and appeared to men in the disguise of animals (DOGS, SNAKES, etc.), as ETHIOPIANS, robbers (G. Bartelink, *VigChr* 21 [1967] 12–24), women, and so on. Rarely represented in art before the 11th C., demons are shown thereafter as small, usually black creatures who travel in packs. They beset Christ in scenes of his Ministry, pull monks from the ladder of JOHN KLIMAX, and collectively stand in for the DEVIL (Galavaris, *Liturgical Homilies*, fig.459). In contrast to Western medieval versions, they are usually absent from scenes of the Last Judgment. They were hostile to mankind, producing crop failures, storms, famines, droughts, and other disasters, and attempted to divert men from righteous ways. Demons were esp. active in seducing hermits. Beginning with the vita of ANTONY THE GREAT by Athanasios of Alexandria (W. Schneemelcher in *Pietas* [Münster/Westf. 1980] 381–92), hagiographic literature presents manifold scenes of the personal struggle of saints against demons. Especially dangerous was the so-called demon of midday (Ps 90:6), who infused the human heart with AKEDIA, or torpor and dejection. The demon of midday was sometimes identified as ARTEMIS (C.D. Müller, *JbAChr* 17 [1974] 95–98).

Some men sold their souls to demons for the sake of power or glory, while others were possessed by demons who caused sickness, esp. mental derangement. Demons had their place in the cosmic development of history: not only were they seducers of men (from the days of Adam and Eve), they were accusers of sinners: demons grabbed their victims’ souls and tortured them in HELL. The best protection against demons was piety and its material manifestations such as the sign of the cross, holy water, incense, amulets, holy books (particularly the Psalms), icons, and sincere prayers. A sure and effective defense against demons was to respond with scriptural passages, to ask the demon its name, or to mock and ridicule it. There was a special service of EXORCISM to rid possessed people of demons.

LIT. G. Closen, *Die Sünde der “Söhne Gottes”* (Rome 1937). J. Rivière, “Role du démon au jugement particulier chez les Pères,” *RSR* 4 (1924) 43–64. A. Grün, *Der Umgang mit dem Bösen* (Münsterschwarzach 1980). G. Switek, “Wüstenväter und Dämonen,” *Geist und Leben* 37 (1964) 340–58. J. Chrysavgis, “The Monk and the Demon,” *Nicolaus* 13 (1986) 265–79. —G.P., A.C.

DEMOSIARIOS (δημοσιάριος, from *demosion*, "state treasury"), a fiscal category of peasants whose nature is unclear. *Demosiarioi* appear in only a handful of documents from the mid-10th through the mid-11th C.; in these documents they are sometimes called *PAROIKOI* and are often associated with *exkoussatoi tou dromou* (see *EXKOUSSATOI*) and *STRATIOTAI*, two fiscal categories of peasants with specific obligations toward the state. The traditional interpretation has been that *demosiarioi* were peasants settled on imperial domains. Ostrogorsky, however, hypothesized that *demosiarioi* were *paroikoi* held by the state who owed the state the same fiscal and service obligations that private *paroikoi* owed their lords. Basing his reasoning on the appearance of the term *demosiarios* and later terms such as *demosiakos paroikos* (which he considers to be equivalent), Ostrogorsky concludes that *demosiarioi* were in effect state *paroikoi* and that an independent free peasantry disappeared during the 10th C. and was replaced by an agrarian system in which there were only state *paroikoi* and private *paroikoi*. On the other hand, Lemerle, along with other scholars who reject Ostrogorsky's hypothesis, maintains the traditional view and suggests that *demosiarioi* (and the *dedemosiemenoi paroikoi* found in a few 11th-C. documents) were a special category of peasants who lived on state domains and, while these might well be called state *paroikoi* in that they held land on condition of fiscal and service obligations toward the state, they were perhaps not numerous and did not, during the 10th and early 11th C., signal the disappearance of a free peasantry. It is plausible that the *VILLEINS* of the Commune, on the Venetian territory of Romania, distinct from the *villani* or *parichi* of individuals (Jacoby, *Recherches*, pt.I [1976], 35f, pt.III [1975], 149), originated from Byz. *demosiarioi* of the period before 1204.

LIT. Lemerle, *Agr. Hist.* 182–87. Ostrogorsky, *Paysannerie* 11–24, rev. J. Karayannopoulos, *BZ* 50 (1957) 168–72. Litavrin, *VizObščestvo* 27–39. D. Jacoby, *HC* 6:208. –M.B.

DEMOSIOS (δημόσιος), term designating the state treasury, fisc, a meaning also found in antiquity. In Byz. the fisc was called *demosios* primarily as a recipient of fines—in these cases the term is used side by side with *VESTIARION* (Dölger, *Beiträge* 29)—or as a recipient of confiscated property or escheat (e.g., *Ecloga* 2.7). The use of the term *demosios* as

recipient of fines is testified to by later acts, for example, a purchase deed of 1373 (*Docheiar.*, no.42.81). Another use of the word is the definition of the fisc as owner: thus the *Ecloga* (13.1) mentions the lease of land from the *demosios* or other institutions. In the same way, a *prostagma* of Manuel II from 1409 contrasts the property of the *demosios* and that of monasteries. Accordingly, *ta demosia* denotes state properties; a chrysobull of 1311 speaks of officials administering *ta demosia* (*Pantel.*, no.10.65–66). More rarely the term was employed in connection with tax collecting; thus in 1344 the *protovestiarites* John Doukas expressed his concern that the *demosios* should not suffer in the case of penury (*Docheiar.*, no.23.6–7). The term *demosios kanon* or *to demosion* was, however, broadly employed for tax. It remains disputable whether the distinction between *demosios* and the private imperial (*basilikos*) treasury, drawn in certain texts (e.g., *Ecloga*, 16.4) reflects reality.

LIT. Litavrin, *VizObščestvo* 24–28.

–A.K.

DEMOSTHENES, Athenian orator; born 382 B.C., died 322. He remained "the Orator" for the Byz., who referred to him frequently and used quotations from his speeches through the 15th C. Libanios and Zosimos drafted short biographies of Demosthenes based on ancient sources; numerous papyri from Byz. Egypt contain texts of Demosthenes. A statue of the orator in the Baths of Zeuxippos in Constantinople was described in verse by CHRISTODOROS OF KOPTOS. Demosthenes was among those classical authors in whom interest was revived in the 9th C. Photios (*Bibl.*, cod.265) gives a detailed biography of Demosthenes (based on pseudo-Plutarch), and the earliest surviving MS, Paris, B.N. gr. 2934, is dated by Dils (*infra*, vol. 1 [1983] 7) to the 9th C. Interest in the orator continued in the 10th C., to which four more MSS are dated. In the *Souda* a biographical note was compiled. The MSS were supplied with scholia in which on rare occasions "contemporary" notes were inserted, for example, "Byzantion is now Constantinople" (in Or. 5.25.40) or "Perinthos, a Thracian polis, now named Herakleia" (in Or. 11.3.10).

For NICHOLAS OF MYRA Demosthenes was the embodiment of virtue compared to the wretched orator Aeschines (*RhetGr.*, ed. Walz, 1:358.8–9) and superior even to Pericles (1:381.1–3). TZETZES

(*Historiae* 6.67–188), on the contrary, relying upon a tradition hostile to Demosthenes (based on Aeschines, among others), presents the orator as a Scythian by birth, effeminately dressed, perverse, and easily bribed. Metochites developed the same approach in his comparison of Demosthenes and ARISTEIDES (ed. M. Gigante, *ParPass* 20 [1965] 51–92). Even though as a rhetorician Demosthenes was superior to Aristeides, he paid the price of living in a democracy, being ensnared by his passions, and adapting his views to the political situation. Aristeides, on the other hand, who lived in the security of the Roman Empire, was concerned only about the serenity of his style.

ED. Scholia demosthenica, ed. M. Dils, 2 vols. (Leipzig 1983–86).

LIT. E. Drerup, *Demosthenes im Urteile des Altertums* (Würzburg 1923) 166–241. Wilson, *Scholars* 260f. E. de Vries-van der Velden, *Théodore Métochite* (Amsterdam 1987) 194–97, 205f. M. Dils, "Palaeologian Scholia on the Orations of Demosthenes," *ClMed* 36 (1985) 257–59. –A.K.

DEMOTIC. See COPTIC LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE; EGYPT.

DE OBSIDIONE TOLERANDA (How to Withstand Sieges), conventional title of an anonymous treatise on siege warfare. References to the capture of Thessalonike (904) and the fall of Kitros (924) provide a *terminus post quem* for the work; mention of the "ferocious Bulgars" reflects its focus on the empire's western regions. The author reviews the initial steps to be taken once enemy intentions were known, including gathering and rationing foodstuffs; collecting raw materials (e.g., wood, linen, flax, cotton, hemp) for weapons and other equipment, while destroying any source of enemy provisionment; and evacuating the elderly or unfit. He then lists the town's craftsmen (carpenters; tailors; smiths; makers of rope, weapons, and saddles) who were to be put to work on necessary items and tasks. Further defensive measures included digging a moat around the wall and setting traps to impede enemy assault, while the walls were heightened, repaired, or doubled where necessary. Citizens and soldiers were properly mobilized and a system of patrols was organized; criminals, a potential source of treachery, were to be rounded up. Forays to ambush the enemy en route or to ravage their land were advised. Though fully attentive to contemporary

conditions, the author frequently supports his recommendations with examples drawn from the past, revealing a wide knowledge of earlier Byz. and classical historians and tacticians.

ED. *Anonymus de obsidione toleranda*, ed. H. van den Berg (Leiden 1947).

LIT. J. Teall, "Byzantine Urbanism in the Military Handbooks," in *The Medieval City*, ed. H.A. Miskimin, D. Herlihy, A.L. Udovitch (New Haven–London 1977) 201–05.

–E.M.

DE PECULIIS, a special tract on family property law, esp. on the separate property of children (*PECULIUM*) and their assets that could not be acquired (*aprosporista*) by the person who had authority over them. Demetrios CHOMATENOS attributed the work to Eustathios RHOMAIOS. The purpose of the study was the instruction of fellow judges on this difficult material, after uncertainties had arisen in judging.

ED. Zepos, *Jus* 3:345–57, with corr. by N. Matzes, *EEBS* 33 (1964) 160–62.

LIT. A. Berger, "On the so-called tractatus de peculiis," *Scritti in onore di C. Ferrini*, vol. 3 (Milan 1948) 174–210. W. Wolska-Conus, "L'école de droit et l'enseignement du droit à Byzance au XI^e siècle: Xiphilin et Psellos," *TM* 7 (1979) 31–36.

–D.S.

DEPOSITION FROM THE CROSS (Ἀποκαθήλωσις). The removal of Christ's body from the Cross, though not described in the Gospels, had been elaborated in hymns and homilies by the time the earliest surviving Byz. images appear in the PARIS GREGORY (fol.30v) and in Tokalı Kilise, GÖREME, in the 10th C. (Maguire, *infra*, pl.76; A.W. Epstein, *Tokalı Kilise: Tenth-Century Metropolitan Art in Cappadocia* [Washington, D.C., 1986] pls. 38, 85). These images differ markedly. The Paris Gregory version is emotionally reserved, with Mary standing to one side while Joseph of Arimathea supports Christ's body and Nicodemus removes a nail from his hand. The two Göreme versions are more emotional, as Mary embraces Christ's body, laying her head against his. The reserved variant—with John added and Mary holding Christ's hand—persisted through the 12th C. The more expressive variant continued as well, with the figures gaining in dynamism and emotional urgency in accord with the mounting intensity of the Holy Week liturgies (NEREZI). A fresco at MILEŠEVA anticipates the yet more expressive Palaiologan versions by adding the lamenting Holy

Women and depicting MARY MAGDALENE holding Christ's hand while Mary embraces his torso, her cheek on his.

LIT. Maguire, "Depiction of Sorrow" 163-64. Millet, *Recherches* 467-88. —A.W.C.

DERE AĞZI, site in the Kasaba Valley of central LYCIA, noted for its elaborate cross-domed church, which has a domed nave, side aisles ending in pastophoria, a narthex flanked by towers, an exonarthex, and two attached octagons; galleries rise above the aisles and narthex. The masonry consists of rubble faced with cut stones, with bands of brick; much of the material was imported from the region of Constantinople. Traces of frescoes and mosaics suggest a date in the late 9th or early 10th C.; this dating is questioned, however, by U. Peschlow (*BZ* 79 [1986] 84). The architecture finds parallels in the monasteries of LIPS and the MYRELAION in Constantinople. The Byz. name of the church is unknown. Surrounding buildings suggest it was a monastery; its size, wealth, and style indicate a wealthy patron in the capital. The site also housed a small settlement, protected by a large fortress with towers of varying shape; it contains cisterns and ruined buildings and may date from the 9th C.

LIT. J. Morganstern, *The Byzantine Church of Dereagzi and its Decoration* (Tübingen 1983). —C.F.

DE REBUS BELLICIS (4th C.), a treatise by an anonymous Latin writer on economic reform and military innovation. On internal evidence he is usually confined to the period 337-78, probably the reign of Valentinian and Valens (366-75), albeit different theories dispute exactly when, and whether the author lived in the West or East. His short book proposed to the incumbent emperors various economic and military reforms guaranteed to improve the efficiency of the Roman army. The former strike a modern note (reduction of public expenditure) with bizarre touches (confinement of mint workers to an island to contain their corruption); the latter make his work a fascinating piece of writing on ancient TECHNOLOGY. His brain children include new WEAPONS (paddle-steamers and catapults abandoning the classical principle of torsion), revived versions of old ones (scythed chariots and portable bridges on bladders), and more comfortable clothing for soldiers. There is

no evidence that his ideas were ever adopted, his book being perhaps intercepted and "lost" in the files by some imperial civil servant.

His text, written in very difficult Latin, was accompanied by miniature illustrations, as were many SCIENTIFIC MANUSCRIPTS. Like the NOTITIA DIGNITATUM with which the text was transmitted, these pictures are known only through copies of a Carolingian intermediary. Nonetheless they represent an essential and therefore original part of the author's message. Because they are realistic, these illustrations constitute useful data about weaponry and other instruments.

ED. *Anonymi auctoris De rebus bellicis*, ed. R. Ireland (Leipzig 1984). *A Roman Reformer and Inventor*, ed. and tr. E.A. Thompson (Oxford 1952).

LIT. *Aspects of the De Rebus Bellicis*, ed. M.W.C. Hassall (Oxford 1979). B. Baldwin, "The *De rebus bellicis*," *Eirene* 16 (1978) 23-39. —B.B., A.C.

DE RE MILITARI (On Warfare), conventional title of an anonymous, untitled military treatise dealing with campaign tactics mainly but not exclusively beyond the northwestern frontiers of the empire. The author, a plain stylist and an experienced soldier, envisions an army of about 25,000 men under the emperor's personal command and sets forth the proper procedures for preparing the expeditionary CAMP (1-6), marching through difficult terrain in enemy territory (9-20), and attacking or defending camps and fortifications (21-27); he concludes with brief notes on assembling and training the army, transport units, and daily assignments (28-32).

The date of the treatise is uncertain. A reference to the tagma of the ATHANATOI (created 970) provides a *terminus post quem* for its composition, and the emphasis on Bulgaria links it to Basil II's many wars against SAMUEL OF BULGARIA between 986 and 1014. The *De re militari* is appended to the TAKTIKA OF LEO VI in the earliest MSS and was apparently written to complement the DE VELITATIONE (ca. 975); although similar in style and reliance on firsthand experience, the two texts reveal interesting contrasts in military terminology and conditions between the empire's eastern and western frontiers.

ED. *Incerti scriptoris byzantini saeculi X. liber de re militari*, ed. R. Vári (Leipzig 1901). Dennis, *Military Treatises* 241-335, with Eng. tr.

LIT. Dagron-Mihăescu, *Guérilla* 155-60, 171-75, 248-54, 272-74. —E.M.

DERMOKAITES (Δερμοκαΐτης, fem. Δερμοκαΐτισσα; etym. "hide-burner"), a noble family known from the mid-10th C. An early Dermokaite was a soldier who became a monk and addressee of SYMEON LOGOTHETE; another (or the same) Dermokaite was the monk on Mt. Olympos to whom Romanos I Lekapenos sent the written confession of his sins in 946. John and Michael Dermokaite were troop commanders ca. 1036-40. The family rose to prominence after 1204, when the *sebastos* Michael Dermokaite held the *episkepsis* of Sampson (see PRIENE) ca. 1216. In 1306/7 the *sebastos* Dermokaite was recommended by Patr. ATHANASIOS I to take charge of the grain supply of Constantinople. In the 14th-15th C. some members of the Dermokaite family were civil servants and courtiers, such as Theophylaktos, judge in the 1360s; George Dermokaite Palaiologos, governor of Imbros in the mid-15th C.; and Dermokaite, chamberlain of John VIII. They were apparently related to the RUBENIDS and later the PALAIOLOGOS, ASAN, and CHRYSOLORAS families. Their role in cultural life was insignificant, even though a Dermokaite was an addressee of Michael GABRAS, and Dermokaitissa Asanina Palaiologina, who was buried in a chapel of the CHORA MONASTERY (after 1330?), may have been among the patrons of the church.

LIT. D.M. Nicol, "The Byzantine Family of Dermokaite circa 940-1453," *BS* 35 (1974) 1-11, with add. A.P. Kazhdan, *BS* 36 (1975) 192. Laurent, *Corpus* 2, no. 874. *PLP*, nos. 5197-216. —A.K.

DESERT. The term first appears in Greek literature as an adjectival form (ἐρημος, Attic ἐρημος) meaning "desolate" or "void." By the early Christian period, this merged with a Semitic notion of the desert as the dwelling place of demons. Thus Jesus' temptation by Satan takes place in the desert (*eremos* as a substantive, Lk 4:1). With the rapid development of asceticism in the 3rd-4th C., many Christians consciously imitated John the Baptist and Jesus by settling in desert regions of Egypt, Syria, and Palestine. The "desert" came to mean any wild, uninhabited region, including forested mountains, because these offered both withdrawal (*anachoresis*) from civilization and the challenge of combat with demons or wild animals.

As the numbers of monks increased, some of their desert settlements grew to the point where, paradoxically, "the desert was made a city" (Athanasios, *Life of Antony*, ch. 14, PG 26:865B), and the real desert often became an ideological phenomenon. Through the Byz. period, the desert symbolized Christian life in its most challenging form (as in PHILOXENOS OF MABBUG, *Letter* 6; JOHN KLIMAX, *Ladder of Paradise* 15.62).

In PSALTER illustration and the later OCTATEUCHS, Eremos is personified as a male figure in classical garb sitting in the wilderness that the Israelites traversed before the Crossing of the Red Sea. Desert also appears as a counterpart to Earth in late Byz. representations of the Christmas *sticheron*. Here it always appears as a woman, depicted as seated, standing, or, as in the frescoes of the HOLY APOSTLES at Thessalonike, kneeling and offering a manger to the Christ child.

LIT. A. Guillaumont, "La conception du désert chez les moines d'Égypte," *RHR* 188 (1975) 3-21. —J.A.T., A.C.

DESERT FATHERS, usual designation for the early ascetics of Egypt to whom are attributed the sayings that became, in written form, the APOPHTHEGMATA PATRUM. Beginning in the 3rd C. they withdrew to the edge of the settled land of Egypt (see DESERT), singly or in groups, as a visible alternative to village and family life and more directly to confront powerful spiritual forces. Individuals among them acquired fame for their exploits of sanctity: Sts. ANTONY and MAKARIOS THE GREAT; Moses the Black, reformed highwayman; Theodore, who sold his books to give the money to the poor; Ammonas, who vanquished a basilisk; Daniel, who defied a barbarian raid; Barsion, who never sat down; Poemen, who loved the hidden life; Hor the silent; and Pambo the humble. There were women too: Sara who embraced continence, Synkletike who taught peace. Their life and spirituality were the goal of many pilgrimages in late antiquity. Individual figures such as ARSENIOS THE GREAT, Antony, and MARY OF EGYPT appear in church programs of decoration from the 11th C. onward as paradigms of monasticism.

SOURCE. *Historia Monachorum in Aegypto*, ed. A.-J. Festugiére (Brussels 1961).

LIT. N. Russell, B. Ward, *The Lives of the Desert Fathers* (London-Kalamazoo 1981). S.N.C. Lieu, "The Holy Men

and their Biographers in Early Byzantium and China," in *Maistor* 113–48. —L.S.B. MacC., A.C.

DESPOTES (δεσπότης, lit. "lord, master"), official epithet applied to God, the patriarch, and bishops, but mainly to the emperor. The title of *despotes*, which was created in the 12th C., occupied the highest rung on the hierarchical ladder, second only to the emperor and co-emperor. The origins of the title are disputed. According to G. Ostrogorsky (*Byz. Geschichte* 153–65), Manuel I created it in 1163, under Hungarian influence, for his heir presumptive Alexios (the future BÉLA III) who appeared as *despotes* in a document of 1167 (P. Wirth, *Byzantina* 5 [1973] 424). Already before 1163, however, *despotes* was an epithet for the highest nobility, applied on seals to SEBASTOKRATORS and CAESARS (L. Stiernon, *REB* 21 [1963] 292; A. Kazhdan, *ZRVI* 14–15 [1973] 41–44) or even used as a separate title (e.g., Stephen Kon-tostephanos: Zacos, *Seals* 1, no. 2723). From the 13th C. emperors bestowed the title on several individuals (primarily their sons) simultaneously, and it did not signify the right to succession. Under the Palaiologoi, *despotai* were active both in Constantinople and at the head of the largest appanages—Thessalonike, Epiros, and Morea. Only Morea, however—and even it not without doubts (P. Wirth, *BZ* 56 [1963] 353)—can properly be called a despotate; for Epiros the term was employed only in sources from the late 14th C. onward, predominantly of Western origin (L. Stiernon, *REB* 17 [1959] 124–26). The term penetrated into Bulgaria (13th C.) and Serbia—the first known Serbian *despotes* was Jovan OLIVER in the 14th C. The rulers of Kerkyra in the 15th C. were also named *despotai*.

LIT. B. Ferjančić, *Despoti u Vizantiji i južnoslovenskim zemljama* (Belgrade 1960). Idem, "Još jednom o počecima titule despota," *ZRVI* 14–15 (1973) 45–53. Guiland, *Institutions* 2:1–24. A. Failler, "Les insignes et la signature du despote," *REB* 40 (1982) 171–86. —A.K.

DETERMINISM, or a belief in the strict causality of events, was a concept developed by Greek philosophers, esp. Demokritos; the Byz. retained the theory that *ananke*, *heimarmene*, *automaton*, or *TYCHE* was an impersonal force determining the behavior and fate of humans regardless of their *FREE WILL*. The Eastern church fathers rejected determinism. Thus EUSEBIOS OF CAESAREA (*Praep. evang.* 6.11) refuted the idea that the stars determined human

actions. He argued that God, as creator, stands above the stars, while reward or punishment is meaningless without the freedom of human will. Eusebios's concept can be found in such church fathers as Gregory of Nyssa (PG 45:168B), and was reaffirmed later on by MANUEL II (PG 156:419–42). Nikephoros GREGORAS delineated two contrasting views: either that divine PRONOIA ruled over mankind or that necessity (*ananke*) governed men's fate, a view ascribed by him to JOHN (VI) KANTAKOUZENOS (A. Kazhdan, *Byzantion* 50 [1980] 320–22). Determinism was a presupposition of ASTROLOGY.

The treatise entitled *On the Predestined Terms of Life*, which is attributed in the MS tradition either to Germanos I or to Photios (as a part of his *Amphilochia*), presents another aspect of antideterminist polemics (ed. C. Garton, L. Westerink [Buffalo 1979]). The problem discussed in the treatise is whether God predestines and foresees all the events of human life and death (in which case murderers only fulfill divine orders) or whether our evil actions could persuade God to change his previous decision—in other words, whether God acts as an impersonal force or is a personal deity changing his decisions in accordance with our behavior and prayer. This treatise, based upon Basil the Great, accepts the second solution.

The problem was debated anew in the mid-12th C., when NICHOLAS OF METHONE launched an attack against a treatise that was falsely attributed to an unnamed church father and that defended the doctrine of *aoristia*, the lack of any predestined terms of life. The discussion was again revived in the 14th–15th C., esp. by PLETHON (I. Medvedev, *Vizantiskij gumanizm* [Leningrad 1976] 104–23).

LIT. L.G. Benakis, "Die Stellung des Menschen im Kosmos in der byzantinischen Philosophie," in *L'homme et son univers au Moyen Âge* (Louvain–La Neuve 1986) 64–75. D. Amand, *Fatalisme et liberté dans l'antiquité grecque* (Louvain 1945; rp. Amsterdam 1973). M. Kertsch, "Zur unterschiedlichen ethischen Bewertung von 'Natur/äusserer Zwang' und 'freier Willensentschluss' bei Heiden und Christen im Hintergrund einer Aussage Gregors von Nazianz," *WS* 18 (1984) 187–93. N.G. Politis, *Pegai kai periechomenon ton peri heimarmenes kephalaion tou Nemesiou Emeses* (Athens 1979). A. Anwander, "Schicksal—Wörter in Antike und Christentum," *Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte* 2 (1949–50) 48–54. —G.P.

DE THEMATIBUS (Περὶ τῶν θεμάτων), conventional title of the book written by CONSTANTINE VII or under his auspices on the geography of the empire. The book consists of two parts dealing

respectively with the East and the West. Each part is divided into sections dedicated to individual THEMES (Anatolikon, Armeniakon, etc.), treating the origin of the name, boundaries, and history of the area. Much of the information, however, is taken from STEPHEN OF BYZANTIUM and HIEROKLES and describes the situation of the 6th C.; later changes and events are mentioned only infrequently. Thus the work falls within the framework of encyclopedic endeavors of Constantine VII such as the EXCERPTA. The date of production is hotly debated. The book used to be considered a "juvenile work" of Constantine and dated to the period 934–44; recently scholars have begun to attribute it to a later year, after 952 (T. Lounghis, *REB* 31 [1973] 299–305) or at least after 944 (H. Ahrweiler, *TM* 8 [1981] 1–5).

ED. *De thematibus*, ed. A. Pertusi (Vatican 1952).

LIT. Lemerle, *Humanism* 321–23. N. Oikonomides, "Constantin VII Porphyrogénète et les thèmes de Céphalonie et de Longobardie," *REB* 23 (1965) 118–23. G. Ostrogorsky, "Sur la date de la composition du Livre des Thèmes et sur l'époque de la constitution des premiers thèmes d'Asie Mineure," *Byzantion* 23 (1953) 31–66. —A.K.

DEUTEROS (δεύτερος, lit. "second"), eunuch in charge of imperial insignia: thrones, curtains, vessels, and apparel. His staff included *hoi epi ton allaximon* (see ALLAXIMOI), *VESTITORS*, and *hoi epi ton axiomaton* (keepers of insignia and ceremonial garments for dignitaries). *Diaitarioi* with their *primikerios* were subordinates of both the *deuteros* and the *PAPIAS*. According to Beljaev, there were two distinct groups of *diaitarioi*, but Bury (*Adm. System* 128) suggests that the same *diaitarioi* were under the command of both eunuchs. The *deuteros* was considered the assistant of the *papias*; at least he substituted for the *papias* when the latter was ill.

LIT. D. Beljaev, *Byzantina*, vol. 1 (St. Petersburg 1891) 165–81. —A.K.

DEVASTATIO CONSTANTINOPOLITANA, a brief but detailed account of the Fourth Crusade between 1202 and 16 May 1204 inserted into the MS of the *Annales Herbipolenses*. The Latin eyewitness's identity is controversial, but he may have belonged to the entourage of BONIFACE OF MONTFERRAT or, less probably, that of BALDWIN OF FLANDERS. M. Kandel's arguments (*Byzantion* 4 [1929] 179–88) for the *Devastatio Constantinopolitana*'s dependency on the letters of Baldwin I to Pope Innocent III are not conclusive.

ED. C. Hopf, *Chroniques gréco-romanes* (Berlin 1873) 86–92.

LIT. *RepFontHist* 4:183. Wattenbach-Schmale, *Deutsch. Gesch. Heinr. V* 1:149. Karayannopoulos-Weiss, *Quellenkunde* 2:469. —M.McC.

DE VELITATIONE (Περὶ παραδρομῆς, Treatise on Skirmishing), work attributed in the earliest MSS (ca. 1020) to the "late" emperor Nikephoros II Phokas. In the preface, the anonymous author explains that he composed the text from notes given him by the emperor. Written ca. 975 when the Arab threat had already waned, *De velitatione* recalls (for future generations, should this threat reappear) the local, defensive warfare perfected by the PHOKAS family (among others) along the eastern frontiers during the first half of the 10th C. The treatise encapsulates the essential principles of guerrilla tactics—close reconnaissance, surprise, use of nightfall and terrain, avoidance of pitched battles—all in order to give the Byz. the advantage of choosing the best time and place for their attack. The author analyzes four types of Arab expedition, from small, rapid bands of raiders to large armies of infantry and cavalry, and reviews the options available to the Byz. commander; methods of attacking or defending CAMPS and fortifications are also covered. The product of an experienced soldier, *De velitatione* reflects his originality and vivid manner of presentation; at the same time, the militant religious ideology behind the Byz.-Arab wars of the later 10th C. is visible. The tract contains an impassioned plea for the preservation of the salaries and fiscal and legal privileges of soldiers risking their lives for their Christian brethren (ch. 19).

ED. and LIT. Dennis, *Military Treatises* 137–239. G. Dagrón, H. Mihăescu, *Le traité sur la guérilla (De velitatione) de l'Empereur Nicéphore Phocas* (963–69) (Paris 1986).

—A.K., E.M.

DEVELTOS (Δεβελτός, Δηβελτός) or Deultum, city and fortress in Bulgaria about 20 km southwest of Burgas, controlling the north-south coastal road. An episcopal see from late antiquity, in the 8th C. Develtos was a major Byz. defensive position against the Bulgarians. Captured by KRUM in 812, it became a strong point on the Bulgarian defensive earth wall constructed by OMURTAG, which ran from the Black Sea to the river Marica. With the treaty of 846 Byz. regained Develtos, but SYMEON OF BULGARIA recaptured it in 896.

After 927 it became once again a Byz. possession, and at the end of the 12th C. part of the Second Bulgarian Empire; it remained in Bulgarian hands until falling to the Ottoman Turks in 1396. Due to its location, Develtos was a center of trade and accordingly a seat of *kommerkiarioi* from the mid-9th C. onward (Zacos, *Seals* 1, no.285; 2, no.159bis).

LIT. E. Oberhummer, *RE* 5 (1905) 260.

—R.B.

DEVGENIEVO DEJANIE (Deeds of Devgenij), Slavonic prose version of DIGENES AKRITAS. The *Devgenievo Dejanie* survives only in three defective MSS of the late 17th and 18th C. and in fragments copied from a lost 16th-C. MS. Together they comprise five episodes: the adventures and marriage of the "tsar Amir" and his Greek bride, and the birth of Devgenij; Devgenij's youth; Devgenij's defeat of Filipap and the warrior-girl Maksimiana (Philopappos and the Amazon Maximo of the Greek original; A. Schmaus, *BZ* 44 [1951] 495–508); Devgenij's courtship and marriage to Stratigovna (i.e., the daughter of a *strategos*); and Devgenij's victory over the tsar Vasilij. The last episode has been interpreted as indicating a pro-feudal tendency in the Greek epic; E. Trapp insists, however, that such names occur only in the Slavonic version and not in the Greek original (*Byzantina* 3 [1971] 201–11). It has been claimed that the Slavonic translation reflects the "original" of the "literary" version of *Digenes*, in some respects comparable to the Grottaferrata MS, but also that the Slavonic is merely a contaminated adaptation of a late offshoot of the Greek tradition. The translation is often assigned to pre-Mongol Kiev, though many scholars favor a 14th-C. southern Slav provenance.

ED. *Devgenievo dejanie*, ed. V.D. Kuz'mina (Moscow 1962). Ed. O.V. Tvorogov in *Pamjatniki literatury drevnej Rusi. XIII vek* (Moscow 1981) 28–64.

LIT. H. Grégoire, "Le Digénis russe," *Memoirs of the American Folklore Society* 42 (1947–49) 131–69. A. Vaillant, "Le Digénis slave," *PKJIF* 21 (1955) 197–228. H. Graham, "The Tale of Devgenij," *BS* 29 (1968) 51–91.

—S.C.F.

DEVIL (διάβολος), Satan, the prince of DEMONS; the name was interpreted by the majority of church fathers as "calumniator." He was considered incorporeal by Gregory of Nyssa (PG 46:456A) and other church fathers (e.g., Theodoret of Cyrillus, PG 83:473D). By the 11th C. the theory arose that the Devil and demons had opaque bodies;

Niketas STETHATOS refuted this opinion, but Psellos developed it (A. Ducellier in *Le Diable au Moyen âge* [Paris 1979] 202f). In Manichaean and later Bogomil doctrine the Devil appears as an eternal principle and the cause of evil; the Christian perception of the Devil was developed as a refutation of this dualist view. The Devil is a creature, one of the ANGELS, who, possessing free will, changed his nature and out of pride and wickedness revolted against God. As the enemy of God the Devil is hostile to mankind, always trying to entrap men, esp. those of saintly character; however, he involuntarily benefits humanity since man can prove his virtue in this contest.

In everyday practice the Devil's foreknowledge (albeit limited) and power sometimes leads to confusion of good and evil forces, but a man possesses the means (esp. the CROSS) to dispel him. The Devil was defeated by Christ but allowed to continue his activity against mankind; ignorant of his destiny the Devil blasphemes against God but at Christ's Second Coming (PAROUSIA), he will be thrown into fire with his host. Magicians were said to use the Devil's help in achieving their goals. The Byz. presented the Devil as a snake or dog, as Ethiopian or black, and as *baskanos* (calumniator), having the evil eye (G. Bartelink, *OrChrP* 49 [1983] 390–406). His epithet was *kosmokrator*, "world-ruler." ANTICHRIST was his "general" in the war against the Good.

In art, in such scenes as the temptation of Christ, the Devil is represented in a manner indistinguishable from that of a regular demon.

LIT. J.B. Russell, *Lucifer: The Devil in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca 1984) 28–51. F.J. Dölger, *Die Sonne der Gerechtigkeit und der Schwarze* (Münster 1918). A. Theodorou, "He periton dikaionaton tou Satana: Theoria en te soteriologia tes archaias Anatolikes Ekklesias," *Theologia* 28 (1957) 103–14, 225–37, 412–19. G. Lafontaine, "Une homélie copte sur le diable et sur Michel, attribuée à Grégoire le Théologien," *Muséon* 92 (1979) 37–60.

—G.P.

DEVOL (Δεάβολις [Deabolis], Διάβολις [Diabolis]), a fortress and bishopric on the Via EGNATIA south of Ohrid (precise location unknown), first mentioned in connection with Basil II's conquest of Bulgaria: in 1018 he subdued a revolt in "so-called Diabolis" (Skyl. 360.43, 60). As a *kastron* under the jurisdiction of the bishop of Kastoria, Diabolis appears in Basil's grant of a privilege to the Bulgarian church in 1019; only in a later list

(*Notitiae CP* 13:835) is Diabolis named as the second bishopric of Justiniana Prima, or Bulgaria. Theophylaktos of Ohrid (died early 12th C.), however, speaks of the city as the see of KLIMENT OF OHRID (ca.900) and the center of his school, but no independent sources confirm this late evidence. In 1072 the rebellious Bulgarians captured Diabolis before attacking Kastoria.

Devol played an important role during the Norman war against Alexios I, and in 1108 the emperor forced BOHEMUND to sign there a treaty with the empire, in which Bohemond conceded vassal dependence on Byz. Devol remained an important stronghold in the 13th and 14th C.

LIT. P. Koledarov, "O mestonachozhenii srednekovogo goroda Devol i predelach odnoimennoj oblasti," *Palaeobulgarica* 6.1 (1982) 87–101; 6.2 (1982) 75–90. T. Tomovski, "Po tragata na srednekovniot grad Devol," *Godišen zbornik: Filozofski fakultet na Univerzitet, Skopje* 27 (1975) 187–200. N. Ljubarskij, M. Freidenberg, "Devol'skij dogovor 1108 g. meždu Alekseem Komninom i Boemundom," *VizVrem* 21 (1962) 260–74.

—A.K.

DEVŞİRME. See JANISSARIES.

DEXTRARUM JUNCTIO. See MARRIAGE RITE.

DHŪ-NUWĀS (Δίμνος), ruler of ĤIMYAR (517–25). A native of South Arabia, he seized power by overthrowing his predecessor (probably Ma'adikarib); he converted to Judaism, took the name of Joseph (Yūsuf), and, seeking alliance with Iran, turned against Greek and Ethiopian Christian merchants active in Ĥimyar. Malalas (Malal. 433.13–17) relates that Dimnos, the king of the Ĥimyarites, murdered Roman merchants and stopped their trade with Ethiopia and India. The Axumite expedition (probably led by ELESBOAM or his father) to Ĥimyar was an immediate response to the policy of Dhū-Nuwās. At first compelled to flee, Dhū-Nuwās gathered forces and in 518 reconquered the cities of Zafār, Muhwan, and NAJRĀN; many Christians were killed. According to an inscription, Dhū-Nuwās's general slaughtered all of the inhabitants of Muhwan and burned its church. Dhū-Nuwās tried to gain the support of Iran and the Lakhmids but failed, whereas the Roman-Ethiopian alliance was strengthened; in 525, with the help of the fleet sent by Justin I, Elesboam again invaded Ĥimyar. In a battle on a seashore Dhū-Nuwās was killed by an Ethiopian

soldier whom Yu. Kobiščanov (*VizVrem* 25 [1964] 234f) identifies as ABRAHA. Al-Ṭabari, however, knew a legend that Dhū-Nuwās preferred suicide to disgrace and threw himself, with his horse, into the sea. After his death South Arabia reverted to Axumite rule.

LIT. A. Lundin, *Južnaja Aravija v VI veku* (Moscow-Leningrad 1961) 31–52. Yu. Kobiščanov, *Axum* (University Park, Pa.–London 1979) 90–103. I. Shahid, *The Martyrs of Najrān* (Brussels 1971) 260–68. M. Rodinson, "Sur une nouvelle inscription du règne de Dhōu Nowās," *Bibliotheca orientalis* 26 (1969).

—A.K.

DIABATENOS. See DABATENOS.

DIADEM. See CROWN.

DIADOCHOS (Διάδοχος), bishop of Photike in Epiros, prominent opponent of MONOPHYSITISM in the 450s; born ca.400, died before 486. Little else is known, though a possible connection with VICTOR VITENSIS has been suggested (H.-I. Marrou, *REA* 45 [1943] 225–32). Diadochos's major work, *One Hundred Chapters on Spiritual Perfection*, was widely admired by many Byz. Its three major concerns are to advocate the virtues of asceticism; to stress the three virtues of faith, hope, and esp. love as the basis for spiritual contemplation; and to combat the MESSALIAN notion (condemned at the Council of EPHEBUS in 431) of demons in the soul by arguing that evil exists only as a consequence of sin. A homily on the Ascension, a *Catechesis*, and the *Vision* (in which the author conducts a dialogue with John the Baptist in a dream) also survive.

ED. *Oeuvres spirituelles*², ed. E. des Places (Paris 1966), with Fr. tr.

LIT. V. Messana, "Diadoco di Fotica e la cultura cristiana in Epiro nel V secolo," *Augustinianum* 19 (1979) 151–66. F. Dörr, *Diadochos von Photike und die Messalianer* (Freiburg 1937). Th. Polyzogopoulos, "Life and Writings of Diadochos of Photice" and "The Anthropology of Diadochos of Photice," *Theologia* 55 (1984) 772–800, 1072–1101.

—B.B.

DIAKONIA. See CONFRATERNITY.

DIAKONIKA (διακονικά, from διάκων, "deacon"), liturgical exclamations, LITANIES, DIPTYCHS, etc., of the DEACON. The book in which *diakonika*

were collected was called a *diakonikon* or *hierodiakonikon*, though these texts were ultimately incorporated into the EUCHOLOGION. There are a few extant *diakonika* rolls (e.g., Sinai gr. 1040 of the 12th C. [Dmitrievskij, *Opisanie* 2:127–35]).

LIT. Taft, *Great Entrance* xxxii–xxxiii. –R.F.T.

DIAKONIKON. See PASTOPHORIA.

DIALECTS. Ancient Greek was divided into a number of dialects, all of which were mutually intelligible. As cities lost their autonomy to Hellenistic monarchies and later to Rome, local dialects were replaced by KOINE for public communication, gradually degenerated into peasant patois, and ultimately ceased to be spoken. Only the language of the TSAKONES in the southeastern Peloponnesos and the Greek of southern Italy show traces of the ancient Greek dialects. These, as they appeared in literature, were known to the Byz. mainly from the compilatory *On Dialects* of Gregory PARDOS. In the Middle Ages a new differentiation of Koine into regional dialects began. These developing dialects were used in literature only occasionally and in regions outside Byz. control and influence, such as 14th-C. Cyprus. EUSTATHIOS OF THESSALONIKE sometimes quotes contemporary dialect words or forms in his Homeric commentaries, and there are other indications of interest in dialects, as part of spoken Greek, in the 12th C. After the fall of Constantinople, poets and dramatists in Venetian-ruled Crete began to write in the local dialect and to elaborate it for literary use. This literature in Cretan dialect continued to be written until the mid-17th C.

LIT. A. Meillet, O. Masson, *Aperçu d'une histoire de la langue grecque*⁸ (Paris 1975) 77–115. L.R. Palmer, *The Greek Language* (Atlantic Highlands, N.J., 1980) 57–82. A. Mirambel, "Les tendances actuelles de la dialectologie néohellénique," *Orbis* 2 (1953) 448–72. B. Newton, *The Generative Interpretation of Dialect: A Study of Modern Greek Phonology* (Cambridge 1972). Browning, *Greek* 119–37. N.G. Kontosopoulos, *Dialektoi kai idiomata tes Neas Hellenikes* (Athens 1981). –R.B.

DIALOGUE (διάλογος), a literary form of conversation or dispute. Throughout their history the Byz. imitated two main types of antique dialogue: the Platonizing/philosophical and the Lucianic/satirical. The philosophical kind was much used

by Christian writers of the 2nd–7th C. The finest examples of the Christian dialogue were written by AUGUSTINE in the West and GREGORY OF NYSSA in the East, who retained the scenic background of the conversation. The Christian dialogue, however, changed the social milieu (in the *Banquet* of METHODIOS of Olympos ten virgins are debating the virtues of celibacy) and replaced Plato's dialectical mode of inquiry with overtly didactic and militant polemic: dialogue ceased to be a method of arriving at the truth and became a vehicle for polemics (e.g., Justin Martyr's *Dialogue with Tryphon*) communicating the message of salvation (Hoffman, *infra* 162). Voss (*infra* 348) asserts that another formative influence on the Christian dialogue was that of Jewish disputations over the Torah. In the 6th to 8th C. dialogue was used for ascetic indoctrination (Pope GREGORY I THE GREAT, who was nicknamed Dialogus; MAXIMOS THE CONFESSOR) or solving theological problems (Patr. GERMANOS I [?], *On Predestined Terms of Life*). The philosophical dialogue is found later in the Palaiologan period; thus GREGORAS wrote a number of Platonizing dialogues, esp. *Florentios, or On Wisdom*, devoted to polemic against Barlaam. John KATRARES defended astrology and used Arabic sources in his classicizing dialogue *Hermippos, or On Astrology*.

From the 10th C. onward, Lucianic satirical dialogue became popular. Whether pseudo-Lucianic (CHARIDEMOS, PHILOPATRIS, TIMARION), anonymous (ANACHARSIS), or pseudonymous (*Timotheos, or On Demons*, ascribed to Psellos), they are set in the world of the past or even in Hades (again, in the wake of Lucian), and in their audacity strain the limits of Orthodoxy. Dialogical elements also appear as part of independent genres; in the sermon, whether prose or poetical; in acts of martyrs (in imitation of judicial interrogation); and hagiography, but rarely in historiography (the introduction to the *History* of Theophylaktos SIMOKATTES is couched as a dialogue between History and Philosophy, and Theophanes the Confessor reproduces a dialogue with KALOPODIOS). Alexios MAKREMBOLITES employed the genre for political and moral propaganda. The scholarly EROTAPOKRISIS took the structural form of a dialogue. Vernacular poets used the dialogue form in THRENOI.

LIT. B.R. Voss, *Der Dialog in der frühchristlichen Literatur* (Munich 1970), rev. W. Speyer, *JbAChr* 15 (1972) 201–06.

M. Hoffmann, *Der Dialog bei den christlichen Schriftstellern der ersten vier Jahrhunderte* (Berlin 1966). –A.K., I.Š.

DIALYSIS (διάλυσις), a legal transaction by which parties settled a quarrel existing between them or an uncertainty about a legal situation through compromise. Consequently, a second settlement on the same matter was inadmissible after the conclusion of a *dialysis*, and any matter that had been decided conclusively in court could not become the object of a *dialysis* (cf. *Peira* 7.1,3,6,17). Moreover, a compromise agreement was inadmissible if it led to a result that was not recognized by the legal system (e.g., a DIVORCE by mutual consent: cf. *Peira* 7.7,8). Apart from this, however, every conceivable matter in dispute (even criminal acts) could be the object of an (oral or written) settlement. The legal situation achieved by the settlement could be changed later only by a challenge to the legitimacy of the *dialysis* (e.g., in cases of deception or threat).

In the documents, along with this rigorous and readily used form of settlement (cf., e.g., the formulas for division of immovable things and termination of a suit through *dialysis*—Sathas, *MB* 6:631–34), various mixed forms were developed. As early as the 6th C. a connection arose between *dialysis* and the Aquilian STIPULATION, on account of their common character of "general settlement." This finally led to the designation of every "conclusive settlement" through, for example, receipts, declarations of guarantee, etc. as a *dialysis*, even in circumstances where there were no legal uncertainties (cf., e.g., *Xerop.* no.4.3, a.1032; *Pantel.* no.4.36, a.1048; *Lavra* 1, no.42.4, a.1081).

LIT. Kaser, *Privatrecht* 2:440–48 (§274). A. Steinwenter, "Das byzantinische Dialysis-Formular," in *Studi in memoria A. Albertoni*, vol. 1 (Padua 1935) 71–94. G. Weiss, "Kitanza: Zwei spätbyzantinische Dialysisformulare," *FM* 1 (1976) 175–86. –D.S.

DIATAXIS (διάταξις, Lat. *ordo*), a book of rubrics for the bishop or priest presiding at the EUCHARIST, or, less frequently, at VESPERS, ORTHROS, and ordinations. *Diataxeis* developed because early EUCHOLOGION MSS contained few rubrics to regulate the proper celebration of the services. The *diataxis* can be traced back as far as the 10th C. (A. Jacob, *OrChrP* 35 [1969] 249–56), though no MSS earlier than the 12th C. have survived. The most important *diataxis* is that of PHILOTHEOS KOKKINOS, whose

codification of Byz. rubrics acquired general authority during the time he was patriarch. His *diataxis* rubrics for the PROTHESIS were applied ca.1380 to the pontifical Eucharist in the *archieratikon* (see LITURGICAL BOOKS) of Demetrios Gemistos, notary of Hagia Sophia under Philotheos. The PRESANCTIFIED *diataxis* attributed to Theodore of Stoudios is not authentic in its present redaction. (For *diataxis* as a form of monastic rule, see TYPikon; for *diataxis* as a will, see INVENTORY.)

LIT. Taft, *Great Entrance* xxxv–xxxviii. Taft, "Pontifical Liturgy." –R.F.T.

DIDASKALOS (διδάσκαλος), a general term for laymen or clerics who were TEACHERS of sacred or profane subjects; also, a technical term for those attached to the PATRIARCHAL SCHOOL at HAGIA SOPHIA and engaged either in instruction in the faith or exegesis of Holy Scripture. Among those attached to Hagia Sophia two groups may be distinguished: an unspecified number of *didaskaloi* attested from the 11th C. whose status and duties were defined by Alexios I Komnenos in an edict of 1107 (ed. P. Gautier, *REB* 31 [1973] 165–201), and the trio of *didaskalos tou evangeliou* (also *oikoumenikos didaskalos*), *didaskalos tou apostolou*, and *didaskalos tou psalteriou* known from the 11th and 12th C. The *didaskaloi* of Alexios's edict were usually clerics of Hagia Sophia but could be recruited from laymen and monks who were distinguished by their virtuous character and ability to teach. Their function was pastoral, instructing people in the faith and policing their behavior in the capital. The three *didaskaloi* of Holy Scripture were always DEACONS and held a rank in the ecclesiastical hierarchy. Their duties consisted of exegesis and preaching, as their *didaskaliai* indicate. There is no consensus of opinion as to their function. The idea that they were teachers of theology has recently been restated (B. Katsaros, *Ioannes Kastamonites: Symbole ste melete tou biou, tou ergou kai tes epoches tou* [Thessalonike 1988] 163–209). *Didaskaloi* in both groups usually advanced to a higher position in the church, often becoming bishops or metropolitans. (See also MAISTOR TON RHETORON.)

LIT. Darrouzès, *Offikia* 66–86. Browning, *Studies*, pt.X (1962), 167–201; (1963), 11–40. Lemerle, *Humanism* 84–107, 300–05. Podskalsky, *Theologie* 54–56. E. Papagiannes, *Ta oikonomika tou engamou klerou sto Byzantio* (Athens 1986) 78–99, 160–64. –R.J.M.

DIDYMA. See **HIERON.**

DIDYMOS THE BLIND, last head of the catechetical school at Alexandria; born ca.313, died ca.398. Didymos (Δίδυμος) had a reputation for erudition, although he was blind by four and never attended school. He numbered among his pupils **JEROME** and **RUFINUS**, who attest to his scholarship and influence. His condemnation for Origenism at the Council of Constantinople in 553 may account for the loss of much of his vast corpus. Excerpts from his commentaries on Genesis, Ecclesiastes, the Psalms, and Job survive (with some of Origen) in a 6th- through 7th-C. group of papyri found at Tura near Cairo; their exegetic method is allegorical. Fully or partly extant are *On the Trinity*, Athanasian in its defense of consubstantiality; *On the Holy Spirit* (in Jerome's Latin translation), also urging consubstantiality; and *Against the Manichaeans*. Didymos may have written the *Against Arius and Sabellios* ascribed to **GREGORY OF NYSSA** (K. Holl, *ZKirch* 25 [1904] 380-98). Other dogmatic and polemical works are lost. Overall, Didymos defends and develops a diversity of theological issues, being orthodox on the Trinity, Christology, and the Holy Spirit, but following **ORIGEN** in anthropology and eschatology (primarily in the doctrine of the so-called *apokatastasis*, i.e., the ultimate salvation of all rational creatures—men, angels, and demons).

ED. PG 39:131-1818. *De Trinitate*, ed. J. Hönscheid, I. Seiler, 2 vols., with Germ tr. (Meisenheim an Glan 1975). Tura papyri—ed. in *Papyrologische Texte und Abhandlungen*, vols. 1-4, 6-9, 12f, 16, 22, 24-26, 33:1 (Bonn 1968-85), with Germ. tr. To complete list, see *CPG* 2:2544-72.

LIT. B.D. Ehrman, *Didymus the Blind and the Text of the Gospels* (Atlanta, Ga., 1987). J. Tighele, *Didyme l'Aveugle et l'exégèse allégorique* (Nijmegen 1977). —B.B.

DIDYMOTEICHON (Διδυμότειχον, "twin-wall"), city of Thrace, located on a hill above the river Erythros, a tributary of the **HEBROS**. Giannopoulos (*infra* 2-7) assumes that Justinian I built the fortress to replace Plotinopolis, situated in a valley somewhere nearby but difficult to defend. By the 9th C. Plotinopolis was completely replaced by Didymoteichon; in fact it had probably already disappeared in the 7th C., and the mention of Ploutinoupolis by Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos (*De them.* 1.55, ed. Pertusi 86) is anachronistic. The *kastron* of Didymoteichon (Beševliev, *In-*

schriften 180f, no.21) was taken by Krum in 813; its first known bishop, Nikephoros, participated in the council of 879. The fortress is mentioned as the place of exile for Bardas Skleros.

From the end of the 12th C. Didymoteichon appears as one of the most important strongholds in the area, and a sought-after prize for Latins, Bulgarians, rulers of Epiros, and John III Vatatzes, who occupied it ca.1243. During the **CIVIL WAR OF 1341-47** Didymoteichon was the headquarters of John VI Kantakouzenos who was crowned there in 1341. Matthew I Kantakouzenos held Didymoteichon as his appanage. In the 14th C. Didymoteichon consisted of the citadel (*polichnion* in Gregoras) and a lower city that was destroyed during the civil war and rebuilt in 1342. The city was temporarily taken by the Turks in 1359 and permanently conquered in Nov. 1361.

The bishop of Didymoteichon became archbishop in the 12th C. and metropolitan in the 13th C. From 1204 to 1206 Didymoteichon was the residence of the patriarch John X Kamateros and a center of resistance to the Latin patriarchate of Constantinople.

Some remains of the medieval city survive, including traces of the double city wall with towers and gates, a water reservoir of stone and brick, and the Church of St. Catherine of ca.1300.

LIT. Ph.A. Giannopoulos, *Didymoteichon: Geschichte einer byzantinischen Festung* (Cologne 1975). G.P. Euthymiou, "To Didymoteichon kata tous Byzantinous chronous," *Archeion tou Thrakikou Laographikou kai Glossikou Thesaurou* 22 (1957) 349-78. Asdracha, *Rhodopes* 103-07. R. Janin, *DHGE* 14 (1960) 427-29. —T.E.G.

DIE, an instrument for striking coins. It normally consisted of a lower die of bronze or iron that could be fixed in a block of wood and had its upper face engraved in intaglio with the design of one side of the coin, and an upper die consisting of a cylinder of metal that could be held in the hand and had on its lower face the design for the other side. Coins were made by placing blank pieces of metal of the correct weight and fineness between the two dies and striking the upper one with a heavy hammer. No Byz. coin dies have been preserved: the pincerlike object in the Fogg Art Museum (published as a die by Vermeule) is in reality a *boulloterion* (see **SEALING IMPLEMENTS**) for striking lead seals (V. Grumel, *REB* 15 [1957] 211-14). Their form is not in general likely to

have been different from 7th-C. Sasanian dies, of which three are known, or those of contemporary western Europe. They were evidently produced in limited numbers only, as obverse dies prepared for gold coins were sometimes also used for silver ones, and reverse dies without the names of specific emperors might be carried over from one reign to a later one. The concave coins of the later Byz. period apparently required the use of more elaborate double dies.

LIT. P. Grierson, "Coins monétaires et officines à l'époque du Bas-Empire," *Schweizer Münzblätter* 11 (1961) 1-8. W. Hahn, "Coin Mules and Die Economy in the Byzantine Coinage of the Sixth Century," *NC* 81 (1973) 422. C.C. Vermeule, *Some Notes on Ancient Dies and Coining Methods* (London 1954). S. Bendall, D. Sellwood, "The Method of Striking Scyphate Coins Using Two Obverse Dies," *NChron* 7 18 (1978) 93-104. —Ph.G.

DIEGESIS TON TETRAPODON ZOON (Διήγησις τῶν τετραπόδων ζώων), or *Tale of the Four-Footed Beasts*; an anonymous satirical poem in just over 1,000 **POLITICAL VERSES**, dating from the late 14th C. At the instigation of Emp. Lion, the four-footed beasts establish a truce between the carnivorous and herbivorous animals to meet and debate their respective qualities, but the lively discussion degenerates into savage fighting, from which the herbivorous animals emerge victorious. Written at a **VERNACULAR** level of the language, which includes some of the repeated phrases found also in the late Byz. verse **ROMANCES**, the poem survives in five MSS, of which at least two were intended to be illustrated. It falls within the traditions of Greek **FABLES** and **ANIMAL EPICS** and the western European *Roman de Renart* and "Debate" poems among animals, such as Chaucer's *Parlement of Fowles*. The elements of **SATIRE**, which incidentally give insights into contemporary culinary practice, arise generally out of the implied contrast between animal and human behavior. The conflict between the carnivores (the aristocracy?) and the herbivores (the people?) must reflect the civic turmoil of the late 14th C. Despite the date (15 Sept. 1365) embedded in the text, the *Diegesis* cannot now be linked to any particular event. Similar Byz. works include the **OPSAROLOGOS**, **POULOLOGOS**, and **SYNAXARION OF THE HONORABLE DONKEY**.

ED. *Paidiophrastos Diegesis ton zoon ton tetrapodon*, ed. V. Tsiouni (Munich 1972).

LIT. Beck, *Volksliteratur* 174f. V.S. Šandrovskaja, "Vizantijskaja basnja 'Rasskaz o četveronogich,'" *VizVrem* 9 (1956) 211-49; 10 (1956) 181-94. H. Eideneier, "Zum Stil der byzantinischen Tierdichtung," *JÖB* 32.3 (1982) 301-06. —E.M.J.

DIET. The Byz. ate one to three times a day (see **ARISTON** and **DEIPNON**). Attitudes toward food varied: the ascetic ideal praised temperance in diet, and saints are described as surviving on water and beans or wild plants and berries.

There is little information about the food of ordinary people. It consisted primarily of **BREAD**, legumes, and vegetables, supplemented by **OLIVES**, **FRUIT**, fish, and **WINE**. Dairy products, except for **CHEESE**, played a lesser role. The poor subsisted mostly on vegetables and vinegar, legumes prepared with olive oil, a gruel made of flour or barley, or perhaps an onion omelet (*sphoungaton*). The fruit and vegetables were varied: apples, pears, grapes, figs, melons, cabbage, leeks, cucumbers, carrots, garlic, onions, zucchini, etc. (Laiou, *Peasant Society* 28-32). Fish from the sea were preferred to those from lakes or rivers. Sugar was provided primarily by honey. The traditional view is that ordinary people rarely ate **MEAT**, but there is evidence suggesting that from the 7th C. onward the consumption of meat increased. The food of monks is better known, thanks to regulations in the **TYPIKA**; meat was excluded from the monastic diet.

The food of the noble and wealthy classes was plenteous and even exotic; some products, like caviar and sturgeon, were imported from afar. Wild game adorned the table. Food was often cooked with olive oil; for seasoning, various sauces were used as well as vinegar, pickled cabbage, and **SPICES** such as pepper and cinnamon. Desserts and honey cakes made of flour mixed with boiled must (*oinoutta*) or made of the finest wheat flour in circular shapes (*krikelos*) completed a rich meal.

Recipes for dishes survive mainly in treatises dealing with the nutritious properties of food and the monthly regimen that should be observed for good health (e.g., by Symeon **SETH**), but 12th-C. writers such as **EUSTATHIOS OF THESSALONIKE** and **PROCHOPRODROMOS** take pleasure in describing luxurious dishes. A common dish for rich and poor alike was *monokythron*, a mixture of fish, cheese, and vegetables cooked in a casserole and served as a one-course meal. The author of the

third Ptochoprodromic poem (ed. D.-H. Hessel-ing, H. Pernot, 55.175–56.186) mentions this dish, including as its ingredients sturgeon, Vlach cheese, cabbage, olive oil, pepper, garlic, and sweet wine. Another rich meal was prepared with salt pork and cabbage, all drenched with fat. Poultry might be stuffed with almonds or dough balls and marinated in red wine. Fish was either fried in olive oil, grilled, or made into soup with vegetables such as dill, leeks, etc. Drying, salting, smoking, and pickling were the main methods for the preservation of food.

LIT. Koukoules, *Bios* 5:9–121. A. Karpozelos, "Realia in Byzantine Epistolography, X–XII c.," *BZ* 77 (1984) 20–37. Koder-Weber, *Liutprand* 85–99. E. Ashtor, "Essai sur l'alimentation des diverses classes sociales dans l'Orient médiéval," *Annales ESC* 23 (1968) 1017–53. E. Jeanselme, L. Oeconomos, "Aliments et recettes culinaires des Byzantins," *Proceedings of the 3rd International Congress of the History of Medicine, London 1922* (Antwerp 1923) 155–68. M. Dembińska, "Diet: A Comparison of Food Consumption between some Eastern and Western Monasteries in the 4th–12th C.," *Byzantion* 55 (1985–86) 431–62. E. Kislinger, "How Reliable is Early Byzantine Hagiography as an Indicator of Diet?," *Diptycha* 4 (1986–87) 5–11. M. Poljakovskaja, A. Čekalova, *Vizantijska: byt i nrauy* (Sverdlovsk 1989) 76–79. —Ap.K., A.K.

DIGENES AKRITAS (Διγενής Ἀκρίτας), epic-romance in POLITICAL VERSE compiled, perhaps in the 12th C., from earlier material, much of which may originally derive from oral sources (see POETRY, ORAL). The text falls into two halves. The first, epic in tone, concerns Digenes' father, an Arab emir, and his marriage to Digenes' mother, daughter of a Byz. general. The second, which has an atmosphere of romance, deals with Digenes ("born of two races") and describes his precocious childhood, his exploits in hunting and against brigands on the borders (the *akrai*, which he guards as "Akritas" or "Akrites"), and his peaceful life with his bride in their palace on the Euphrates till death comes to them. The first part reflects personalities and events from the 9th- and 10th-C. Arab-Byz. wars, as analyzed by H. Grégoire. The second is virtually timeless, whether a survival from the distant past or a later attempt to recommend harmony between Byz. and the Arabs. The general worldview presented by the whole text predates the 11th-C. Turkish invasions of Asia Minor; many details of geography and titulature confirm that dating. The most likely date for the composition of the surviving version,

however, is the 12th C., during the revival of interest in the ROMANCE (cf. the extensive quotations from ACHILLES TATIUS in MS G [Grottaferrata]). The existence of the poem is first attested at this time by a reference in a Ptochoprodromic poem to Manuel I Komnenos as a "new Akrites."

The poem survives in six Greek MSS and a Slavic version (DEVGENIEVO DEJANIE). The latter is less complex than the Greek, and it is unclear whether it derives from an early stage of the Greek text or represents a simplification of the Greek story. Recent research suggests that four of the Greek MSS (Trebizond and others) derive from a 16th-C. compilation and so are of no value as witnesses to earlier stages. The two older versions survive in the Grottaferrata and Escorial (E) texts, which plainly derive from one original text. They differ greatly, however; the Grottaferrata version is well-organized and at the middle level of Byz. linguistic purism, while the Escorial text is closer to the language of everyday speech but full of gaps and metrical irregularities. Although critics are evenly divided on their support of the Grottaferrata or Escorial text as the more accurate reflection of their common archetype, recent discussions have stressed the early elements in both.

Each gives an interesting insight into the life of the wealthy magnates of the eastern frontier of Byz. in the 9th to 11th C. Digenes' palace on the Euphrates consisted of a stone house at least three stories high, an elaborate GARDEN, and a courtyard containing his private church. The ceilings of the palace were decorated in mosaic with Old Testament scenes (exploits of Moses, David, Joshua, and Samson) and a vast repertory of mythological and HISTORY PAINTING including scenes from the *Iliad*, the *Odyssey*, and the life of ALEXANDER THE GREAT.

Digenes Akritas has left scattered signs of influence outside Byz. in Arabic literature and in the Slavic version, but its greatest impact has been in modern Greek culture. Digenes and Akritas (rarely both together) are frequently found in traditional folksongs (see AKRITIC SONGS), while the hero of the epic is often used as a symbol of medieval Hellenism in modern Greek literature and also represented in objects of art (see AKRITIC IMAGERY).

ED. *Digenes Akrites*, ed. E. Trapp (Vienna 1971). *Digenes Akrites* [MS G], ed. J. Mavrogordato (Oxford 1956), with Eng. tr. *Basileios Digenes Akrites* [MS E], ed. S. Alexiou

(Athens 1985). Slavic—M. Speranskij, "Devgenievo dejanie," *Sbornik Otdelenija Russkogo Jazyka i Slovesnosti* 99, 7 (1922) 132–65. Tr. H.F. Graham, "The Tale of Devgenij," *BS* 29 (1968) 51–91.

LIT. Beck, *Volksliteratur* 63–97. H. Grégoire, *Autour de l'épopée byzantine* (London 1975). N. Oikonomides, "L'épopée de Digénis et la frontière orientale de Byzance aux Xe et XIe siècles," *TM* 7 (1979) 375–97. —E.M.J., M.J.J.

DIGEST (from Lat. *Digesta*, lit. "that which has been classified," Gk. Πανδέκται, "all-encompassing"), a legal compilation promulgated by Justinian I on 16 Dec. 529 through the bilingual introductory constitution "Tanta/Dedoken." This constitution gives information about the origin, content, and arrangement of the work: excerpts were made from the writings of Roman lawyers of the Republic and the Principate—esp. from the legal literature of Ulpian and Paul (both first half of the 3rd C.), and these were arranged according to subject matter into 50 books subdivided into a varying number of titles. The method used by the 16-member commission under the direction of TRIBONIAN to classify material of "more than 3 million lines" (*Cod. Just.* I 17.2.1) is still disputed. Equally unresolved to this day is the extent of the INTERPOLATIONES, that is, corrections made to the original text by the compilers of the *Digest* with the express permission of Justinian. The most important MS of the *Digest* is the so-called *Florentina*, which dates from the 6th C. The *Digest* was used esp. by the "Anonymous" jurist (see ANONYMOUS, "ENANTIOPHANES") and by the jurists STEPHEN and DOROTHEOS for the teaching of law in Constantinople and Berytus. The Greek version of the entire *Digest* was received into the BASILIKA, though the sequence of the laws was changed.

ED. *CIC*, vol. 1, pt.2, with Eng. tr. by A. Watson (Philadelphia 1985).

LIT. Wenger, *Quellen* 576–600, 685–88. D. Osler, "The Compilation of Justinian's Digest," *ZSavRom* 102 (1985) 129–84. M. Kaser, "Zum heutigen Stand der Interpolationenforschung," *ZSavRom* 69 (1952) 60–101. *Vocabularium iurisprudentiae romanae*, 5 vols. (Berlin 1903–87). *Concordance to the Digest Jurists*, ed. T. Honoré, J. Menner (Oxford 1980). —M.Th.F.

DIGNITIES AND TITLES (ἀξίαι διὰ βραβείων), ranks in the official hierarchy. Unlike Western feudal titles, Byz. dignities were nonhereditary and bestowed by a BRABEION. Four consistent systems of dignities are known: (1) the late Roman system in which membership in the SENATE served

as the major denominator—the CLARISSIMI, later ILLUSTRIS, were SENATORS par excellence; (2) the system of the TAKTIKA in which dignities were concurrent with office, and all officials holding the dignity of PROTOSPATHARIOS and higher were considered members of the senate; (3) the Komnenian system in which the dignity depended on relationship with the emperor (son, brother, son-in-law, etc.); and (4) the late Byz. system reflected in pseudo-KODINOS in which the difference between dignity and OFFICE disappeared. The development of each system involved an inflation of old titles and their replacement by new ones; thus, the dignities of MAGISTROS, PATRIKIOS, and so on declined in importance by the mid-11th C., intermediary titles (PROEDROS, etc.) were introduced, and at the end of the century a new system based on the dignity of SEBASTOS elaborated. *Sebastos* was inflated by the end of the 12th C., giving way to pompous denominations such as *panhypersebastos*, *sebastohypertatos*, and *protosebastohypertatos*, some of which were known earlier. The *Kletorologion* of PHILOTHEOS lists 18 dignities of "bearded men" and eight of EUNUCHS. The following list, based on the *Kletorologion* of Philotheos, gives 18 dignities in descending order of importance.

Caesar
Nobelissimos
Kouropalates
Zoste patrikia
Magistros
Anthypatos
Patrikios
Protospatharios
Dishypatos
Spatharokandidatos
Spatharios
Hypatos
Strator
Kandidatos
Mandator
Vestitor
Silentiarios
Stratelates and Apo eparchon

LIT. Bury, *Adm. System* 20–23. Oikonomides, *Listes* 281–88. P. Koch, *Die byzantinischen Beamtentitel von 400 bis 700* (Jena 1903). F. Winkelmann, *Byzantinische Rang- und Amtsstruktur im 8. und 9. Jahrhundert* (Berlin 1985) 29–68. J.C. Cheynet, "Dévaluation des dignités et dévaluation monétaire dans la seconde moitié du XIe siècle," *Byzantion* 53 (1983) 453–77. Hohlweg, *Beiträge* 34–40. J. Verpeaux, "Hiérarchie et préséances sous les Paléologues," *TM* 1 (1965) 421–37. —A.K.

DIKAIODOTES (δικαιοδότης), a high-ranking JUDGE. In a nontechnical sense of "dispenser of the laws" the term was known in antiquity and used in Byz. texts (e.g., NE 19 [1925] 181.6). As the head of a SEKRETON, the *dikaiodotes* is mentioned for the first time in an edict of Alexios I of 1094 (J. Nicole, BZ 3 [1894] 20.6). The *dikaiodotes* presided over one of the tribunals in Constantinople. The post was very important in a civil career; its holders could obtain simultaneously the office of *kanikleios* (Laurent, *Corpus* 2, no.226). Theodore Pantechnes, during his career of 1148–82, exercised the functions of quaestor, *dikaiodotes*, and eparch of the city (Darrouzès, *Tornikès* 50f). The precise character of the duties of the *dikaiodotes* is not yet known. The last mention is that of 1197 (*Patmou Engrapha* 1, no.11 B.34–35, p.108)—the *sebastos* and *dikaiodotes* Michael Belissariotes.

LIT. Oikonomides, "Évolution" 135. Laurent, *Corpus* 2:478–80. —A.K.

DIKAIOPHYLAX (δικαιοφύλαξ), a title designating a subaltern judge, first attested in Constantinople and the provinces in the mid-11th C., conferred by the emperor on both laymen and churchmen (Laurent, *Corpus* 2, nos. 902–04; N. Oikonomides, TM 6 [1976] 135). From the reign of Michael VIII the title was conferred exclusively on churchmen by imperial appointment. The *dikaiophylax's* duties involved cases of an ecclesiastical nature and required knowledge of civil and canon law. The first *dikaiophylax* in Constantinople after its reconquest in 1261, the deacon and *epiton deeseon* of Hagia Sophia, Theodore SKOUTAROTES, was empowered to exercise all the judicial functions and rights formerly attached to the office (MM 5:246f). Skoutariotes and all subsequent *dikaiophylakes* were included among the EXOKATAKOULOI, combining one of the titles assigned to the latter with that of *dikaiophylax*.

LIT. Darrouzès, *Offikia* 109–11.

—R.J.M.

DIKAIOS, used only in dative case, *δικαίῳ*, "by commission," was a term formed similarly to EK PROSOPOU; it designated a deputy (of a patriarch), an administrator acting on behalf of (lit. "in the right of") the patriarch. The CHARTOPHYLAX is described as acting *dikaio tes archierosynes* in a novel of Alexios I of 1094 (Zepos, *Jus* 1:649) and as *dikaio tou patriarchou* by Balsamon (Rhalles-Potles, *Syntagma* 2:587.11–12); John Cheilas, metropoli-

tan of Ephesus in the second half of the 13th C., wrote about the professors of the Great Church who taught on behalf of the patriarch (*dikaio tou patriarchou*) as his representatives, *ekprosopountes* (Darrouzès, *Ecclès.* 388.3–4). In 1350, the synod of Constantinople announced that the *hieromonachos* Niphon was not the patriarch's representative (*eis dikaio autou*—MM 1:297.25). An act of 1316 (*Esphig.*, no.12.66) mentions also the agent (*dikaio*) of the *protos* of Mt. Athos. More than ten other "agents" of the *protos* are mentioned in the documents of 1322–94, and others are known after 1462 (D. Papachryssanthou in *Prot.* 161–64). An exceptional case is Theodosios, who signed an act of 1375 as "monk and *dikaio* (in nominative case) of the Holy Mountain," not of the *protos* (Pantel, no.15.21).

LIT. Darrouzès, *Offikia* 131, 348–40. Meester, *De monachico statu* 294, 305. —A.K., A.M.T.

DIKTYS OF CRETE, author of what purports to be an eyewitness account of the Trojan War (*Ephemeris belli Troiani*) but was actually written in the 2nd or 3rd C., as two papyrus fragments of the lost Greek original (*P.Tebt.* II 268, *P.Oxy.* XXXI 2539) testify. These fragments also support the claims of the Latin translation by "Septimius" (4th C.?) to be a faithful version of the first five books; the remaining books have been condensed into one. Extracts from the original text of Diktys are embedded in the Byz. chronicle tradition, esp. in John MALALAS. They have, however, been recast and confused with the work of the otherwise unknown Sisyphe of Kos. Diktys's account, determinedly rationalistic and eschewing the supernatural, was a major source on the Trojan War for the Byz., for some of whom—e.g., John TZETZES—Diktys provided a counterbalance to the "falsehoods" of HOMER. Diktys's material is also reflected in the vernacular WAR OF TROY, a close translation of Benoit de Ste. Maure's French adaptation of the Latin version.

ED. Dictys Cretensis *Ephemeridos belli Troiani libri sex*², ed. W. Eisenhut (Leipzig 1973). *The Trojan War: The Chronicles of Dictys of Crete and Dares the Phrygian*, tr. R.M. Frazer (Bloomington, Ind., 1966).

LIT. A. Peristerakis, *Diktys ho Kres* (Athens 1984).

—E.M.J., M.J.J.

DIMODAION (διμοδαῖον, lit. "of two modioi"?), a SECONDARY TAX. In the list of taxes collected in Lampsakos in 1218 it is reckoned as an insignifi-

cant sum (0.6 percent of the whole amount), whereas in a *praktikon* of Lavra of 1321 it amounts to about 14 percent of the OIKOUMENON (*Lavra* 2, no.109.941). The nature of the *dimodaion* is unclear: Solovjev-Mošin (*Grčke povelje* 423f) associate it with trade duties, G. Litavrin (*VizVrem* 37 [1976] 23) with taxes on fruit trees. In many documents it appears together with CHARAGMA (e.g., *Xénoph.*, no.29.19; *Lavra* 3, no.118.196–97); both were said to be collected annually (*Esphig.* 7, no.14); it can also be mentioned in a different context, e.g., listed between ZEUGARATIKION and MITATON (*Docheiar.*, no.25.15). —A.K.

DINOGETIA (Δινογέτεια, mod. Garvăn in Rumania), city and stronghold that formed a part of the *limes* in SCYTHIA MINOR. It was located on a small island in the Danube. Excavations have revealed two layers of settlement. The late Roman (4th–6th C.) rectangular fortress was built on a rock dominating the island; it had a cobblestone and brick-paved main street 4–5 m broad and official buildings, such as the *praetorium*, baths, basilica, etc. Dinogetia was damaged by fire, probably during the COTRIGUR attack in 559, and was deserted ca.600. The fortress was restored by John I Tzimiskes and was inhabited, according to coin finds, through the reign of John II Komnenos. Excavations revealed habitations (mostly semisubterranean) and a small church; the population engaged in fishing, agriculture, and carving bone and wood. Connections with Byz. are attested to by coins (some hoards of gold were found), jewelry, and seals, including that of Symeon, *katepano* of "Paradounabon" (PARISTRION). A seal of Michael, "*poimenarches* of Rhosia," indicates ecclesiastical connections with Kiev during the first half of the 12th C. Identification of the castle (*phrourion*) of Demnitzikos mentioned in Kinnamos (Kinn. 93.19) as Dinogetia (A. Bolşacov-Ghimpu, RESEE 5 [1967] 543–49) remains hypothetical.

LIT. I. Barnea, "Dinogetia—ville byzantine du bas-Danube," *Byzantina* 10 (1980) 237–87. G. Ştefan et al., *Dinogetia*, vol. 1 (Bucharest 1967). A. Barnea, "Dinogetia III. Precizări cronologice," *Peuce* 9 (1984) 339–46.

—A.K.

DIOCESE (διοίκησις), territorial unit of both secular and ecclesiastical administration.

Secular Diocese. In the early Roman Empire the diocese was a part of a province. In the late 3rd C. the term was applied by Diocletian to a greater area, larger than the province but smaller than the PREFECTURE of the PRAETORIAN PREFECT. According to the so-called VERONA LIST, ca.297 the empire consisted of 12 dioceses: Oriens (later divided into Egypt and Oriens), Pontus, Asia, Thrace, Moesia (divided later into Dacia and Macedonia), Pannonia, Britain, Gaul, the Seven Provinces (Vienne), Italy (later divided into two parts, with centers at Milan and Rome), Spain, and Africa. At the head of the diocese stood the VICAR, but some seem to have been administered directly by the praetorian prefect. The system of dioceses, planned as a vehicle of centralization, created a cumbersome bureaucracy. In the 5th C. it ceased to operate effectively. Anastasios I and Justinian I tried to abolish it (Jones, LRE 1:374) and to transfer some functions from the vicar to the provincial governor. The diocese system disappeared in the 7th C.

LIT. E. Kornemann, RE 5 (1907) 727–34. A. Chastagnol, "L'administration du diocèse italien au Bas-Empire," *Historia* 12 (1963) 348–79. K.L. Noethlichs, "Zur Entstehung der Diözesen als Mittelinstanz des spätrömischen Verwaltungssystems," *Historia* 31 (1982) 70–81. —A.K.

Ecclesiastical Diocese. The ecclesiastical diocese was an administrative unit modeled on the secular diocese (to be distinguished from its modern usage as an episcopal province). The First Council of Constantinople of 381 (canon 2) mentions dioceses of Alexandria, Oriens, and Asia; so also pseudo-Palladios, in his *Dialogue* on John Chrysostom, speaks of the Egyptian and Asian dioceses; in the 5th C. Sokrates referred to the Pontic diocese. Following the example of secular provincial administration, dioceses were subdivided into episcopal provinces, EPARCHIAI and PAROIKIAI. The Council of Antioch of 341 distinguished between the bishop of a metropolis (i.e., *eparchia*) and one of a *paroikia*. The bishops of dioceses acquired the titles of exarchs and/or patriarchs, with the exception of the bishop of Constantinople, who was titled patriarch without being the head of a diocese.

The system of patriarchate-metropolis-bishopric became entrenched in the Byz. church; the diocesan units, on the other hand, disappeared, although territories controlled by the EXARCH resembled, to a certain extent, the late antique dioceses. Nevertheless, canonists of the 12th C.

discuss the term: according to Zonaras (PG 137:420C), patriarchs were the exarchs of dioceses. Balsamon (PG 137:420AB) is even more explicit; he says, with some hesitation, "The exarch of a *dioikesis*, I believe, is not the metropolitan of each *eparchia*, but the metropolitan of the entire diocese; as for the diocese, it comprises many *eparchiai*. . . . Now some of the metropolitans are called exarchs, but in their dioceses they have no metropolitans subordinated to them; it is plausible that [our] exarchs are different from the exarchs of that time [of the time of the council of Chalcedon] or that they are the same but have lost the privileges given to them by the canons [of Chalcedon]." The term is not employed after the 12th C. The word *dioikesis* was also used in a general sense for government or ordering—by Christ, the angels, the Devil, the church, etc.

LIT. A. Scheuermann, *RAC* 3:1056–59. A Fliche, V. Martin, *Histoire de l'Église*, 3 (Paris 1936; rp. 1947) 437–87. —A.P., A.K.

DIOCLETIAN (Διοκλητιανός), emperor (284–305); born Dalmatia 22 Dec. 243 or 245?, died Split, 3 Dec. 313 or 316. Diocles, as he was originally known, rose from an obscure origin through the army to become *comes domesticorum* and then emperor. He ended the anarchy of the 3rd C., in part by appointing MAXIMIAN as augustus in 283 and GALERIUS and CONSTANTIUS CHLORUS as caesars in 293, thus forming the TETRARCHY. As senior emperor Diocletian devoted his attention primarily to the East, from his residence at Nikomedeia. During his reign Diocletian reformed the administrative structure of the state by approximately doubling the number of provinces and grouping them into DIOCESES, each under the jurisdiction of a VICAR. Diocletian seems generally to have made a principle of separating military and civil authority, and most of the governors had no troops. Late in his reign he apparently began to appoint *duces* as military commanders, usually with jurisdiction that crossed provincial boundaries. In military policy Diocletian is commonly contrasted with CONSTANTINE I since he generally relied on stationary frontier troops, although each member of the imperial college apparently had a mobile field army. Diocletian attempted to restore the finances of the empire with reformed coinage and the PRICE EDICT. He regularized requisitions in kind with the ANNONA based on a system of CAPITATIO-JUGATIO.

Like many of his predecessors, Diocletian identified himself with one of the gods, in his case Jupiter. He did not, however, take action against the Christians until 303, with the beginning of the Great Persecution, in which scriptures were to be surrendered and churches demolished. Subsequent edicts dismissed all Christians in state service, subjected them to legal disabilities, and finally ordered the arrest of clergy. The persecutions were unevenly enforced, but there were evidently many apostasies. Byz. tradition remembers Diocletian primarily as a persecutor. On 1 May 305 Diocletian abdicated and went into retirement at SPLIT, where he had built a palace. He emerged from there only briefly to attend the Conference of Carnuntum in 308, after which his life is obscure.

Diocletian's physiognomy, esp. his downturned mouth and short-cropped beard, is familiar from a number of busts and medallions (*Age of Spirit*, no. 3).

LIT. Jones, *LRE* 37–76. S. Williams, *Diocletian and the Roman Recovery* (London 1985). P. Brennan, "Diocletian and the Goths," *Phoenix* 38 (1984) 142–46. G. Thomas, "L'abdication de Dioclétien," *Byzantion* 43 (1973) 229–47. —T.E.G., A.C.

DIOCLETIANIC ERA, an era used in Egypt, computed from the starting point of 1 Thoth (29 Aug.) A.D. 284. Originating in pagan computations of the genealogy of the Apis bull and used in 4th-C. horoscopes, it came to be employed by Egyptian Christians in the 6th and 7th C. in epitaphs, colophons, and eventually in documents. In the late 8th C. in Nubia it also came to be called the "Era of the Martyrs," and this name gradually superseded the earlier designation by the 13th C.

LIT. L. MacCoull, K. Worp, "The Era of the Martyrs," in *Miscellanea Papyrologica*, ed. R. Pintaudi (Florence 1989). —L.S.B. MacC.

DIODOROS (Διόδωρος), bishop of Tarsos (from 378) and theologian; born Antioch, died before 394. Educated at Athens, Diodoros became a monk and then *hegoumenos* of a monastery outside of Antioch. He was an ardent opponent of Arianism and of the pagan revival of Emp. Julian. In 372 Valens banished him to Armenia; he was then recalled and made bishop of Tarsos.

Diodoros played an important role in the mid-

4th-C. ecclesiastical struggle in Antioch, and JOHN CHRYSOSTOM, his pupil, praised him as the new John the Baptist; for JULIAN (ep. 55, ed. Wright), on the other hand, Diodoros was a fallacious propagator of "a boorish religion." Diodoros was an ally of BASIL THE GREAT and one of the most influential participants in the Council of Constantinople in 381. His doctrine was developed in polemics against ARIUS, in which he stressed the perfect divinity of Christ, and against APOLLINARIS, in which he emphasized the perfect humanity of Christ; to avoid contradiction, Diodoros developed the concept of the coexistence of the Logos and man in Christ, the Logos dwelling in man as in a shrine. Accordingly, Diodoros described the Virgin as *anthropotokos*, "giving birth to a man."

After the death of Diodoros his teaching was censured by CYRIL of Alexandria, who quite logically saw in Diodoros a forerunner of NESTORIOS. It is generally assumed that Diodoros was condemned in 499, but this hypothesis is refuted by L. Abramowski (*RHE* 60 [1965] 64f). At any rate, his works were lost, although in the *Souda* and the Syriac Ebedjesu (died 1318) indications of his enormous productivity are found. Some fragments of his many theological commentaries and polemics are extant in Armenian, Syriac, Latin, and Greek. His treatise entitled *Against Astronomers, Astrologers and Fate*, known only from Photios's lengthy notice (*Bibl.*, cod. 223), argues for faith in God and divine providence, rejecting the concept of fate and the influence of the stars, thereby contesting the views of the 3rd-C. astrologer Bardesanes of Edessa (C. Schäublin, *RhM* n.s. 123 [1980] 51–67).

ED. PG 33:1545–1628. *Commentarii in Psalmos*, ed. J.M. Olivier (Turnhout 1980). M. Brière, "Quelques fragments syriaques de Diodore évêque de Tarse (378–394?)," *ROC* 3 10 (1946) 231–83, with Fr. tr.

LIT. C. Schäublin, *Untersuchungen zu Methode und Herkunft der antiochenischen Exegese* (Cologne-Bonn 1974) 43–83. R.A. Greer, "The Antiochene Christology of Diodore of Tarsus," *JThSt* 17 (1966) 327–41. J.R. Pouchet, "Les rapports de Basile de Césarée avec Diodore de Tarse," *Bulletin de littérature ecclésiastique* 87 (1986) 243–72. —B.B., A.K.

DIOGENES (Διογένης), a noble lineage, probably of Cappadocian origin (Attal. 99.21–22, 170.16–17). In the 11th C. Psellos regarded the family as "ancient and flourishing" (Psellos, *Chron.* 2:157, par. 10.2); the first attested Diogenes, however, is

Constantine, commander of the *tagma* of Western *scholae* under Basil II. His career was concentrated in the Balkans: he commanded the troops in Thessalonike and was *archon* of Sirmium; a seal of a *strategos* of "Serbia" is usually ascribed to him (V. Laurent, *REB* 15 [1957] 190f), but the meaning of "Serbia" remains questionable. It is also unclear whether Constantine was governor of Bulgaria. Married to a niece of Romanos III Argyros, Constantine was accused of conspiring against him, transferred to Asia Minor as *strategos* of the Thrakesian theme, and eventually arrested; he died during an inquest. His son became Emp. ROMANOS IV DIOGENES, whose sons were allies of the Komnenos family: Constantine, married to Alexios I's sister Theodora, was killed at the walls of Antioch in 1073; Alexios appointed Nikephoros Diogenes governor of Crete.

Nonetheless the family remained inclined to revolt: involved in a plot in 1094, Nikephoros was blinded and exiled to his estates. Several members of the Diogenes family (or imposters who took their name) acted against Constantinople in alliance with foreign princes: Ordericus Vitalis mentions "the son of august Diogenes," instigated by Bohemund to claim the imperial throne; the *Russian Primary Chronicle* tells about a Cuman expedition against Byz. in 1095 commanded by a certain Diogenes; in 1116 Leo Diogenes, the son-in-law of VLADIMIR MONOMACH, participated in an expedition of the Rus' against Byz. The family's role declined by the 12th C., and John Diogenes is known only in the modest position of Manuel I's court orator. In 1254 Constantine Diogenes, *doux* of Leros and Kalymnos, was ordered to conduct a census of these islands; his *praktikon* is still unpublished (Angold, *Byz. Government* 139, n. 110). No data about later members of the family survive.

LIT. M. Mathieu, "Les faux Diogènes," *Byzantion* 22 (1952) 133–48. —A.K.

DIOIKETES (διοικητής), a term designating several fiscal officials. The origin of the term is obscure. Bury's suggestion (*Adm. System* 89) that it was connected with the late Roman DIOCESE was rejected by Dölger; Egyptian *dioiketai* were fiscal and judicial functionaries on the local level despite their high-sounding epithets (A. Steinwenter, *Studien zu den koptischen Rechtsurkunden* [Leipzig 1920; rp. Amsterdam 1967] 19–25); Theophanes

(Theoph. 367.27) uses the word in a vague sense of "administrator." A clear indication that the *dioiketes* was a tax collector is given only in Leo VI's novel 61 and the *Treatise on Taxation* in the Marcian MS (Venice Marc. gr. 173, fols. 276v–281). The first mention of *dioiketes* is that of Paul, "dioiketes of the eastern *eparchiai*" in 680 (probably the same as Paul, "dioiketes of the Anatolikon," whose seal is in Zacos, *Seals* 1, no.2290), although the acts of the Third Council of Constantinople (680–81) do not clarify Paul's functions. *Dioiketai* of the *eparchiai* are known from seals of the 7th and 8th C. (Laurent, *Corpus* 2:654–58). *Dioiketai* belonged to the *sekretion* of the GENIKON but carried out their duties in the provinces. Zacos and Vegler (Zacos, *Seals* 1, p.1880) published 37 seals of various *dioiketai* linked either to traditional provinces (Bithynia, Galatia, Lydia, Thrace) or new territorial units (Anatolikon), but mostly islands (Samos and Chios, Euboea, Andros, Cyprus, Sicily) and cities, predominantly coastal (Ephesus, Kyzikos, Myra, Rhaidestos, Miletos, Thessalonike). The latest seal (no.3161) is of the early 10th C. Later *dioiketai* belonged to themes, such as a *dioiketes* of Boleron, Strymon, and Thessalonike in 1074 (*Lavra* 1, no.36.5). It is plausible that *dioiketai* were rewarded by the so-called SYNTHETIA (*Ivir*. 1, no.29.96, a. 1047). The term remained in use in the 14th C. and the office is mentioned in pseudo-KODINOS, but after 1109 the *dioiketes* was replaced by the PRAKTOR. Another *dioiketes*—"of the *metata*" (see MITATON)—belonged to the department of the LOGOTHETES TON AGELOU (Laurent, *Corpus* 2:297f).

LIT. Dölger, *Beiträge* 70f.

—A.K.

DIOKLEIA (Διόκλεια), a stronghold (*kastron*) in Illyricum, at the confluence of the Zeta and Morava rivers. Excavations have located it north of modern Titograd and have revealed remains of walls, an aqueduct, and a basilica (C. Patsch, *RE* 5 [1905] 1251).

In 297 Diokleia became the capital of the Roman province of Praevalitana. The *kastron* was allegedly built by Diocletian—the legend is preserved by Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos (*De adm. imp.* 29.11–14), Kinnamos, and some Latin texts (A. Meyer in *Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku* 54–59 [1954–57] 35–102). Another tradition asserts that Diocletian was a native of

Diokleia (P. Skok in *Starohrvatska prosveta*, vol. 1 [1927] 62f). It is unclear when Diokleia became a bishopric (G. Mikulin, *DHGE* 14 [1960] 541) but, at the beginning of the 7th C., Pope Gregory I addressed letters to its bishop. Soon thereafter the city was destroyed by the Avars; in the 10th C. Constantine VII (*De adm. imp.* 35.9–11) noted that the *kastron* of Diokleia was deserted. Legend has it that the last bishop of Diokleia fled either to Dubrovnik or Antivari.

The name *Diokleia* was also extended over the entire region along the Adriatic littoral between the theme of DYRRACHION in the south and the town of Kotor in the north. The population was Slav (predominantly Serbian) with strong Roman elements. Constantine VII locates the region of Diokleia near "the *kastellia* of Dyrrachion" and states that in his time the area was populated by the Diokletianoï, a tribe considered by the Byz. as "Scythian" along with the Croats, "Serbloi," Zachloumoi, Terbouniotai, and Kanalitai. A seal of Peter, *archon* of Diokleia, has been dated (Schlumberger, *Sig.* 433) in the 9th C., but it is not known whether Peter was the commander of a Byz. garrison or an independent ruler. The name *Diokleia* reappears in Kekaumenos (Kek. 168.12) as a site where "Tribounios the Serbos" routed the army of Michael, *katepano* of Dyrrachion. In 1179 Constantine Doukas was Byz. governor (*doux*) of Diokleia, Dalmatia, Split, and Dyrrachion (Ahrweiler, *Mer* 260f). It is an established scholarly view that the region of Diokleia or Duklja was also called ZETA from the 11th C. onward.

LIT. *Istorija Crne Gore*, vol. 1 (Titograd 1967) 316–403. G. Litavrin in Kek. 406–08. Ferluga, *Byzantium* 205–13. A. Cermanović-Kuzmanović et al., *Antička Duklja* (Cetinje 1975). V. Korać, "L'architecture du Haut Moyen Age en Dioclée et Zeta," *Balkanoslavica* 5 (1976) 155–72. J. Kovačević, "Etnička i društvena pripadnost ktitora u Duklji i Pomorju od kraja VIII do kraja XIII vek," *IstGl*, no.2 (1955) 118–20. —I.Dj., A.K.

DIOKLETIANOUPOLIS. See KASTORIA.

DIONYSIOS OF TELL MAHRĒ, Jacobite patriarch of Antioch (from 818); died 845. In addition to his successful administration of the Monophysite church in Syria and Mesopotamia under the disabilities imposed by the Islamic government, the fame of Dionysios rests on his reputation as an ecclesiastical chronicler, whose now lost work

was quoted by later writers such as MICHAEL I THE SYRIAN (died 1199) and GREGORY ABŪ'L-FARAJ. As a result Dionysios was mistakenly believed to be the author of a universal chronicle in Syriac, written in the late 8th C. by an anonymous monk in the monastery of Zuqnīn, in northern Mesopotamia near Amida. The *Chronicle of pseudo-Dionysios of Tell Mahrē*, as the work is now called, is preserved in a unique 9th-C. MS. Its contents record the succession of events from biblical times to the year 775 (it mentions Emp. Leo IV), with the fullest narratives covering the final 47 years (728/9–75), presumably the years of the writer's maturity. The *Chronicle* is important as a record of the relationships between Byz. and the Arabs in the 8th C. It incorporates the so-called *Chronicle* of JOSHUA THE STYLITE. The author drew material from a number of earlier sources (such as the *Ecclesiastical History* of JOHN OF EPHESUS) for which the *Chronicle* is itself now an important source.

ED. J.-B. Chabot, *Chronique de Denys de Tell-Mahrē, quatrième partie* (Paris 1895). *Incerti auctoris Chronicon Pseudo-Dionysianum vulgo dictum*, ed. idem, 2 vols. (Paris 1927–33, Louvain 1949, 1952), with Lat. tr. [CSCO 91, 104, 121].

LIT. R. Abramowski, *Dionysius von Tellmahre* (Leipzig 1940). W. Witkowski, *The Syriac Chronicle of pseudo-Dionysius of Tel-Mahrē* (Uppsala 1987). —S.H.G.

DIONYSIOS THE AREOPAGITE (Διονύσιος ὁ Ἀρεοπαγίτης), 1st-C. saint; feastday 3 Oct. Dionysios was a noble Athenian, a member of the supreme tribunal of the city, who was converted by St. Paul and selected by him as first bishop of Athens. MAXIMOS THE CONFESSOR cites allusions to Dionysios in early sources (Dionysios, bishop of Corinth; Polycarp's letter to the Athenians; Eusebios of Caesarea) but knows little about the saint's biography. The Latin legend confused him with Dionysios, a missionary in Gaul, and developed the theme of his martyrdom. The Latin legend was translated into Greek by an anonymous hagiographer (PG 4:669–84); his text later served as the source for the vita produced probably ca.833 or 834 by MICHAEL SYNKELLOS, who transferred the date of Dionysios's execution from the reign of Domitian to that of Trajan. Symeon Metaphrastes included Dionysios in his *menologion* (PG 115:1032–49), and his life is briefly described in the *Synaxarion of Constantinople*, where the saint is portrayed as follows: "He was of moderate height, emaciated, with white and sallow skin, flat-

nosed, with puckered eyebrows, sunken eyes, always deep in thought, with large ears, abundant gray hair, a moderately cleft upper lip, a straggly beard, a slight pot-belly and long slender fingers" (*SynaxCP* 102.8–14).

Representation in Art. Byz. artists imagined Dionysios as an elderly bishop of Athens, who, after his execution, was able to carry his own head around and entrust it to a Christian woman. He is thought to have witnessed the eclipse at the time of the CRUCIFIXION (Khludov Psalter, Moscow, Hist. Mus. gr. 129, fol.45v) and to have been present at the DORMITION of the Virgin.

LIT. BHG 554–58. R. Loenertz, "Le panégyrique de s. Denys l'Aréopagite par s. Michel le Syncelle," *AB* 68 (1950) 94–107. A.M. Ritter, *LCI* 6:60f. A. Louth, *Denys, the Areopagite* (London 1989). —A.K., N.P.S.

DIONYSIOS THE AREOPAGITE, PSEUDO-, pseudonym of the author of a corpus of theological writings that includes *Celestial Hierarchy*, *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*, *Mystical Theology*, *Divine Names*, and letters; fl. ca.500?. The author represents himself as St. Paul's disciple, but his true identity is unknown: various candidates have been proposed, including SEVEROS of Antioch, PETER THE FULLER, PETER THE IBERIAN, or someone in the circle of JOHN SCHOLASTIKOS. His theology was irrelevant to the major problem of his era—the relationship between the natures in the incarnate Christ; Dionysios dealt with the same philosophical problem of unity and plurality on a completely different level—even his vocabulary differs from that of his contemporary theologians. Dionysios drew extensively upon the Neoplatonists, esp. PROKLOS, but he introduced essential revisions in the system of Proklos: Dionysios eliminated the concept of the *psyche*, moved the world of ideas from the *nous* to the "One," and emphasized the *chorismos* (separation) between God and created beings.

While dealing with the problem of the TRINITY, Dionysios avoided the Neoplatonic construction of the triad that might have been helpful for his purpose (B. Bruns, *Gott und die Seienden* [Göttingen 1976] 325f). He stressed God's ineffability and unity and dwelt more on God's attitude toward the created world than on his internal development in the categories of natures and hypostases. The world, created not by God's free will but by innermost necessity, was a static, not a historical

(i.e., developing) system and consisted of certain hierarchies—angels, institutions, and men; salvation was a result of God's incarnation and philanthropy rather than an active volition of the soul to ascend to God. Dionysios's hierarchical vision of the cosmos was profoundly social—even though H. Goltz (*Hiera mesiteia* [Erlangen 1974] 200) overstates it as a "legal and rational type of power organization."

Dionysios's emphasis on the divine unity accounts for his acceptance by the MONOPHYSITES: Severos was the first to refer to Dionysios, and the Monophysites employed Dionysios in the discussions in Constantinople in 532/3; their Orthodox opponent HYPATIOS of Ephesus rejected Dionysios's evidence as a forgery. Later, however, Dionysios was recognized by the Orthodox, esp. MAXIMOS THE CONFESSOR, and PACHYMERES wrote a paraphrase of Dionysios. He was less popular in Byz., however, than among the Syrians and esp. in the West where his hierarchical worldview gave a convenient ideological sanction to the feudal organization.

In 827 a MS of Dionysios was presented to Louis the Pious by a Byz. embassy; soon thereafter the corpus was translated into Latin (M. McCormick, *ICS* 12 [1987] 218f). The pseudo-Dionysian corpus also attracted the attention of such scholars as John Scotus Eriugena and Robert GROSSETESTE. As a writer Dionysios made abundant use of composite words, tautologies, and antitheses; such an "obscure" style was meant to reflect the complexity and contradictions of the enigmatic world (Averincev, *Poetika* 139f).

ED. PG 3-4. *La hiérarchie céleste*², ed. R. Roques et al. (Paris 1970), with Fr. tr. *Tutte le opere*, eds. E. Bellini, P. Scazzoso (Milan 1981), with Ital. tr. *The Complete Works*, tr. C. Luibheid (New York 1987).

LIT. Armstrong, *Philosophy* 457-72. R. Roques, *L'Univers dionysien* (Paris 1983). S. Lilla, "Introduzione allo studio dello Ps. Dionigi l'Areopagita," *Augustinianum* 22 (1982) 533-77. P. Rorem, *Biblical and Liturgical Symbols within the Pseudo-Dionysian Synthesis* (Toronto 1984). A. van den Daele, *Indices Pseudo-Dionysiani* (Louvain 1941). —A.K., B.B.

DIONYSIOS THRAX, Greek grammarian and pupil of Aristarchos, whose work on Homeric philology he continued; born Alexandria ca. 170, died ca. 90 B.C. His *Grammar* (*Techne grammatike*) is the earliest surviving systematic treatment of the subject and the only book of a Hellenistic scholar

to survive in nearly original form. It sums up a long tradition of linguistic study by Hellenistic scholars. Essentially a series of definitions, sometimes illustrated by examples, the work is based on the usage of poets and prose writers, not on the spoken language. It deals with prosody, phonology (see PHONETICS AND PHONOLOGY), the parts of speech, and MORPHOLOGY, but not syntax. The brevity and clarity of Dionysios's work guaranteed it success as a schoolbook for more than 1,000 years. A mass of commentaries grew up around it, some the work of a single author, such as George CHOIROBOSKOS or HELIODOROS, others catenallike compilations. Dionysios's *Grammar* served as a model for the Latin grammatical studies of Varro, Remmius Palaemon, and later scholars. It was translated into Syriac—to the structure of which it was ill adapted—and Armenian. The Armenian version in its turn was the object of several commentaries (N. Adontz, *Denys le Thrace et les commentaires arméniens* [Louvain 1970]). Though largely replaced in the Greek world as a schoolbook in the 13th C. by the *Erotemata* of Manuel MOSCHOPOULOS and similar pedagogical grammars, Dionysios's work greatly influenced the Renaissance study of language. Modern European grammatical terminology is largely based on the work of Dionysios.

ED. *Dionysii Thracis Ars grammatica*, ed. G. Uhlig (Leipzig 1883; rp. Hildesheim 1965). A. Hilgard, *Scholia in Dionysii Thracis Artem grammaticam* (Leipzig 1901; rp. Hildesheim 1965).

LIT. R. Pfeiffer, *History of Classical Scholarship: From the Beginnings to the End of the Hellenistic Age* (Oxford 1968) 266-72. M. Fuhrmann, *Das systematische Lehrbuch: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Wissenschaften in der Antike* (Göttingen 1960) 29-34. W. Hoerschelmann, *De Dionysii Thracis interpretibus veteribus* (Leipzig 1874). —R.B.

DIONYSIOU MONASTERY, located on a rock 80 m above the southwest coast of the peninsula of Mt. ATHOS between the monasteries of Gregoriou and St. Paul. Dedicated to St. John the Baptist, Dionysiou (Διονυσίου) is sometimes called Nea Petra because of its setting. It was founded between 1356 and 1366 by the monk Dionysios (born 1316), a native of Koresos in Macedonia and former monk at Philotheou. As a result of the mediation of his brother Theodosios, who became metropolitan of Trebizond in 1368/9, Dionysios was able to secure the patronage of the

Trapezuntine emperor ALEXIOS III KOMNENOS. The latter became the *ktetor* of Dionysiou, financing the construction of its principal buildings. In 1374 the emperor issued a confirmatory chrysobull (*Dionys.*, no. 4); at its head are depicted Alexios and his wife Theodora (Spatharakis, *Portrait*, fig. 136). The monastery also received property and fiscal exemptions from the emperors in Constantinople (*Dionys.*, nos. 3, 5, 10, 13). Dionysiou was declared a patriarchal monastery in 1389.

The archives contain 28 Byz. documents dating between 1056 and 1464. In the library are approximately 237 Greek MSS of the 15th C. or earlier (Lampros, *Athos* 1:319-436; Euthymios Dionysiates, *EEBS* 27 [1957] 233-71). Its most precious possessions are a richly illustrated lectionary, cod. 587 (C. Walter, *DChAE*⁴ 13 [1985-86] 181-89) and cod. 61, an 11th-12th-C. copy of the homilies of GREGORY OF NAZIANZOS. An ivory plaque depicting the Crucifixion above a scene of the soldiers casting lots (*BCH* 81 [1957] 604) may be of doubtful authenticity.

SOURCES. *Actes de Dionysiou*, ed. N. Oikonomides (Paris 1968). B. Laourdas, "Metrophanes, Bios tou hosiou Dionysiou tou Athonitou," *ArchPont* 21 (1956) 43-79.

LIT. O. Lampsides, "Biographika ton adelphon Dionysiou, hidrytos tes en Hagio Orei mones, kai Theodosiou, metropolitou Trapezountos," *Archeion ekklesiastikou kai kanonikou dikaiou* 18 (1963) 101-24. *Treasures* 1:36-223, 393-449. —A.M.T., A.C.

DIONYSIUS EXIGUUS, Christian scholar; fl. ca. 500-ca. 550. Dionysius was a monk (abbot in some sources) from Scythia who spent most of his life in Rome. CASSIODORUS reports that Dionysius assumed the Latin epithet Exiguus ("the Little") out of humility. His obsessive interest in the CHRONOLOGY of EASTER produced his most famous achievement, the first reckoning of historical events from the birth of Christ rather than from Diocletian (284), using 753/4 A.U.C. (*ab urbe condita*, "from the foundation of Rome") as the year of the Incarnation. He also assembled the first proper collection of CANON LAW, including translations of Greek laws. His laudable desire to reconcile the churches of East and West prompted him to translate important texts into Latin, for example, the Life of PACHOMIOS; *On the Making of Man* by GREGORY OF NYSSA; and the *Tome to the Armenians* of PROKLOS, patriarch of Constantinople.

ED. PL 67:9-520. *Die Canonessammlung des Dionysius Exiguus*, ed. A. Strewe (Berlin-Leipzig 1931). *La vie latine de Saint Pachôme*, ed. H. van Cranenburgh (Brussels 1969).

LIT. Grumel, *Chronologie* 224f, 227. W.M. Peitz, *Dionysius Exiguus-Studien* (Berlin 1960); rev. K. Schäferdieck, *ZKirch* 74 (1963) 353-68, C. Munier, *Sacris erudiri* 14 (1963) 236-50. H. Wurm, *Studien und Texte zur Dekretalensammlung des Dionysius Exiguus* (Bonn 1939; rp. Amsterdam 1964).

—B.B.

DIONYSOS, Greek god of fertility and wildlife, both animal and vegetable, primarily of wine; in a later myth the son of PERSEPHONE. His cult grew in importance during the Roman period when the idea of a happier life in the netherworld was connected with the image of Dionysos, and scenes of Dionysiac myths began to appear on sarcophagi. PROKLOS refers to an Orphic tradition that proclaimed Dionysos the king of all the gods for six generations, and MACROBIUS perceives him as the god who combines in himself other deities, such as Helios and Apollo, as the soul of the world (Daszewski, *infra* 41f). NONNOS OF PANOPOLIS devoted to Dionysos a voluminous epic, the *Dionysiaka*, in which the god is primarily a world-conqueror, subduing nation after nation in bloody battles and showing his courage. Finally, MALALAS—following, probably, EUSEBIOS OF CAESAREA—rationalized the ancient myth, humanizing and historicizing the god; he created for Dionysos a human genealogy and made him a mortal deified on account of his miracles and benefactions. O. Nicholson (*Byzantion* 54 [1984] 253-75) suggests that Galerius viewed Dionysos as his divine protector and interprets LACTANTIUS's criticism of Liber (Latin form of Dionysos) as polemics against Galerius.

A widespread motif in art—sometimes with connotations of resurrection—until the 6th C., the image of Dionysos disappears thereafter only to return in the 11th C. in the much narrower compass of illustrations to the homilies of GREGORY OF NAZIANZOS. Based on the commentaries of the pseudo-Nonnos, these most commonly pictured scenes from his birth and childhood (Weitzmann, *infra*, figs. 52-58, 164-65) and his military and maenadic companions (see MAENADS). In the pseudo-Oppian MS in Venice (Marc. gr. 479), Dionysos is depicted as a handsome youth wearing a short tunic and carrying ivy branches (Weitzmann, *infra*, fig. 119).

LIT. W.A. Daszewski, *Dionysos der Erlöser* (Mainz 1985). S.W. Reinert, "The Image of Dionysus in Malalas' Chronicle," in *Byzantine Studies in Honor of Milton V. Anastos*, ed. S. Vryonis [ByzMetabyz 4] (Malibu 1985) 1-41. Weitzmann, *Gr. Myth.* 46-49, 54f, 111f, 129f, 138-40, 179-83.

- A.K., A.C., A.M.T.

DIOSKORIDES, Greek physician and pharmacologist, author of works on PHARMACOLOGY and herbal lore; fl. ca.65. His *De materia medica* was a fundamental medical and pharmacological tract in Byz.; numerous physicians attached their comments to Dioskorides' original text, and occasionally challenged his opinions (J.M. Riddle, *DOP* 38 [1984] 95-102).

The *De materia medica* survives in at least ten illustrated MSS. The earliest (Vienna, ÖNB med. gr. 1) is the most luxurious of Byz. SCIENTIFIC MANUSCRIPTS, with 498 miniatures, mostly full-page paintings of plants in alphabetical order (as against Dioskorides' original sequence). It also includes depictions of snakes, insects, spiders, scorpions, various animals, and birds to illustrate paraphrases by Euteknios of the *Theriaka* and *Alexipharmaka* of Nicander, the *Ornithiaka* of Dionysios of Philadelphia, and similar tracts. Among five frontispieces, one shows seven famous physicians of antiquity, and one depicts ANICIA JULIANA, daughter of the empress Galla Placidia, surrounded by PERSONIFICATIONS and dropping gold on a copy of the book. A much-abraded acrostic within the octagonal ornament of this page was read by A. von Premerstein (*JbKSWien* 24 [1903] 105-24) as an expression of gratitude to Juliana from Honoratai (sometimes called Onoratoi), a town near Constantinople, for a church she had built there; in the spandrels of the octagon, putti are depicted building this church, which was completed, according to Theophanes the Confessor, by 512. Added marginalia indicate that the Vienna Dioskorides was in Latin hands for a time after the Fourth Crusade. In the 14th and 15th C. Greek monks in the monastery of St. John Prodromos in PETRA made numerous notations in the book. Among the monks was Nathanael, who was also a doctor at the nearby hospital founded by STEFAN UROŠ II MILUTIN. In 1406 Nathanael asked John CHORTASMENOS to have the MS restored and rebound; Chortasmenos partially transcribed the uncial text and added, in minuscule, names of persons and plants. In 1422/3 the MS was still in the Prodromos library; some-

time after 1520 it passed into the hands of the Jewish physician of Süleyman the Magnificent and was eventually purchased by Charles V.

A lavish copy of the Vienna Dioskorides was produced in the 10th C. (New York, Morgan Lib. 652). Romanos II sent an illustrated version to the caliph of Cordoba about the same time.

ED. *Pedanii Dioscuridis Anazarbei De materia medica*, ed. M. Wellmann, 3 vols. (Berlin 1906-14; rp. 1958). Facsimile and commentary—H. Gerstinger, *Dioscurides: Codex Vindobonensis Med. Gr. 1 der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek*, 2 vols. (Graz 1965-70). O. Mazal, *Pflanzen, Wurzeln, Säfte, Samen. Antike Heilkunst in Miniaturen des Wiener Dioskurides* (Graz 1981).

LIT. A. van Buren in *Illuminated Greek MSS*, no.6. J.M. Riddle, *Dioscorides on Pharmacy and Medicine* (Austin, Texas, 1985). Idem, "Dioscorides," in *Catalogus Translationum et Commentariorum*, eds. F.E. Cranz, P.O. Kristeller, vol. 4 (Washington, D.C., 1980) 1-143. J. Scarborough, V. Nutton, "The Preface of Dioscorides' *Materia Medica*," *Transactions and Studies of the College of Physicians of Philadelphia* 5 4 (1982) 187-227.

-A.C., J.S.

DIOSKOROS (Διόσκορος), patriarch of Alexandria (444-51); died Gangra 4 Sept. 454. Dioskoros succeeded CYRIL as bishop of Alexandria, determined to defend the position of his see and destroy all vestiges of dyophysite Christology, esp. as it was taught by THEODORET OF CYRRHUS and IBAS of Edessa. Haughty and impetuous in temperament, he antagonized even some of his natural allies in Alexandria. Dioskoros supported the Monophysite monk EUTYCHES in his conflict with Patr. FLAVIAN of Constantinople; in 449 he presided over the "Robber" Council of EPHEBUS, using coercion to secure the victory of Alexandrian theology and the condemnation of Flavian. Two years later at the Council of CHALCEDON Dioskoros was in turn deposed and exiled to Gangra, where he soon died; he was not, however, condemned for heresy but only for his strong-arm tactics at the "Robber" Council. Much of the Egyptian church remained loyal to Dioskoros until his death and refused to accept Proterios, who had been named as his successor in Alexandria by the council. Later Monophysite opinion, however, did not always regard Dioskoros with favor, but in some Monophysite circles he was viewed as a saint. A Syriac vita of Dioskoros by his disciple Theopistos is preserved (ed. F. Nau, *Journal Asiatique* 10 1 [1903] 5-108, 241-310).

LIT. N. Charlier, *DHGE* 14 (1960) 508-14. F. Haase, "Patriarch Dioskur I. von Alexandria nach monophysi-

tischen Quellen," in *Kirchengeschichtliche Abhandlungen* 6 (Breslau 1908) 141-233. J. Lebon, "Autour du cas de Dioscore d'Alexandrie," *Muséon* 59 (1946) 515-28.

-T.E.G.

DIOSKOROS OF APHRODITO in Egypt, poet and lawyer who represented the people's interests in letters and petitions to the local grandees; died after 585. Dioskoros (Διόσκορος) visited Constantinople in the 550s on family business (V. Martin, *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 15 [1929] 96-102). A cache of papyri containing his papers was found in the early 20th C. Apart from classical fragments, they contain his own writings. His prose includes an important Greek-Coptic glossary, petitions and business contracts, and a treatise on metrology. His verses, in assorted meters, range from classicizing exercises to panegyrics and epithalamia addressed to local magnates. Dioskoros's *enkoumion* of JUSTIN II provides early testimony on the veneration of the imperial image (L.S.B. MacCoull, *Byzantion* 54 [1984] 575-85). The verses show his fondness for decorative epithets, for self-quotation, and for combining pagan with Christian imagery. What once were thought to be inaccuracies in his versification can now be understood as reflections of Coptic phonology and syntax. Since much of his verse and prose output is preserved in draft stage, it affords an opportunity to see a late antique writer at work.

ED. E. Heitsch, *Die griechischen Dichterfragmente der römischen Kaiserzeit*, vol. 1 (Göttingen 1961) 127-52. Greek-Coptic glossary—H.I. Bell, W.E. Crum, *Aegyptus* 6 (1925) 177-226.

LIT. L.S.B. MacCoull, *Dioscorus of Aphrodito: His Work and His World* (Berkeley 1988). Eadem, "The Coptic Archive of Dioscorus of Aphrodito," *Chronique d'Egypte* 56.3 (1981) 185-93. Eadem, "Dioscorus and the Dukes: An Aspect of Coptic Hellenism in the Sixth Century," *BS/EB* 13 (1986) 30-40.

-B.B., L.S.B. MacC.

DIOSKOUROI, Castor and Polydeuces (Lat. Pollux), Greek mythological figures; twin brothers of Helen, they share immortality between them, living half their time in the netherworld and half on Mt. Olympos. Represented as riders on white steeds, the Dioskouroi were connected with the astral cult; they were also perceived as helpers of mankind, esp. at sea (e.g., HIMERIOS, ed. A. Colonna, or.9.112-13) and in illness. The veneration of the Dioskouroi continued after the triumph of Christianity: on North African pottery of the 4th

C. representations of the Dioskouroi are accompanied by the 12 apostles or the Raising of Lazarus, and on sarcophagi with the scene of St. Peter's arrest (F. Bejaoui, *AntAfr* 21 [1985] 173-77). Pope Gelasius I attests to the existence of a cult of "Castores" that the people did not want to abandon. The attitude of the church to the Dioskouroi was ambivalent: the church fathers rejected the myth of their immortality; on the other hand, they tried to replace the Dioskouroi by Christian pairs—thus, the apostles Peter and Paul assumed their function as helpers at sea, and KOSMAS AND DAMIANOS their function as healers. More questionable is the Dioskourian origin of the Cappadocian triplet saints Speusippos, Elasiippos, and Melesiippos, who are said to have been skilled riders. Niketas Choniates compares the imperial brothers Isaac II and Alexios III Angelos to the Dioskouroi (Nik.Chon. 452.14).

In the MS of pseudo-Oppian in Venice (Marc. gr. 479), Polydeuces is shown in a boxing match with Amykos, king of the Bebrykes, while Castor is depicted as a soldier. In other miniatures of the same MS the brothers are shown hunting, both on horseback and on foot (Weitzmann, *infra*, figs. 118, 128-29).

LIT. J.R. Harris, *The Dioscuri in the Christian Legends* (London 1903). H. Grégoire, *Saints jumeaux et dieux cavaliers* (Paris 1905). W. Kraus, *RAC* 3:1133-38. Weitzmann, *Gr. Myth.* 109-11.

-A.K., A.M.T.

DIOSPOLIS (Διόσπολις, also called Lydda, Ar. Ludd; George of Cyprus calls it Georgioupolis), a city in Palestine southeast of Jaffa, which became an early center of Christianity. Its bishop was *synkellos* of the patriarch of Jerusalem, and the see an autocephalous archbishopric. The Council of 415 in Diospolis supported Pelagius (see PELAGIANISM). According to the PIACENZA PILGRIM, a miraculous column stood near Diospolis; as the Lord was being led toward this pillar to be scourged, it was lifted up in a cloud and set down in the middle of the road. The cult of St. GEORGE was early attached to Diospolis. Legend has it that George was born in Diospolis and his remains brought there after his death in Nikomedeia; pilgrims speak of his miracle-working tomb in Diospolis. Even after 'AMR conquered Diospolis, the city remained a place where George was venerated: in the 10th C. there was a splendid church dedicated to him; a Muslim legend, probably based

on the image of George killing the dragon, predicted that at the door of this shrine Christ would slay the Antichrist. The remains of a monastery of St. George, built by the Crusaders over a church of Justinian I, are still evident in and around the Greek Orthodox church of Lydda.

(For Diospolis in Bulgaria, see IAMBOL.)

LIT. G. Hölscher, *RE* 13 (1927) 2120–22. M. Sharon, *EI*² 5:798–803. G. Beyer, "Die Stadtgebiete von Diospolis und Nikopolis im 4. Jahrh. n. Chr. und ihre Grenznachbarn," *ZDPV* 56 (1933) 218–53. M. Benvenisti, *The Crusaders in the Holy Land* (Jerusalem 1970) 167–70. *HC* 4:100. —G.V., A.K., Z.U.M.

DIPLOMACY, conducted for such purposes as negotiating TREATIES and arranging imperial marriages or exchanges of PRISONERS, was one of the main activities of the Byz. government and largely contributed to its successes. A solid ideology underlay this diplomacy, which an educated and versatile BUREAUCRACY conducted with subtle pragmatism.

The uniqueness and supremacy of the empire on earth was a concept inherited from Rome and enhanced by the theory that imperial power was obtained by God's will according to God's choice. Following these principles, the ideal would have been to unite all the world under one Christian Roman emperor, always perceived as a peacemaker (*eirenopoios*). This was one long-term objective for Byz. diplomacy, but in the meantime the defense of the empire had to be guaranteed. This basic theory remained practically unchanged throughout the history of Byz., even in its most somber moments.

The existence of other rulers, with varying degrees of sovereignty, was officially recognized. Each had a specific place in the theoretical framework of a big family, the center of which was the Byz. emperor: the designations "son" (often vassal), "brother," "cousin," "nephew," etc., indicated the closeness and the rank that the emperor assigned to each ruler. Following the imaginary example of heaven and the concrete one of the imperial court, a real (and changeable) hierarchy of states was construed on the basis of power, religion, and recognized level of civilization. At the top of this hierarchy, after Byz., came the SASANIAN Persians, then the ARABS, with whom the emperor negotiated on terms of quasi-equality.

The western European states—previously part of the empire, but separate from the 5th C. onward—were given mediocre positions, even though they were Christian and had an admitted affinity with the Byz. This hierarchy was manifested in official correspondence in the form of address assigned to each foreign ruler or in the weight of the gold seal (bulla) used to seal the letter sent to him (e.g., in the 10th C. *boullae* of four solidi were used for letters to the Arab caliph, three solidi for the khan of the KHAZARS, two solidi for the *archon* of Rus', one or two solidi for the pope and for the king of the FRANKS, etc.). These differentiations were even clearer in the way that some treaties were concluded and put in writing.

Whenever possible, the appearances dictated by the above ideology had to be respected. Instead of "paying tribute" the Byz. said they "gave gifts" or, better, granted titles and the accompanying salaries to foreign rulers and their entourages, thus reaffirming implicitly the emperor's supremacy. Only when compelled did the emperors accept humiliation (e.g., Nikephoros I agreed in 806 to pay HĀRŪN AL-RASHĪD not only a hefty tribute, but also three nomismata for his personal capitulation and three more for his son's). They also agreed to accommodations (OIKONOMIA). Although the Byz. forcefully refused to recognize other Christian emperors, they accepted unwillingly the use of the imperial title by other rulers (Charlemagne, the German emperors, the Bulgarians, and the Serbs); the title "emperor of the Romans" they retained for their sovereign alone. This general ideology, recognized and accepted by most other states, helped the Byz. considerably in conducting their foreign policy, enhanced as it was by the long tradition of the empire.

Diplomacy used various means. Pressure on the other party could be exerted directly by the armed forces, indirectly by allies that Byz. could turn against its enemies, by civil strife that it would provoke, or just by supporting the pro-Byz. political party. On the other hand, to make individual friends, Byzantium used its prestige and wealth as well as its capital, Constantinople, which offered a high quality of life. Close relatives, esp. sons, of foreign rulers, were invited for prolonged stays in Constantinople, where they were exposed to Byz. culture and religious practices (and served as hostages). Foreign rulers were invited to visit

Constantinople, where imperial wealth and power could be displayed while negotiations were conducted.

Marriages of Byz. princes to foreign princesses were accepted from the 8th C. onward; Byz. princesses of blood, close relatives of the emperor, married abroad from the 10th C. onward. Marriages to foreigners were, however, usually arranged with illegitimate children of the emperor or with children of the aristocracy. Royal insignia could be attributed and a sovereign title assigned to a foreign ruler who would agree to become the (adopted) "son" of the emperor, thus recognizing his superiority.

Attribution of Byz. titles in order to create bonds of dependency was practiced throughout Byz. history; in some cases these titles became hereditary to the foreign princes. Gifts or periodic payments were intended to secure the conclusion of a treaty, an alliance, or the prince's neutrality. Similarly, commercial privileges were granted to foreign colonies (attested from the 10th C. onward). Missions, when successful, attracted the foreign country into the orbit of the Byz. church, which in turn provided the converts (partly or totally) with ecclesiastical personnel. By accepting Byz. Christianity, the foreign ruler became subject to spiritual pressures by the patriarch of Constantinople.

Byz. had no diplomatic service as such but made use of a large, competent, and well-organized bureaucracy, various branches of which would, when necessary, deal with foreign states. Rarely, diplomatic negotiations were conducted by provincial governors (e.g., the *katepano* of Italy or the *strategoi* of Cherson). Foreign policy was decided by the emperor or the MAGISTER OFFICIORUM, later by the PARADYNASTEÜON, and eventually by the MESAZON. Foreign correspondence was prepared in the imperial CHANCERY (under the Palaiologoi, supervised by the *megas* LOGOTHETES). AMBASSADORS, who also collected INTELLIGENCE, were assisted by a corps of INTERPRETERS, even though Greek, esp. demotic Greek, was a major language of diplomacy in the eastern Mediterranean, also used in negotiations between non-Greek-speaking peoples. Foreign ambassadors were received by the LOGOTHETES TOU DROMOU. Very seldom did sovereigns themselves conduct negotiations; usually they were the work of EMBASSIES, sent ad hoc,

that held discussions mostly with high officials. The permanent foreign representatives in Constantinople (*Bailo*, *podestà*) had their place in the imperial ceremonies and consequently were in close contact with the authorities.

LIT. Bréhier, *Institutions* 281–323. F. Ganshof, *Le Moyen Âge* [= P. Renouvin, *Histoire des relations internationales*, vol. 1] (Paris 1953). D. Obolensky, "The Principles and Methods of Byzantine Diplomacy," 12 *CEB Rapports* 2 (Belgrade-Ohrid 1961) 45–61 (cf. also the complementary reports by G. Moravcsik and D. Zakythinos). I. Medvedev, "K voprosu o principakh vizantijskoj diplomatii nakanune padenija imperii," *VizVrem* 33 (1972) 129–39. T.C. Lounghis, *Les ambassades byzantines en Occident* (Athens 1980). J. Shepard, "Information, Disinformation and Delay in Byzantine Diplomacy," *ByzF* 10 (1985) 233–93. —N.O.

DIPLOMATICS, the AUXILIARY DISCIPLINE dealing with the critical study of archival documents (see ACTS, DOCUMENTARY), has a short history as far as Byz. is concerned. B. de Montfaucon first treated the subject in chapter 6 of his *Palaeographia graeca* (Paris 1708). Byz. acts were also examined critically by some Athonite monks, such as Cyril of Lavra and Nikodemos Hagiorites, both in the 18th C. Setting aside the PAPYRI, one is left with few surviving diplomatic materials, because all Byz. state archives and most monastic ones have perished.

Archives known to preserve Byz. documents are relatively few: the monasteries of Mount Athos (see ATHOS, ACTS OF), Patmos, and Meteora are the main depositories of monastic archives, together with the numerous documents of churches and monasteries preserved in southern Italy and Sicily. Original documents of foreign relations can be found in western European state archives (esp. Genoa, Venice). Many more acts are scattered in various collections, originals or copies in MS codices, including collective COPIES and medieval chancery RECORDS.

The main goal of diplomatics is to study Byz. documents in order to reconstitute the lost archives and Byz. CHANCERY techniques; to classify the preserved documents according to the authorities that issued them; to examine them, be they original or copies (official or unofficial, certified or not, preserved in other documents or in narrative sources), and to establish whether they are authentic or forgeries. The limited probatory value of the written act may explain why the

relatively few Byz. fakes come from periods of political upheaval (such as the 14th and early 15th C. in Macedonia). Moreover, the documents have to be published properly (if possible, with facsimiles) and commented upon adequately in regard to the wealth of information that they contain concerning the administration and the finances, the economy and society, the prosopography and the geography, the historical events that they mention, their language and their calligraphy, even the literary trends and ideology that are reflected in them, esp. in their rhetorical prooimia.

LIT. I.P. Medvedev, *Očerki vizantijskoj diplomatiki* (Leningrad 1988). Dölger, *Diplomatik*. Dölger-Karayannopoulos, *Urkundenlehre*. —N.O.

DIPLOVATATZES. See VATATZES.

DIPTYCH (δίπτυχος), any laterally connected pair of panels in wood, ivory, or precious metal; the term is customarily applied to leaves more ceremonial in purpose and more elaborate than WRITING TABLETS. Ivory diptychs are the best studied. According to the *Historia Augusta*, ivory diptychs were used to record proceedings of the senate. In 5th-C. Carthage *calculi eburnei* served to preserve the names and deeds of proconsuls (*CChr Ser. lat.* 60:220). It is possible that John Chrysostom's allusion to "golden" *deltoi* (PG 56:110.46) refers to diptychs issued as documents of appointment to high officials. No such literary evidence is available for two other subsets: the classes known as imperial and five-part diptychs (see below). Frequently depicted in the NOTITIA DIGNITATUM, official diptychs seem to have been framed in gold, an element lacking in presumably privately issued specimens carved with mythological scenes, games, or literary figures (Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten*, nos. 54–61, 66, 68–69). Even though related in size and technique to the consular diptychs (see below), such private diptychs were probably distributed in much smaller quantities.

Pagan ivory diptychs disappeared in the 6th C., although a parallel Christian series, the so-called five-part diptychs, continued to be issued after that date. Sacred diptychs (Goldschmidt-Weitzmann, *Elfenbeinskulpt.* II, nos. 40–42, 52–53, 60, 122, 222–23), functioning as folding ICONS, were less prevalent than TRIPTYCHS in the 10th–11th C., but hinged panels continued to be used as



DIPTYCH. Diptych of the consul Anastasios (516); ivory. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

insignia of office: the *Kletorologion* of Philotheos (Oikonomides, *Listes* 93.22–95.1, 127.25–27, 129.4–5) specifies that the emperor should present decorated ivory plaques to candidates for the patriciate, a distribution confirmed in *De cer.* (248.11). Like the codicil diptychs of late antiquity, these may have contained parchment documents of appointment.

Consular Diptychs. These were panels issued by ordinary CONSULS upon their accession to office. The earliest surviving specimen is that of Felix, consul in 428; the series closes with the end of the civil consulate in 541 because emperors who thereafter assumed the consulate did not issue diptychs. Normally, consular diptychs bear the name, *cursus honorum*, and a likeness of the honoree. Rome and Constantinople were the most likely centers of distribution. Diptychs of the 5th C. are generally simple portraits; most 6th-C. examples show the consul presiding over the games that marked his accession. More than 30 identify

a specific consul; a handful of others, although anonymous, probably also belong to the consular series. It is not certain that all such appointees issued diptychs, and the number and nature of recipients must have varied. Gaius Apollinaris SIDONIUS (ep.3.6.5–6) indicates that consuls distributed panels to their friends and relatives; the diptychs of Justinian I (521) and Philoxenos (525) bear dedications to the senate or its members. Inscriptions are usually in Latin, occasionally in Greek, though language alone cannot reveal their place of manufacture. Slight variations in iconography, combined with the evidence of technique, point to ivory workshops that produced other sorts of panels (A. Cutler, *Byzantion* 54 [1984] 75–115); surviving in greater numbers, consular diptychs were serially produced. Their inner surfaces have recesses like those of normal writing tablets, but the notion that these huge slabs of ivory—those of Apion, consul in 539, measure nearly 41 × 16 cm each—were filled with wax and inscribed cannot be verified. Many consular panels were reused for Christian purposes in the Middle Ages. Preserved in this way, they constitute an invaluable tool for modern scholarship since they are precisely datable by the name of the official they bear.

Five-part Diptychs. Known only in ivory, they are paired and sometimes hinged assemblages of five panels attached to one another by tongue-and-groove joints. Each group of five panels forms a leaf measuring approximately 35 × 30 cm overall. If the so-called imperial diptychs are included, panels survive from 13 such objects. Neither the function nor the dates of five-part diptychs are known with any precision. Office-holders appear on some fragments and a consul is depicted on one (Delbrück, *infra*, no.47), but this is an insufficient basis on which to suppose, with Delbrück, that five-part diptychs showed the consul's reception of *codicilli*. On the majority of examples, usually dated between the 6th and 8th C., Christ, the Virgin, the Lamb of God, or a cross occupies the central panel, surrounded by Gospel scenes. Some of these may have been designed from the start as BOOK COVERS (F. Steenbock, *Der kirchliche Prachteinband im frühen Mittelalter* [Berlin 1965] 11–21).

"Imperial" Diptychs. A subset of five-part diptychs, they contain the depiction of an emperor or empress in their central panels. Though no

example survives in its original state, there are 12 fragments belonging to eight different specimens; these are customarily assigned to the 5th or 6th C. Images of various dignitaries appear on the flanking plaques, a bust of Christ or a PERSONIFICATION of Constantinople in the upper register, and BARBARIANS bringing offerings in the lower. "Imperial" diptychs have therefore been thought to celebrate perpetual victory, a theme repeated on some of their inscriptions. On the basis of one example inscribed with a consul's *cursus honorum* but lacking his name (Delbrück, *infra*, no.49), it is assumed that they were presented to the ruler by consuls at their inauguration. H. Thümmel (*BS* 39 [1978] 196–206) conversely suggests that "imperial" diptychs were presented by emperors to state officials and that examples with Christian iconography functioned as insignia bestowed on high clergy when they took office. (See also BARBERINI IVORY.)

LIT. H. Leclercq, *DACL* 4.1:1094–1170. K. Wessel, *RBK* 1:1196–1203. Al. Cameron, "Pagan Ivories and Consular Diptychs," 7th *BSC Abstracts* (1981) 54. Delbrück, *Consular-diptychen*. A. Goldschmidt, "Mittelstücke fünfteiliger Elfenbeintafeln des VI.–VII. Jahrhunderts," *JbKw* 1 (1923) 30–33. —A.C.

DIPTYCHS, LITURGICAL, lists of names of the living and of the dead proclaimed aloud by the DEACON during the EUCHARIST. The practice is attested from as early as the 5th C. The church of Constantinople had two separate lists, that of the dead being further subdivided into a list of laymen and a list of clergy, with the bishops of Constantinople listed according to the order of their succession. The diptych soon became a vehicle of political struggle. Already in 451 it was prohibited to "read from the altar" the names of the leaders of the "Robber" Council of EPHEBUS. Names of emperors, popes, and bishops were often erased from diptychs and restored only after some form of reconciliation had taken place.

Sometimes inscribed on double tablets of ivory, liturgical diptychs could be local, as in the Syrian traditions, commemorating representatives of the local church, or ecclesial, commemorating hierarchs of other churches with which the local church was in communion, or the two combined. Byz. diptychs were the combined type and were chanted by the deacon during the ANAPHORA, not before it, as in the Syrian rites.

LIT. O. Stegmüller, *RAC* 3:1145–48. G. Winkler, "Die Interzessionen der Chrysostomusanaphora in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung," *OrChrP* 37 (1971) 363–77.
—R.F.T., A.K.

DISEASE. The Byz. cherished an interest in diseases and knew how to describe them. Although images created by PSELLOS are usually static, he was able to show the changes in human appearance caused by disease (Ljubarskij, *Psell* 241f). Byz. authors produced detailed descriptions of disease—both the pandemic PLAGUE and individual illness (H. Hunger in *Polychronion* 244–52). Scientific MEDICINE clearly classified ailments—from plague to rabies, ophthalmic afflictions, LEPROSY, various skin rashes, cholera, pneumonia, and tuberculosis. Human diseases were understood through the ancient notions of imbalances among the four humors, best known to Byz. medical writers from the works of GALEN, although physicians were well aware of the Hippocratic origins of humoral pathology.

Side-by-side with scientific diagnosis was a "demoniac" explanation of disease; not only was miraculous HEALING conceived as a struggle against DEMONS, but even a well-read man such as PHOTIOS, who knew Hippocrates, Galen, and ORIBASIOS, explained gastric illness as the action of a fecal demon (PG 101:553A–B). He also assumed that the moon could cause disease (117B–D).

LIT. A. Festugière, "Epidémies 'hippocratiques' et épidémies démoniaques," *WS* 79 (1966) 157–64. —J.S., A.K.

DISHYPATOS (δισύπατος, i.e., twice HYPATOS), title mentioned the first time at the beginning of the 9th C.: the *dishypatos* Thomas was an addressee of Theodore of Stoudios (PG 99:949C). The *Kletorologion* of Philotheos places the title after that of the *protospatharios*. In the 11th C. the title *dishypatos* was often conferred on judges, *anagrapheis*, and *chartoularioi*. The title seems to have disappeared in Byz. by the end of the 11th C., but was known in southern Italy in the beginning of the 12th C. John, son of the imperial *dissipatus* Ursus, was mentioned as late as 1178. *Dishypatos* as a family name appears in the 12th C. and becomes relatively common in the Palaiologan period (PLP, nos. 5522–45).

LIT. Guiland, *Institutions* 2:79–81. Oikonomides, *Listes* 295. Seibt, *Bleisiegel* 237–40. —A.K.

DISHYPATOS, DAVID, Palamite monk and apologist; died by 1354, perhaps by 1347. *Dishypatos* (Δισύπατος) was a member of an aristocratic family that was related by marriage to the Palaiologan dynasty. He first appears ca. 1337 as a correspondent of BARLAAM OF CALABRIA. Despite this connection, he favored the views of Gregory PALAMAS. In 1341 he was at the monastery of Katakryomene in PARORIA, a stronghold of hesychasm, when he was summoned to Constantinople to support Palamas in his struggle with Barlaam.

After the local council of Constantinople of 1341 (see under CONSTANTINOPLE, COUNCILS OF) *Dishypatos* began to compose polemical tracts against Barlaam and AKINDYNOS, notably a *Logos* addressed to Nicholas KABASILAS (ca. 1342) and a lengthy iambic poem of 610 verses in response to Akindynos's poetical attack on Palamas (ca. 1342–44). In 1346, at the request of ANNA OF SAVOY, he wrote a *Short History of the Heresy of Barlaam and Akindynos*. Some works of *Dishypatos* were translated into Slavic languages probably in the second half of the 14th C. and are known in MSS from the 15th C. onward (G.M. Prochorov, *TODRL* 33 [1979] 32–54).

ED. *David Dishypatou Logos kata Barlaam kai Akindynou pros Nikolaon Kabasilan*, ed. D.G. Tsames (Thessalonike 1973). R. Browning, "David Dishypatos's Poem on Akindynos," *Byzantion* 25–27 (1955–57) 713–45. *Short History*—M. Candal, "Origen ideológico del palamismo en un documento de David Disipato," *OrChrP* 15 (1949) 85–125.

LIT. H.-V. Beyer, "David Dishypatos als Theologe und Vorkämpfer für die Sache des Hesychasmus (ca. 1337–ca. 1350)," *JÖB* 24 (1975) 107–28. PLP, no. 5532.

—A.M.T.

DISHYPATOS, MANUEL, 13th-C. patron of an icon of the VIRGIN HAGIOSORITISSA now in Freising Cathedral. He is sometimes identified with Manuel Opsaras *Dishypatos*, metropolitan of Thessalonike, 1258–60/1 (PLP, no. 5544). *Dishypatos*'s offering retains its original silver-gilt re-vestment, on which the image is described as the "Hope of Those Who Have Lost Hope" (*He Elpiston Apelpismenon*). *Dishypatos* is identified as a *kanstresios* (see KASTRESIOS); the dodecasyllabic verses are said to have been written by *Dishypatos* himself (M. Kalligas, *ArchEph* [1937] pt. 2, 505). Plaques of the HETOIMASIA, archangels, and saints attached to the frame led Wessel (*infra*) to postulate an enamel workshop in mid-13th-C. Thessalonike. The icon, which reached Freising in

1440, is described in a Latin inscription on the altar on which it rests as a gift to Gian Galeazzo Visconti "from the emperor of the East."

LIT. PLP, no. 5543. Grabar, *Revêtements*, no. 16. *Athens Cat.*, no. 214. Wessel, *Byz. Enamels*, no. 65. —A.C.

DISKOPOTERION. See CHALICE; PATEN AND ASTERISKOS.

DISMISSAL (ἀπόλυσις, lit. "release"), a formula pronounced at the end of a liturgical service or sometimes of one of its parts, as in the *apolytis* of the catechumens after the reading of the Evangelion (e.g., Maximos the Confessor, PG 91:692D–693A). The formula of the *apolytis* varied, the major types having been the so-called small and great dismissal; the latter was used after vespers, *orthros*, and the divine liturgy (Eucharist).

LIT. S. Pétridès, *DACL* 1:2601f. M.M. Solovey, *The Byzantine Divine Liturgy* (Washington, D.C., 1970) 332f.

—A.K.

DISTORTION, the alteration in shape or proportion in an image, frequently employed to convey values on a hierarchical SCALE, the expression of EMOTION—less often used than in the medieval West—or for purposes of CARICATURE. Despite antique theoretical systems designed to avoid distortion, which were transmitted by PROKLOS, the absence of coherent PERSPECTIVE often resulted in what, to the modern eye, appear to be deformations of SPACE and proportion. Some distortions, however, are evidently attempts by the artist to compensate for the spectator's point of view; monumental figures, intended to be seen from below, often appear with disproportionate heads or legs when viewed from appropriate positions. Spiritual values such as ASCETICISM have been held to explain distortion of the human form; some such instances must be attributed rather to artistic incompetence or lack of concern for PLASTICITY.

—A.C.

DIVETESION (διβετήσιον, also διβυτίσιον), a long ceremonial silk TUNIC resembling the Latin dalmatic, for use on only the highest state occasions. It was worn, belted, instead of the SKARAMANGION (perhaps over another simpler tunic), under the LOROS, CHLAMYS, OR SAGION, esp. by the emperor,

but also by certain court officials. Red, green, and white *divetesia* are mentioned in texts, but the color PURPLE was restricted to the emperor. According to a 10th-C. ceremonial book (*De cer.* 423.2), Anastasios I wore a *sticharion divetesion*; the term is encountered frequently in the 9th–11th C. but is not used by pseudo-Kodinos in the 14th C., by which time the garment had apparently been replaced by the SAKKOS.

In imperial portraits it is not always easy to distinguish between the *skaramangion* and the *divetesion*; both seem to have been woven with gold designs and ornamented with panels of gold embroidery on the shoulders and hem. The *divetesion* (if indeed this is the garment depicted in the portraits) changed somewhat over the course of the 11th and 12th C.: the sleeves grew tighter, and the lower embroidered hem was no longer a strictly horizontal band but extended up the outer edge of each leg into a point or roundel. The comparable tunic that the empress wore under the *loros* had immensely wide sleeves.

LIT. K. Wessel, *RBK* 3:422, 478–80. *DOC* 2.1:77; 3.1:119. Hendy, *Coinage* 67. D. Beljaev, *Byzantina*, vol. 2 (St. Petersburg 1893) 50–59. —N.P.Š.

DIVINATION, foreseeing or prediction of future events or disclosure of hidden knowledge. Various mantic arts were inherited by the Byz. from ancient practice but were transformed and christianized. They can be divided into two major forms: "natural" divination based on the spontaneous observation of the world and inductive ("artificial") divination originating from the use of special means. To the first group belong the observation of celestial bodies (ASTROLOGY), of meteorological events and NATURAL PHENOMENA (e.g., thunder [see BRONTOLOGION] and EARTHQUAKES), of dreams (see ONEIROKRITIKON), of birds (the EAGLE and others) and animals. The behavior of horses was sometimes alleged to predict the destiny of a new ruler or of a military campaign. According to HĀRŪN IBN YAḤYĀ, if imperial horses, when led into Hagia Sophia, took the bridle in their mouths, it meant that the Byz. had defeated the Muslims (A. Vasiliev, *SemKond* 5 [1932] 159f). In the 6th C. a dog allegedly was able to divine which women in a crowd were pregnant and which men were adulterers (Theoph. 224.15–27). It is unclear if any special means were used by the

9th-C. Peloponnesian shepherds who announced the fall of Syracuse to the Arabs two weeks before the news was confirmed (Genes. 83.64–75). The natural divination of ORACLES, the ecstatic and unintelligible utterances of prophets, so fashionable in antiquity, lost significance, yet Niketas Choniates describes a seer, Basilakes by name, active in Rhaidestos, whose nonsensical words and enigmatic gestures were interpreted by his followers as predicting the future.

Inductive divination encompasses the use of various objects, such as books, icons, flour, mirrors, fire, dice, dishes, etc. Herakleios reportedly resorted to *bibliomanteia* (picking a passage of the Bible at random) to determine where his army should spend the winter (Theoph. 308.15–16). Particular importance was attached to names and letters. The emperor Maurice, for example, predicted that his successor's name would begin with the letter *phi* (it happened to be Phokas).

The church condemned, in principle, all types of divination but had to comply with its christianized forms. Thus divination by icons is still attested by Blastares, and Anastasios of Sinai recommended the random opening of the Bible to predict the future.

LIT. Koukoules, *Bios* 1.2:155–226. Trombley, "Paganism" 338f, 343, 348. —F.R.T., A.K.

DIVORCE (*διαζύγιον*) or dissolution of marriage ([*dia*]ysis tou gamou) was a concept alien to classical Roman law, which acknowledged the right to end a marriage at any time by mutual agreement or by repudiation of the spouse. This principle was preserved in the law of papyri of the 4th to 7th C. (A. Merklein, *Das Ehescheidungsrecht nach den Papyri der byzantinischen Zeit* [Erlangen-Nuremberg 1967]). Roman divorce, though easy, might involve (if it was considered without grounds) moral condemnation, legal penalties, and material compensation. The Christian church rejected the concept of unrestricted divorce. Constantine I in 331 forbade spouses to send a notice of divorce (*repudium*) on arbitrary grounds; only if the husband was guilty of murder, sorcery, or grave-robbery was the wife permitted to repudiate him and recover her entire dowry; if she separated on other grounds, she lost everything "to her last hairpin" and was to be deported to an island (*Cod.Theod.* III 16.1).

Justinian I prohibited divorce by mutual con-

sent, except in cases in which the couple took monastic vows, and established a restricted list of legal causes for separation: conspiracy against the emperor or the spouse; ADULTERY or misbehavior on the part of the wife (dining and bathing with other men, living outside her house, attending circus games and theaters, and the hunting of wild animals); the husband's inducing his wife to fornicate with other men or a false accusation of adultery against the wife (Nov. 117.8–9). Justin II, in 566, reinstated the Roman tradition (C. Castello in *Mneme G.A. Petropoulou*, vol. 1 [Athens 1984] 295–315), his rationale being that divorce was a lesser sin than irrational hatred that might lead to attempted murder or suicide.

The indissolubility of marriage was formulated and firmly established in the *Ecloga* 2:9.1–3, which listed very few legal grounds for the dissolution of marriage: the wife's prostitution, impotence of the husband for a period of three years, and one spouse plotting against the other. Some supplementary reasons for divorce were introduced by later legislators, but the principle of the indissolubility of marriage (except for entrance into a monastery) dominated Byz. civil and canon law. One should probably distinguish between divorce proper and the annulment of marriage caused by its illegality (e.g., marriages prohibited by impediments, such as consanguinity) or by the social inequality of partners.

Cases of divorce were brought before law courts, civil and ecclesiastical alike, and their decisions show that in practice the principle of dispensation (OIKONOMIA) was applied more frequently than civil and canon law suggest. Eustathios Rhomaïos mentioned cases of divorce by consent (*ek synaineseos*—*Peira* 25.37, 25.62), although penalties were exacted; he also included contracts of divorce (*Peira* 7.8, 25.30) and devoted serious attention to the regulation of the property rights of the divorced couple. In the 13th C. Chomatenos and Apokaukos judged cases of divorce involving people from various walks of life; besides the traditional legal grounds (the husband's impotence, the wife's adultery) other reasons were taken into account: incompatibility of the couple, implacable hatred, sodomy, consanguinity; when a husband abandoned his wife and refused to return to her, she might be permitted to remarry.

LIT. Zhishman, *Eherecht* 578–600, 729–806. S. Troianos, "To synainetiko diazygio sto Byzantion," *Byzantiaka* 3 (1983) 9–21. L. Burgmann, "Eine Novelle zum Scheidungsrecht,"

FM 4 (1981) 107–18. A. Laiou, "Contribution à l'étude de l'institution familiale en Epire au XIII^e siècle," *FM* 6 (1984) 300–317, app. 2. F. Delpini, *Indissolubilità matrimoniale e divorzio dal I al XII secolo* (Milan 1979) 112–22. F. Gorla, *Studi sul matrimonio dell'adultera nel diritto Giustiniano e bizantino* (Frankfurt am Main 1975). —J.H., A.K.

DIYARBEEKIR. See AMIDA.

DJEMILA (anc. Cuicul), site of a Roman colony in Numidia Cirtensis (mod. Algeria). The city was considerably transformed in the second half of the 4th C., when several basilicas, known from both texts and archaeology, were built. Construction dates for the so-called Christian quarter are less certain, although Djemila, like THEVESTE to the southeast, seems to have enjoyed a huge building campaign in the first quarter of the 5th C. At the heart of this campaign was the construction of two basilicas, each with extensive FLOOR MOSAICS and large crypts under their apses; the relative chronology of these churches is disputed (N. Duval, P.-A. Février, 8 *IntCongChrArch* [1969] 24f): the larger has a mosaic inscription naming as its founder a bishop Cresconius, whose identification is uncertain. To the west of these churches was built an exceptionally large baptistery in the form of a rotunda. Other buildings were given over to the administration and accommodation of an evidently large clergy. Numerous private residences, such as the "House of the Ass" and the "House of Europa," had elaborate floor mosaics installed, which Dunbabin (*Mosaics* 256) dates to the end of the 4th C. or the beginning of the 5th; in other houses there was extensive restoration of older pavements. The date at which Djemila was abandoned is unknown.

LIT. P.-A. Février, "Notes sur le développement urbain en Afrique du Nord: Les exemples comparés de Djemila et de Sétif," *CahArch* 14 (1964) 1–26. M. Blanchard-Lemée, *Maisons à mosaïques du quartier central de Djemila, Cuicul* (Paris 1975). Y. Allais, *Djemila* (Paris 1938). —A.C.

DNIEPER (*Δάναπρις*, also *Βορυσθένης*), river flowing south from the Valdai hills to the BLACK SEA west of the CRIMEA. Tributaries and portages link the upper Dnieper to the Volga for eastern traffic and to the Dvina and Lovat' for access to and from NOVGOROD and the Baltic. Byz. references to the Dnieper usually imply its lower section, which curves in an eastward loop through the steppes: Theophanes (Theoph. 357.28) describes the crossing of the Dnieper by the Bulgar-

ians of ASPARUCH; Skylitzes (Skyl. 455.38) states that the PECHENECS are found from the Dnieper to the DANUBE. From the mid-11th C. the lower Dnieper was controlled by the CUMANS, from the mid-13th C. by the MONGOLS, and in the late 14th and early 15th C. by LITHUANIA under Vitovt. The Dnieper was used by the RUS' as a route between the Black Sea and northern Europe from the late 9th C., and it became the main commercial artery connecting KIEV, SMOLENSK, and other towns. The lower part of this route "from the VARANGIANS to the Greeks" (POVEST' VREMENNYKH LET 1:11–12) is described in detail by Constantine VII (*De adm. imp.* 9), who pays special attention to its twin hazards: a series of rapids and attacks by the Pechenegs. The Russo-Byz. treaty of 944 guaranteed to CHERSON the right to fish unmolested at the mouth of the Dnieper (*Povest' vremennykh let* 1:37).

LIT. Obolensky, *Byz. and the Slavs*, pt.V (1962), 16–61. V. Bulkin, I. Dubov, G. Lebedev, *Archeologičeskie pamjatniki Drevnej Rusi IX–XI vekov* (Leningrad 1978) 6–60. —S.C.F.

DOBROMIR CHRYSOS (*Δοβρομύρος Χρυσός*), founder of an ephemeral Bulgarian principality; died after 1201. The name Dobromir is applied to him only in a speech by Niketas CHONIATES (*Orationes* 106.14). He probably joined ASEN in his revolt against Isaac II, then changed sides and was sent to defend Strumitza where he proclaimed himself independent. V. Zlatarski (*Godišnik na Sofijskija Universitet, Ist.-fil. Fak.* 29 [1933] 1–20) hypothesized that he was identical with the "jupanus vel satrapa Bulgariae" mentioned by Ansbert, but P. Mutafčiev rejected the identification (*BZ* 34 [1934] 205). According to Zlatarski, Dobromir, who, like IVANKO, was hostile to KALOJAN, tried in 1197 to make an alliance with Alexios III. Again Dobromir changed sides and established his "principality" in PROSEK. In a treaty Alexios III acknowledged Dobromir's power over Prosek and Strumitza and gave him as wife the daughter of the *protostrator* Manuel KAMYTZES. Dobromir ransomed Kamytzes from Bulgarian captivity and in 1201 started a war against Byz. The alliance with Kamytzes did not last long. Dobromir accepted Byz. sovereignty and married the emperor's granddaughter Theodora. Thereafter, he disappears from the sources.

LIT. Zlatarski, *Ist.* 3:120–45. P. Mutafčiev, *Izbrani proizvedenija* (Sofia 1973) 1:172–243. Brand, *Byzantium* 127–34. —A.K., C.M.B.

DOBROTICA (Τομπροτίτζας, also called Dobrotić, mostly by Rumanian scholars), a local ruler in Dobrudja; died before 1387. He was the brother of prince Balik (Balica), whose capital was in Karvuna. In 1346 Balik sent Dobrotica and another brother Theodore to Constantinople to support ANNA OF SAVOY. Defeated by John VI Kantakouzenos in 1347, Dobrotica acknowledged Byz. suzerainty. By 1357 or 1366 Dobrotica received the title of DESPOTES. He was Balik's successor, moved the capital to Kaliakra and then to Varna, and acted, in alliance with Byz., against Bulgaria. He expanded his territory from the Byz. frontier to the Lower Danube. Dobrotica gave his daughter in marriage to Michael Palaiologos, the third son of John V, and in 1373 probably supported Michael's unsuccessful expedition against Trebizond (*Kleinchroniken* 2:310f). He severed dependency from the patriarchate of Tŭrnovo and acknowledged the jurisdiction of Constantinople.

LIT. P. Mutaččiev, *Izbrani proizvedenija*, vol. 2 (Sofia 1973) 104–29. P. Schreiner, *Studien zu den Brachea Chronika* (Munich 1967) 148–51. Ferjančić, *Despota* 150–53. —A.K.

DOBRUDJA, a region between the Lower Danube and the Black Sea. In the 4th–6th C. the province of SCYTHIA MINOR approximately encompassed this territory. In the 7th C. the AVARS and Slavs penetrated into Dobrudja; ca.680 ASPARUCH passed through the region and established his capital in PLISKA. The political allegiance of Dobrudja in the 8th–10th C. is under dispute: Bulgarian historians consider it a part of Bulgaria; Rumanian scholars assert that the Byz. retained control over the Lower Danube. In the 960s SVJATOSLAV of Kiev claimed the estuary of the Danube, but John I Tzimiskes defeated him and reconquered Dobrudja. The Byz. constructed fortresses on the Danube and encouraged development of coastal centers (e.g., CHILIA), but Dobrudja was subject to raids by the PECHENEGS and other nomads. Under Byz. control the “Roman” ethnic element (VLACHS and future RUMANIANS) recovered and actively participated in the Bulgarian revolt that led to the organization of the Second Bulgarian Empire. Byz. tried to retain the ports of Dobrudja, but was slowly driven out by the Venetians and Genoese. In the 14th C. semi-independent *archontes* of Slavic and proto-Rumanian origin were active in Dobrudja—Balik,

DOBROTICA, and others—and MIRCEA THE ELDER temporarily annexed Dobrudja to Wallachia. After their defeat of the Crusaders at VARNA in 1444, the Ottomans completely occupied the region.

LIT. R. Vulpe in *La Dobroudja* (Bucharest 1938) 280–403. *Istoriya na Dobrudža*, vol. 1 (Sofia 1984) 156–76. Ș. Ștefănescu, “Byzanz und die Dobrudscha in der zweiten Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts,” in *Byzantinistische Beiträge*, ed. J. Irmscher (Berlin 1964) 239–52. *Din istoria Dobrogei*, vol. 3 (Bucharest 1971). —A.K.

DOCHEIARIOU MONASTERY, located on the southwest coast of the peninsula of Mt. ATHOS, northwest of the Xenophontos monastery. The origins of Docheiariou (Δοχειαρίου) are obscure: it was apparently first established before 1013 by John Docheiarios (probably the former cellarer of Xeropotamou) at the Athonite port of Daphne, with a church dedicated to St. Nicholas. Oikonomides hypothesizes that the monastery was transferred to a new location in the mountains between 1051 and 1056 and, finally, between 1083 and 1108 was moved to its present site near the sea. By the early 12th C. its dedication had changed to St. Michael. At this time the *hegoumenos* Neophytos, considered the second *ktetor* of the monastery, built a larger church and a fortification wall with a tower. He also acquired important properties in Chalkidike and composed a testament (sometime after 1118). From the 14th C. Docheiariou was an imperial monastery. It played no role in the hesychastic controversy; its monks were more involved with temporal concerns and engaged in mercantile shipping. Docheiariou was always a cenobitic monastery inhabited by Greeks. In the early 15th C. the Russian deacon ZOSIMA recounted that Docheiariou was ninth in the Athonite hierarchy.

The archives contain 60 acts of the Byz. period (1037–1424). The will of *hegoumenos* Neophytos (*Docheiar.*, no.6.29–31, 58–60) boasts of the precious textiles (*pepla*) he had added to the monastery's treasury and of the ecclesiastical silver, books, and icons he had amassed. At present the library contains approximately 100 MSS of Byz. date (Lampros, *Athos* 1:233–69), of which cod. 5, a 12th-C. *menologion* (*Treasures* 3, figs. 258–68), and four Gospel books are notable for their illustration. The monastery also possesses a relief of the Ascension of Alexander, who is raised to heaven

by griffins. Docheiariou's present buildings are almost all post-Byz.

SOURCES. *Actes de Docheiariou*, ed. N. Oikonomides (Paris 1984).

LIT. *Treasures* 3:160–75, 289–95. N. Oikonomides, “Hieramone Docheiariou. Katalogos tou Archeiou,” *Symmeikta* 3 (1979) 197–263. —A.M.T., A.C.

DOCTRINA JACOBI NUPER BAPTIZATI (the Indoctrination [διδασκαλία] of Jacob Recently Converted), a treatise dated in 634 (Bonwetsch, *infra*, p.xvi) or 640 (Nau, *infra*, p.715). It takes the form of a pseudo-dialogue (one party only asks questions without entering the discussion) between a certain Jacob and a group of Jews. In its prologue a man called Joseph claims to have been present during the conversation of Jacob with the Jews and to have written it down. In addition to Emp. Herakleios, the title names George, the eparch of Carthage, and it is plausible to suppose that the treatise was produced in Africa.

The main theme of the treatise is the limited character of the message of the Old Testament; only the “new law” brought forth by Christ assures the salvation of mankind. An important theme of the *Doctrina* is the moral perversion of Jews, which Jacob illustrates by his own activities before conversion. This topic allows the author to describe (in a very vague way) some contemporary events, such as the conflict between the Blue and the Green factions, the “tyranny” of Emp. Phokas, and the Arab expansion under Muḥammad. The treatise has survived both in the original Greek (without the prologue) and in Ethiopic and Slavic translations (W. Lüdtkke, *Archiv für slavische Philologie* 33 [1912] 317).

ED. and LIT. *Doctrina Iacobi nuper baptizati*, ed. N. Bonwetsch (Berlin 1910). “La didascalie de Jacob,” ed. F. Nau in *PO* 8.5 (1912) 711–80. —A.K.

DOCTRINE OF ADDAI, 5th- or 6th-C. Syriac account of the origins of Christianity in EDESSA and environs, which relies on earlier materials. The anonymous work is basically a collection of documents preserved in the archives of Edessa under the names of Ḥanan, the archivist of Abgar V (4 B.C.–A.D. 50), and Labûbnâ bar Sânaq, the king's scribe. The documents consist of a letter of King Abgar to Jesus inviting him to Edessa, which Ḥanan reportedly delivered personally, bringing

back an oral reply, and accounts of the sermons and miracles worked in Edessa by Addai, an apostle sent to the city by Judas Thomas after the ascension of Jesus. The same story appears in digest form, but including a letter from Jesus to Abgar, in the *Ecclesiastical History* of Eusebios of Caesarea (Eusebios *HE* 1.13). In the *Doctrine of Addai* the author reports that Ḥanan painted a portrait of Jesus, which Abgar installed in one of his palaces. Important themes in the *Doctrine* are apostolic succession in Edessa, the *imperium Romanum* as the appropriate civil milieu for Christianity, antipagan and anti-Jewish polemics, the canon of the scriptures, and divine protection guaranteed for Edessa, “the Blessed City.”

ED. G. Phillips, *The Doctrine of Addai, the Apostle* (London 1876). G. Howard, *The Teaching of Addai* (Chico, Calif., 1981).

LIT. W. Bauer, *Orthodoxy and Heresy in Earliest Christianity* (Philadelphia 1971) 1–43. H.J.W. Drijvers, “Facts and Problems in Early Syriac-Speaking Christianity,” *The Second Century* 2 (1982) 157–75. Idem, “Jews and Christians at Edessa,” *Journal of Jewish Studies* 36 (1985) 88–102.

—S.H.G.

DODECASYLLABLE, a Byz. development of the ancient iambic trimeter, the meter of most dialogue in classical tragedy. Early in the Byz. period, accurate trimeters were written by the long and short syllable patterns of ancient prosody. However, by the 9th C., since Greek had lost the distinction between long and short syllables, a new METER developed around two aspects of the iambic trimeter that could still be appreciated: a basic line length of 12 syllables; and a division after either five or seven syllables by the two caesura patterns of the ancient meter. To this outline was added a set of stress accent preferences that varied according to fashion and personal taste, but observed as an absolute rule a stress accent on the eleventh syllable. A learned writer like John TZETZES, while conforming to the stress patterns, also judged dodecasyllables for their accuracy as quantitative trimeters, condemning false quantities in his own early work. Most Byz. dodecasyllables, however, at least from the 12th C. onward, pay little regard to quantity, esp. the vowels α, ι, and υ (the dichronous vowels), whose length is not immediately apparent.

Dodecasyllables were used for works of epic tone after the decline of the HEXAMETER (e.g., by GEORGE OF PISIDIA) and were very frequent in

epigrams and ceremonial poetry. A small proportion of popular poetry also appears in dodecasyllable form, leaving open the suspicion that the verse may have developed at an oral level before being adopted by the written word.

LIT. P. Maas, "Der byzantinische Zwölfsilber," *BZ* 12 (1903) 278–323. Hunger, *Lit.* 2:91–93. —M.J.J.

DODEKAORTON. See GREAT FEASTS.

DOGMA (δόγμα), a term encountered in the New Testament in connection with the edict of the so-called Apostolic Council of Jerusalem (Acts 16:4) where it signifies "what seems right, or good, or reasonable." In Byz. theology, it generally retains an ambiguity, referring variously to the opinions or teachings of the church, of pagans, of philosophers, or of heretics. Thus, for example, in the so-called *Definitiones Patmenses* (*OrChrP* 46 [1980] 335–37), the word dogma is understood more broadly than in modern usage that has established it as a theological term since the 17th C. In effect, what we now call dogmas, Byz. theology finds in the CREED of Nicaea and Constantinople as well as in the definitions or ANATHEMAS of the subsequent ecumenical councils, and concretely in the SYNODIKON OF ORTHODOXY. Thus, dogma means orthodox teaching as "true concept concerning all matters" (Anastasios of Sinai, ed. Uthemann, *Viae Dux*, 2.6, pp. 10–12).

LIT. E. Amand de Mendieta, "The Pair *kerygma* and *dogma* in the Theological Thought of St. Basil of Caesarea," *JThSt* n.s. 16 (1965) 129–142. —K.-H.U.

DOGS (sing. κύων). Used for guarding and rounding up flocks of sheep, but also for HUNTING or simply as a companion or pet, the dog was particularly indispensable in agricultural communities. It is the inveterate companion of DAVID in Psalter illustration and other works depicting the young shepherd. The FARMER'S LAW (pars. 25 and 75–77) heavily penalized anyone who killed, poisoned, or injured a sheep dog. The guilty faced corporal punishment and had to pay double for the animal's price. The training of hunting dogs was entrusted to *skylagovoi*, who took charge of the hounds during the hunting expeditions of the nobility. Hunting dogs were highly prized and might be sent as gifts. The dog's usefulness is reflected in the *Kynosophion* of Demetrios PEPA-

GOMENOS, which describes the breeding and training of dogs and the treatment of their diseases; rabies is mentioned along with observations on its symptoms (R. Hercher, *Claudii Aeliani Varia Historia, Epistolae, Fragmenta* [Leipzig 1866] 587–99).

The Byz. praised the dog for being man's most faithful companion. A common and familiar theme is the dog's revelation of the murderer of its slain master (TZETZES, *Hist.* 4:131, 152). We also hear of trained dogs entertaining the public by performing various acts (Malal. 453.15–454.4). Following classical models, Nikephoros BASILAKES composed an *enkomion* for dogs that mentions the use of guide dogs by blind beggars (*Proginasmata e monodie*, ed. A. Pignani [Naples 1983] 136.95–97). Three centuries later Theodore GAZES composed a similar *enkomion* dedicated to Mehmed II (PG 161:985–97). In hagiography, however, the dog is often depicted as a symbol of evil or even as the embodiment of the Devil (e.g., AASS Nov. 3:517f). Similarly, superstitious beliefs held that a dog seen early in the morning brings bad luck.

LIT. Koukoules, *Bios* 6:316f. M. Lurker, "Der Hund als Symboltier für den Übergang Dieseseits in das Jenseits," *Zeitschrift für Religions und Geistesgeschichte* 35 (1983) 132–44. —Ap.K., A.C.

DOKEIANOS (Δοκειανός, fem. Δοκειανή), a family name probably derived from the toponym of Dok(e)ia, said to be in the Armeniakon theme or in Paphlagonia. The Dokeianoι were known in the 11th C. predominantly as military commanders; the first, Nikephoros, was *katepano* of Italy before 1040; in 1040/1 the post was occupied by Michael Dokeianos, who was killed during an unsuccessful expedition against the Pechenegs in 1050; Theodore, *magistros* and *megas doux*, was one of the closest supporters of Isaac I, his uncle. Another Dokeianos married Alexios I's niece Sophia (L. Stiernon, *REB* 23 [1965] 228) and was granted the high title of *sebastos*. Anonymous epigrams (Lampros, "Mark. kod." 147f, 161f) mention their son, who died prematurely, and their daughter Irene Komnene, wife of Isaac Vatatzes. The Dokeianoι were rich: Michael possessed a mansion in Paphlagonia (Bryen. 194f), and a charter of 1110 (*Lavra* 1, no.59.34) mentions "a moat of the Dokeianoι" near Thessalonike; Irene Komnene, according to the epigrams, was raised in luxury, with servants and golden vessels. Despite their relationship with the Komnenoi, the Dokeianoι lost their prominence after Alexios I's

reign; we know only that a certain Dokeianos was appointed bishop of Dyrrachion in 1212. The name appears in later sources, but the late Dokeianoι are mostly peasants, clerics, or scribes (PLP, nos. 5560–78). John Dokeianos was a writer in the mid-15th C. (see DOKEIANOS, JOHN).

LIT. Falkenhausen, *Dominazione* 93.

—A.K.

DOKEIANOS, JOHN, rhetorician, copyist, and bibliophile; fl. mid-15th C. Our knowledge of Dokeianos (Δοκειανός) is based almost exclusively on the evidence of his own writings. His earliest work that can be dated with any certainty, an address to the *despotes* THEODORE II PALAIOLOGOS, was apparently composed ca. 1436 (Topping, *infra* 6); he evidently lived into the 1470s, when he wrote an epigram on the deceased patriarch GENADIOS II SCHOLARIOS. Dokeianos is perhaps to be identified with the John Dokeianos who was teaching at the patriarchal school in Constantinople in 1474. Dokeianos was closely associated with the Palaiologan family, both in Mistra and in Constantinople, and served as tutor to the princess Helena Palaiologina, daughter of the *despotes* DEMETRIOS PALAIOLOGOS.

Dokeianos's preserved works are primarily rhetorical, such as *enkomia* and addresses to Constan-

tine XI. A monody on Catherine, Constantine's second wife, has been attributed to Dokeianos by P. Sotiroudis (*JÖB* 35 [1985] 223–29). His love of classical literature is revealed by his frequent citations of ancient authors and allusions to antiquity, and by the catalogue of his personal library, which included volumes of Homer, Hesiod, Aeschines, Xenophon, Aristotle, and Hermogenes. He was also a copyist of MSS, notably Venice, Marc. gr. 520, which includes works of Theognis and Plutarch.

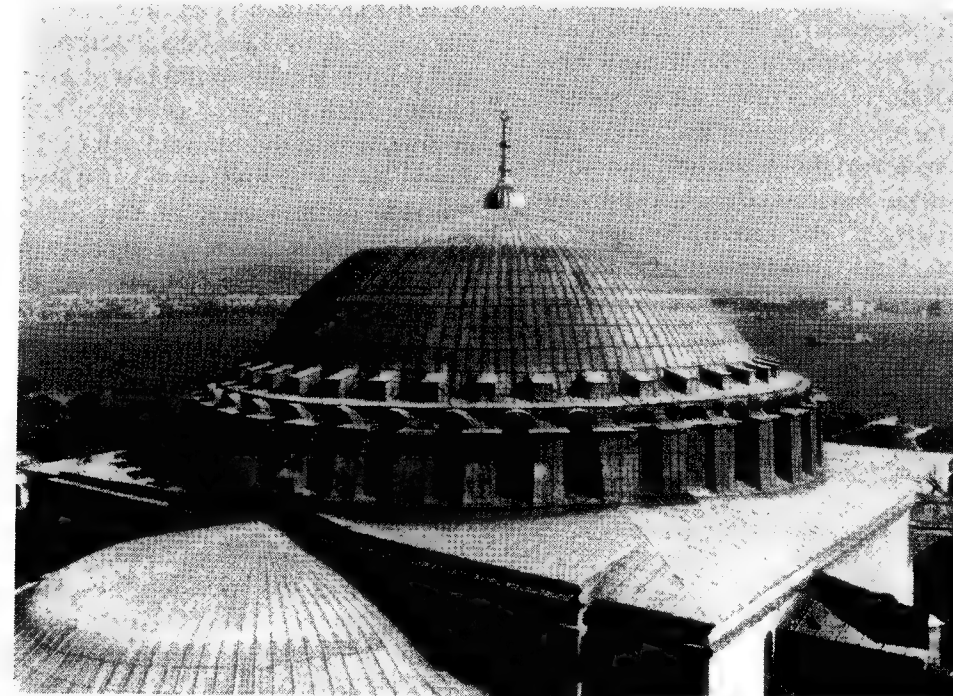
ED. Lampros, *Pal. kai Pel.* 1:μη'νβ', 221–55.

LIT. P. Topping, "Greek MS 1 (the works of Ioannes Dokeianos) of the University of Pennsylvania Library," *The Library Chronicle* 29 (1963) 1–15. S. Lampros, "Hai bibliothekai Ioannou Marmara kai Ioannou Dokeianou," *NE* 1 (1904) 295–312. PLP, no.5577. —A.M.T.

DOLICHE. See TELOUCH.

DOVE (ήμισφαίριον), a hemispherical vault, distinguished by its pure geometry and by its centralizing role in the planning of buildings. The dome is perhaps the most characteristic feature of Byz. church architecture, lending both internal and external coherence. Domes could be built of stone (e.g., audience hall of al-Mundhir at Sergiopolis, 6th C.), tubular ceramic elements (e.g., San

DOVE. Dome of Hagia Sophia, Istanbul. View from the southwest.



Vitale, Ravenna), or of brick (e.g., Hagia Sophia, Constantinople). The interior of the dome could be either a smooth hemisphere (e.g., St. Irene, Constantinople), scalloped (also known as a "pumpkin dome," e.g., Myrelaion Church, Constantinople), or ribbed (e.g., Hagia Sophia). All these methods of construction and interior articulation appear as early as the 5th–6th C. and persist to the very end of Byz. architecture. Structurally and iconographically, the Byz. dome descended from Roman antecedents. Yet, unlike Roman examples, Byz. domes were related to basically longitudinal rather than fully centralized buildings. An ingenious system of structural supports, involving either PENDENTIVES or SQUINCHES, was developed to permit the setting of the dome over the rectilinear space of the NAOS. In addition to being the crowning architectural element, the dome was also the focus of CHURCH PROGRAMS OF DECORATION.

LIT. E.B. Smith, *The Dome: A Study in the History of Ideas* (Princeton 1950; rp. 1971). J.J. Rasch, "Die Kuppel in der römischen Architektur," *Architectura* 15.2 (1985) 117–39. S. Storz, "Zur Funktion von keramischen Wölbbröhen in römischen und frühchristlichen Gewölbbau," *Architectura* 14.2 (1984) 89–105. O. Demus, *Byz. Mosaic*. K. Lehmann, "The Dome of Heaven," *ArtB* 27 (1945) 1–27. —S.C.

DOMENTIJJAN, Serbian scholar and writer; born ca.1210, died after 1264. For most of his life Domentijan was a monk in HILANDAR on Athos, where he wrote a (very long) Life of St. SAVA ca.1250 at the request of King Stefan Uroš I and in 1263/4 a Life of St. Simeon (the former king STEFAN NEMANJA). Both texts make an impressive display of scriptural and theological learning. They are valuable sources for the historian, but must be used with caution because they are partially derivative. Both draw on the Life of Nemanja by his son Stefan the First-Crowned; in the Life of Simeon, Domentijan copies long passages verbatim. Another unacknowledged source of motifs is the panegyric on Vladimir I by Metr. ILARION of Kiev. The Life of St. Sava was revised by the monk TEODOSIJE in 1290–92.

ED. Dj. Daničić, *Domentijan. Život sv. Simeuna i sv. Save* (Belgrade 1865). *Légendes slaves du moyen âge, 1169–1237. Les Némunia: vies de St. Syméon et de St. Sabba*, ed. A. Chodźko (Paris 1858), with Fr. tr.

LIT. V. Nikolić, *Domentijan* (Zemun 1897). V. Ćorović, preface to L. Mirković, *Domentijan, Životi svetoga Save i svetoga Simeona* (Belgrade 1938) 5–23. A. Schmaus, "Die literarische Problematik von Domentijans Sava-Vita," *Opera Slavica* 4 (1963) 121–42. —R.B.

DOMESTIKOS (δομέστικός), a term designating a broad range of officials, ecclesiastical, civil, and military. Prokopios (*Wars* 3.4.7) explains the term as the Latin form of the Greek *koinonos*, "companion." In the church hierarchy they were the heads of specific groups connected with order and ritual (ANAGNOSTAI, SUBDEACONS, etc.), esp. as conductors of the choirs of SINGERS (Darrouzès, *Offikia* 596). In the civil service the term is known from 355 for the chief of a bureau, identical to PRIMIKERIOS; *domestikoi* of the SEKRETON or of the EPHOROS are mentioned on later seals. *Domestikoi* were influential, some of them close to the emperor, some confidants of important functionaries (O. Seeck, *RE* 5 [1905] 1296f). By the late 9th C. when PHILOTHEOS compiled the *Kletorologion*, there were two kinds of military *domestikoi*: the commanders of TAGMATA, esp. the DOMESTIKOS TON SCHOLON, and their subaltern officers who, according to the anonymous book on tactics (ed. Dennis, *Military Treatises* 252.139–46), stood under the command of the COMES. From the end of the 11th C., *domestikoi* of the themes are also known (Guilland, *Institutions* 1:588–93), relatively low officials who dealt primarily with theme finances. (See also MEGAS DOMESTIKOS.)

LIT. Bury, *Adm. System* 47–68. Oikonomides, *Listes* 329–33. —A.K.

DOMESTIKOS TON EXKIOBITON (δομέστικός τῶν Ἐξκουβίτων), commander of the TAGMA of the Exkoubitoi. The small corps of *excubitores* was created by Leo I as a select imperial guard and put under the command of a *comes excubitorum* (Jones, *LRE* 1:658), a post that had considerable importance in the 6th and 7th C. The first known *domestikos ton Exkoubiton* was Strategios, who held the title of *spatharios*, in 765 (Theoph. 438.10–11). Bury (*Adm. System* 57) suggests that this change in title from *comes* to *domestikos* meant degradation of the rank, but the real significance of the shift escapes us because of the paucity of sources. In the mid-9th-C. TAKTIKON of Uspenskij the *domestikos ton Exkoubiton* occupies a place inferior to all *strategoi*; in later *taktika* he was ranked ahead of Western *strategoi*. In the 10th-C. *taktikon* of Escorial we find two *domestikoi*—one for the East and another for the West; Oikonomides (*Listes* 330) hypothesizes that besides these two there was a special *domestikos* for Constantinople. In the 11th C. the title of the commander of Exkoubitoi became *archon* (Skyl. 380.92–93), and a 12th-C. his-

torian (An.Komn. 1:151.19) uses the verb *exarcho* to describe the function of the *domestikos*. It is not known, however, whether this change was official or only due to literary taste, and whether this *tagma* was a united body of *Exkoubitoi* or one of the two (or three) divisions (East, West, and Constantinople).

Some seals of the 7th C. bear the name *exkoubitor*, while *domestikos* of the Exkoubiton or the Exkoubitoi appears in those of the 8th–9th C.; their titles are *spatharioi* (in the 8th C.), *protospatharioi*, and even *patrikios* (Zacos, *Seals* 1, no.2403) in the 9th C. Their staff included a TOPOTERETES; a *protomandator*, with his MANDATORES; the bearers of ensigns; and *skribones*. This last term, which in the 7th C. probably was a dignity (see Zacos, *Seals* 1.3:1649) and was combined sometimes with the civil functions of DIOIKETES, ZYGOSTATES, etc., designates in the TAKTIKA OF LEO VI (4.6) officers assigned for occasional services.

LIT. Haldon, *Praetorians* 355–57. M. Whitby, "On the Omission of a Ceremony in Mid-Sixth Century Constantinople," *Historia* 36 (1987) 483–88. —A.K.

DOMESTIKOS TON HIKANATON (δομέστικός τῶν Ἰκανάτων), commander of the TAGMA of Hikanatoi. The origin of the Hikanatoi is obscure; Bury rejects the possibility of their identification with FOEDERATI, stressing that there is no evidence whatever that Hikanatoi were foreigners. Haldon suggests that the regiment of Hikanatoi was modeled on the VIGLA. According to the vita of Patr. IGNATIUS, the office was created in 809, and Niketas (the future Ignatios) was the first appointee. Without rejecting this testimony, Bury expresses doubts, but G. Ostrogorsky and E. Stein (*Byzantion* 7 [1932] 193f, n.2) accept the evidence as valid. The *domestikos ton Hikanaton* is mentioned in all the TAKTIKA of the 9th–10th C., but the evidence from the 11th C. is already questionable since the sources may use Hikanatoi as a family name. Among his subordinates were the TOPOTERETES, CHARTOULARIOS, *komites* (see COMES), and so on. The seals of several *domestikoi ton Hikanaton* of the 9th C. are preserved.

LIT. Bury, *Adm. System* 63f. Oikonomides, *Listes* 332. Haldon, *Praetorians* 295f, 357. —A.K.

DOMESTIKOS TON NOUMERON (δομέστικός τῶν Νομέρων), commander of the TAGMA of the Noumera. This *domestikos* is listed in all the TAK-

TIKA. The first known *domestikos ton Noumeron* is Leo Lalakon who was active during the reign of Michael III (PG 105:513B); one of his contemporaries, Theophiltzes, is said to have held the office of the KOMES TON TEICHON and that of the Noumera (*TheophCont* 655.10–11), which may mean that the two offices were not yet separate. Bury assumes that the *droungarios* of the Nou[mera] mentioned on a 7th- or 8th-C. seal was a predecessor of the *domestikos*. J. Haldon (*Praetorians* 256–75) hypothesizes that the regiment of the Noumera was established in the late 7th C. and had close contacts with the factions. On seals of the 9th C., *domestikoi ton Noumeron* have titles of *spatharioi* and *protospatharioi* (Zacos, *Seals* 1:1881). The functions of this *domestikos* included protection of the palace and supervision of the city PRISON of the Noumera. On his staff were the TOPOTERETES and CHARTOULARIOS, as well as *tribuni*, *vicarii*, and others. The office does not seem to have survived the 11th C.

LIT. Bury, *Adm. System* 65f. Oikonomides, *Listes* 337. Guilland, *Topographie* 1:48–51. —A.K.

DOMESTIKOS TON OPTIMATON, governor of the theme of OPTIMATOI or commander of the TAGMA deployed there. The TAKTIKA do not mention a STRATEGOS of the Optimatoi. This *domestikos* occupies in the hierarchical lists a position much lower than all the Eastern *strategoi*. Oikonomides (*Listes* 339) emphasizes his function as provider of mules for the army. Nothing is known about his role on the battlefield. The staff of the *domestikos ton Optimaton* was structured like that of other *tagmata*, including a TOPOTERETES, CHARTOULARIOS, *komites* (see COMES), and so on.

LIT. Bury, *Adm. System* 66f. Pertusi, *De them.* 133.

—A.K.

DOMESTIKOS TON SCHOLON (δομέστικός τῶν σχολῶν), commander of the TAGMA of the *scholae*. It is plausible that this office originated from that of the *domestikos* on the staff of the MAGISTER OFFICIORUM, who became independent as the *magister* was assigned other duties. The first known *domestikos ton scholon* is the *patrikios* Antony in 767 (Theoph. 442.25–26). In the TAKTIKA the *domestikos ton scholon* occupies the place below the *strategos* of Anatolikon but before the other *strategoi*. The term is rarely used in military books of the 10th C. (e.g., Dennis, *Military Treatises* 292.25).

During the reign of Romanos II the office was divided in two, *domestikoi* of the East and of the West; they are listed in the *taktikon* of Escorial (Oikonomides, *Listes* 263.23–24) but even at that time below the *strategos* of Anatolikon. In reality the *domestikos ton scholon* was commander in chief of the army (or one of its two sections); from the end of the 9th C. the PHOKAS family attempted to monopolize the office. Constantine VIII and some of his successors, desiring to restrict the independence of noble families, often granted the office to eunuchs, but from the mid-11th C. the post was returned to the military aristocracy. The MEGAS DOMESTIKOS as commander in chief functioned until the fall of the empire, whereas the simple *domestikos* (known at least through 1320) became an honorary title conferred on governors and the like. The staff of the *domestikos ton scholon* included TOPOTERETAI, *komites* (see COMES), CHARTOULARIOI, subaltern *domestikoi*, and others.

LIT. Guiland, *Institutions* 1:405–68. Raybaud, *Gouvernement* 237–39. —A.K.

DOMINICANS. The religious order founded by St. Dominic in 1215 soon became active in missionary work in the East. By 1228 it was firmly installed in the Latin Empire of Constantinople and in the Holy Land. A regional grouping within the order, the Societas Fratrum Peregrinantium, began ca. 1300, was suppressed from 1363 to 1375, then revived. It operated in the Genoese colonies in the Crimea, then in Armenia, Persia, and Georgia.

Members of the order residing in the East, esp. in the Dominican convent in PERA, were active as papal legates, imperial ambassadors to the papacy, proselytizers, and polemicists. Many became fluent in Greek and wrote theological treatises in that language addressed to prominent Byz., including Andronikos II, hoping to persuade them to accept the Latin teachings on the procession of the Holy Spirit and on papal PRIMACY.

In 1309 the Dominican order chose Albertus Magnus and Thomas AQUINAS as official teachers of theology. The writings and translations of Demetrios KYDONES enhanced the influence of Thomism in Constantinople. In the late 14th and early 15th C. a number of Byz. in Kydones' circle converted to Roman Catholicism and joined the order, including the brothers Andrew, Theodore,

and Maximos CHRYSOBERGES and Manuel KALEKAS.

LIT. Loenertz, *ByzFrGr* I, 209–26. B. Altaner, "Die Kenntnis des Griechischen in den Missionsorden während des 13. und 14. Jahrhunderts," *ZKirch* 53 (1934) 436–93. —F.K.

DOMITIANOS (Δομιτιανός), diplomat, bishop of Melitene from 580, and saint; born ca. 550, died Constantinople 10 or 12 Jan. 602; feastday 10 Jan. Domitianos was a cousin of MAURICE—Paret rejects Honigmann's assumption that Domitianos was the son of Peter, Maurice's maternal uncle. Domitianos spent 582–85 and 591–98 primarily in Constantinople as Maurice's adviser; Pope Gregory I addressed several epistles to him. He played the key role in the empire's Persian policy: after CHOSROES II fled to Byz. territory in 591, Domitianos became his confidant, accompanied the king on his expedition to Iran, and negotiated the treaty with him. Domitianos directed Maurice's religious policy in the eastern regions; this policy was—*contra* H. Grégoire (*Byzantion* 13 [1938] 395f)—intolerant toward the Monophysites. The later Monophysite tradition (e.g., GREGORY ABŪ'LFARAJ) is hostile to Domitianos, accusing him of seizing all Monophysite churches in Mesopotamia and northern Syria and of persecuting the "faithful." He was guardian of Maurice's children.

LIT. R. Paret, "Domitianus de Mélitène et la politique religieuse de l'empereur Maurice," *REB* 15 (1957) 42–72. E. Honigmann, *Patristic Studies* (Vatican 1953) 217–23. Whitby, *Maurice & His Historian* 14f. —W.E.K., A.K.

DOMITIUS ALEXANDER, usurper (308–09). He was *vicarius Africae* and briefly controlled Tripolitania, Numidia, and Sardinia, as well as Africa proper. He was condemned at the Conference of Carnuntum in 308 and defeated by MAXENTIUS, whose rule over Italy was threatened by Domitius's control of African grain and recognition of CONSTANTINE I. There is disagreement about the date when the revolt was suppressed (Barnes gives 309, Stein 311).

LIT. Barnes, *New Empire* 14f. Stein, *Histoire* 1:85. —T.E.G.

DONATION (δωρεά). Byz. law fluctuated between accepting an oral agreement as a sufficient form of the donation contract and requiring a

written contract or a certain number of witnesses (3–7). Leo VI in novel 50 established the rule that a donation whose value surpassed 500 nomismata was void without a written contract, whereas a lesser donation was valid if confirmed by three witnesses. Byz. law categorized a donation as a specific form of alienation that was usually contrasted with sale (e.g., *Docheiar.*, no.15.4). More explicit is a SIGILLION of Michael VIII of 1267 or 1282 (*Docheiar.*, no.8.14–16) that cites alternative methods of acquisition: through a *kletor's* charter, through an imperial *prostagma* or other imperial *dorea*, through purchase, exchange, donation (*prosenexis*), or improvement of the property.

Even though the mixed form *negotium cum donatione* was known to Roman law, in Byz. the distinction between sale and donation became obscured, partially due to the concept of the spiritual (*psychike*) donation, that is, made for the salvation of the soul. Thus, in some charters (e.g., MM 4:408.33) there are clauses stating that the seller of property to a monastery did not accept the full price but granted part of the payment to the monastery as a donation. On the other hand, a transaction could be called *dorea* even when it was actually a sale (e.g., *Kastam.*, no.1 [a.1047]). The term "donation" could also cover the medieval *precarium remuneratorium*: thus, in 1232 Alexios Tesaïtes donated his possessions to the monastery of LEMBIOTISSA, but the family remained on their holding, probably as monastic *proskathemenoi* (Kazhdan, *Agrarnye otnoshenija* 160f).

LIT. Zachariä, *Geschichte* 302–05. —A.K.

DONATION OF CONSTANTINE (*Constitutum Constantini*), an 8th-C. Latin document, purporting to be an act of Constantine I. Perhaps originating in the chancery of Pope Stephen II (752–57) or Paul I (757–67), it is based heavily on the 5th-C. *Legenda S. Silvestri*. In the document Constantine I professes his faith (*confessio*) and grants to Pope Silvester I several imperial insignia and privileges (*donatio*), the Lateran Palace, as well as Rome, Italy, and the western regions. Some scholars speculate that the Donation was fashioned to bolster Pope Stephen's negotiating position with the Frankish ruler Pepin (741–68) against the LOMBARDS in 754. More regard it as a papal attempt to diminish Constantinople's authority by demonstrating that, since Constantine had of-

fered imperial rank to Pope Silvester and since the pope had acquiesced in Constantine's move from Rome to Constantinople (the new *urbs regia*), the papacy took precedence over the patriarchate of Constantinople and the pope could transfer the empire's center from Constantinople back to Rome. Now, however, specialists minimize the document's political aspect and assert that it was not an official, anti-Byzantine act, but rather part of the rivalry between the Lateran Palace and the increasingly prestigious Vatican Church of St. Peter (R.-J. Loenertz, *Aevum* 48 [1974] 245, and de Leo, *infra* 118f, suggest that a Greek monk wrote it in Rome's Monastery of St. Silvester).

Nevertheless, since the Donation of Constantine contradicted the Byz. claim that Constantine's *translatio imperii* had made Constantinople the New Rome, it figured prominently in numerous Latin-Greek polemical exchanges over political and ecclesiastical primacy. The chancery of OTTO III declared the document fraudulent, but Pope LEO IX sent a copy to Patr. MICHAEL I KEROULARIOS in 1054, and Cardinal HUMBERT later issued a revised version to support the pope's dispute with the Byz. emperor and the Eastern patriarchs. Yet in the 12th C. Byz. writers likewise began to appeal to the Donation. Under Manuel I Komnenos, John KINNAMOS effectively used it to attack Western rulers who usurped the imperial title and to deny that popes had the right to confer it, while Theodore BALSAMON used the document to justify Keroularios's reaction in 1054 against the papal legates (G. Ostrogorsky, *SemKond* 7 [1935] 187–204). A Greek translation of the Donation, extant in MSS of the 14th C. (ed. W. Ohnsorge, *Konstantinopel und der Okzident* [Darmstadt 1966] 108–23), was likely done as early as the 12th C.

ED. P. de Leo, *Il Constitutum Constantini: Compilazione agiografica del sec. VIII*, vol. 1 (Reggio Calabria 1974). H. Fuhrman, *Das Constitutum Constantini* [= MGH *Fontes Iuris germanici antiqui* 10] (Hanover 1968).

LIT. J. van Engen, *DMA* 4:257–59. H.-G. Krause, "Das Constitutum Constantini im Schisma von 1054," in *Aus Kirche und Reich: Festschrift für Friedrich Kempf* (Sigmaringen 1983) 131–58. N. Huyghebaert, "Une légende de fondation: Le Constitutum Constantini," *Le moyen âge* 85 (1979) 177–209. P. Alexander, "The Donation of Constantine at Byzantium and its Earliest Use against the Western Empire," *ZRVI* 8 (1963) 11–26. —P.A.H.

DONATIO PROPTER NUPTIAS (προγαμιαία, πρὸ γάμου δωρεά). From the 4th C. onward, the

wedding gift of a man to his wife—as opposed to the “engagement gift” (ARRHA SPONSALICIA) common in earlier times—became an institution subject to special rules. According to the laws of Justinian I, the husband was obliged to provide a *donatio* for the benefit of his wife that was equal to her promised DOWRY (*Nov. Just.* 97 pr., 1–2). These two assets constituted the marriage property, administered by the husband with limited power of disposal. The question as to who received the *donatio* after the death of the husband depended on the marriage contract, which, in addition to the legal reversion of the property brought into the marriage, should provide for an equally large profit (*kerdos*) for either marriage partner from the fortune of the one who died first. If there were children, the widow was due the USUFRUCT from the *donatio* and a portion of the property equal in size to the inheritance of a child (*ibid.* 127.3). If the woman married a second time, she lost her portion from the *donatio* (*ibid.* 2.1, 22.23). The *Ecloga* (2.3) explicitly denied the husband's obligation to provide a *donatio* of equal value to the dowry and considered it sufficient that the man, “as is common,” increase the worth of the dowry through a gift. Both the *Procheiron* (tit.6; 9.12,13), and the *Basilika* (29.1,2) reproduce Justinianic law but without the prologue and the first chapter of novel 97 concerning the equivalence of the *donatio* and the dowry. In the *Epanagoge* (tit.19), the *donatio* appears in a form that has not yet been studied in detail but appears to partly recast that in the *Ecloga*; it occasioned a detailed contemporary commentary. From the time of the novels of Leo VI, the term *dorea* is often replaced by *HYPOBOLON*.

LIT. F. Brandileone, *Scritti di storia del diritto privato italiano*, vol. 1 (Bologna 1931) 117–214. Simon, “Ehegüterrecht” 225–35. A.M. Guljaev, *Predbrachnyj dar v rimskom prave i v pamjatnikach vizantijskago zakonodatel'stva* (Dorpat [Estonia] 1891). —M.Th.F.

DONATISM, named after its primary teacher Donatus, a rigorist sect that developed within the African church in the early 4th C. in the aftermath of the Great Persecution. The Donatists refused to accept Caecilian as bishop of Carthage because he had been consecrated by Felix of Abthungi, who was accused of betraying the faith under the threat of persecution. A synod of 70 rigorist bishops declared Caecilian's elevation in-

valid and consecrated Majorianus in his stead. Majorianus died soon afterward and Donatus became bishop.

Shortly after the battle of the MILVIAN BRIDGE in 312 Constantine I offered financial support to the African church in the person of Caecilian. The Donatists appealed to Constantine and a commission was established in 313 under the presidency of Pope Miltiades (311–314) to hear the conflicting claims. This body condemned the Donatists, who appealed to the Council of Arles (314), with the same result. Constantine hesitated to persecute the Donatists openly, but by 316 he had personally condemned them and there was some persecution; in 321, however, Constantine ordered effective toleration. Constantine I resumed persecution in 347, but the Donatists resisted, celebrated their rites in secret, and began to turn to violent reaction against government officials and the Catholic party. In 362 Julian ordered an end to persecution, but after his death Donatism was again outlawed. Attacked by Optatus, bishop of Milevis, and esp. by AUGUSTINE, Donatism nevertheless remained a vital force until the end of Christianity in North Africa.

The Donatists, who claimed that they were following the teachings of St. Cyprian, appealed to local African and rigorist sentiment. Donatism resembled NOVATIANISM in its rigorism and ecclesiology, but its adherents went beyond most similar groups in their view of the sacramental system: they held that the validity of the sacrament depended upon the rectitude of the celebrant. By the mid-4th C. some Donatists were associated with the *circumcelliones*, banditlike gangs who terrorized the cities and villas of Africa. The sect was centered in the villages and countryside of Numidia; some scholars have seen the movement as a reflection of “nationalist” or social sentiment.

LIT. W.H.C. Frend, *The Donatist Church* (Oxford 1952). T.D. Barnes, “The Beginnings of Donatism,” *JThSt* 26 (1975) 13–22. R.A. Marcus, “Christianity and Dissent in Roman North Africa,” *SChH* 9 (1972) 21–36. P.G. Schulten, *De Circumcellionen* (Leiden 1984). —T.E.G.

DONKEYS. See BEASTS OF BURDEN.

DOORS were made of a variety of materials, usually wood but also bronze; occasionally they might be inlaid with ivory (bone?) or silver.

Wooden Doors. Wood was the material most commonly used for doors. Some 20 examples survive, generally dated 12th–15th C., normally the main door of a church or of its *templon*. An unusual concentration is found in Cyprus (Soteriou, *Mnemeia tes Kyprou*, pls. 142–44). There and elsewhere, Byz. specimens are less elaborate than the 5th-C. doors of Rome and Milan. Structurally, wooden doors consist of either stiles and rails enclosing panels or vertical planks nailed to horizontals. Some small BEMA doors are made of a single piece of lumber; most are decorated with the ANNUNCIATION. A door at the monastery of St. CATHERINE on Sinai has reliefs of animals, birds, and plants. Openwork leaves survive at Ioannina (A. Zachos, *EpChron* 3 [1928] 220–22) and doors decorated with a geometric framework at Boulgareli (A. Orlandos, *DChAE*² 1, fasc. 3–4 [1924] 69–73).

Bronze Doors. Byz. manufacture of bronze doors occurred in two periods—a 4th- to 7th-C. continuation of Roman traditions and a medieval revival. Although Constantine I removed from the Artemision at Ephesus the pair of doors decorated with a gigantomachy and erected them at the Senate House in Constantinople (CONSTANTINE OF RHODES, vv. 125–52), he apparently also made new bronze doors for his Forum (Preger, *Scriptores* 2:279f), and Constantius II did likewise (360?) for HAGIA SOPHIA. Doors of the cathedrals of Tyre (314–17, with relief plaques—Eusebios, *HE* 10.4.42), and Edessa (504/5—*JoshStyl*, ch.8g) were covered in metal REVETMENT. Surviving from the 4th to 7th C. are both cast bronze doors—(with silver inlay) in the Lateran Baptistery, Rome (461–68)—and revetted doors—at Hagia Sophia, Constantinople (with copper and silver inlay and appliqué decoration), and at the monastery of St. Catherine on Mt. Sinai (550–65). By the 9th C. techniques of manufacture of bronze doors may have been forgotten, judging by the patchwork example in the southwest vestibule of Hagia Sophia (838–40) and by cases of reuse in Constantinople in the NEA EKKLESIA (880), on the acropolis, and at the GOLDEN GATE (963). The craft was revived, however, by the 11th C. when bronze doors, often decorated with figures and inlaid with silver, were made in Constantinople for export to a series of churches in Italy: at Amalfi (ca.1060), MONTECASSINO (1066), S. Paolo, Rome (1070), Monte Sant' Angelo (1076), Atrani (1087),

S. Marco, Venice (1080, 1112), and Salerno (1100), the first five having been ordered by members of an Amalfitan family that had commercial interests in Constantinople as well as Syria/Palestine. The origin of the so-called “Korsun doors” in Novgorod (Byz. or Russian?) is under discussion.

Ivory and Silver Doors, criticized by St. Jerome, are mentioned more rarely in Byz. than in Latin literature and occurred only in lavish contexts. Six (?) of the nine doors leading from the narthex to the nave of Hagia Sophia, Constantinople, were reputed to be of ivory (Preger, *Scriptores* 1:96.11–12, note). The *elephantine pyle* of the Daphne in the GREAT PALACE, first mentioned in 802, was used by the emperor on his way to the Covered Hippodrome (*De cer.* 518.8). Most doors described as ivory were probably wood inlaid with bone, like the examples preserved at the PROTATON on Mt. Athos and at Elasson, restored in 1296 (G. Soteriou, *EEBS* 4 [1927] 327–31). Alexios I Komnenos ordered the removal and recasting of the silver decorations on the doors of the Chalkoprateia Church in Constantinople, which depicted 12 dominical feasts (E. Miller, *RN* 11 [1866] 36.20–23; I. Sakkelion, *BCH* 2 [1878] 118.10–14).

LIT. C. Mango, “Storia dell'arte,” *Civiltà bizantina dal IX all'XI secolo* (Bari 1978) 241–51. G.H. Forsyth, K. Weitzmann, *The Monastery of St. Catherine at Mt. Sinai* (Ann Arbor, Mich., n.d.) 10, pls. XCIV–XCVI. M.E. Frazer, “Church Doors and Gates of Paradise: Byzantine Bronze Doors in Italy,” *DOP* 27 (1973) 147–62. C. Bertelli, “Notizia preliminare sul restauro di alcune porte di S. Sofia a Istanbul,” *BICR* 34–35 (1958) 58–115. A. Bank, *Prikladnoe iskusstvo Vizantii IX–XII vv.* (Moscow 1978) 71–81.

—Ch.Th.B., M.M.M., A.C.

DORMITION (κοίμησις), feast of the “falling asleep,” that is, death, of the Virgin Mary, celebrated 15 Aug. One of the 12 Byz. GREAT FEASTS, the Dormition is preceded by a two-week LENT and has an afterfeast of nine days. It has been celebrated on 15 Aug. since the 6th C., replacing an earlier feast of the maternity of Mary found on that date in the earliest Jerusalem sources (A. Renoux, *PO* 36.2:189–91, 354–57; M. Aubineau, *Les Homélies festales d'Hesychius de Jérusalem*, vol. 1 [Brussels 1978] 145–69).

Originally a mobile celebration in Constantinople (M. van Esbroeck, *Maxime le Confesseur, Vie de la Vierge* [Louvain 1986] xxx), the Dormition had become a fixed feast by the time of Emp.



DORMITION. Dormition of the Virgin; fresco. West wall of the Church of the Virgin Phorbiotissa, Asinou. Below are visible the heads of monastic saints.

Maurice; it was celebrated at BLACHERNAI (Theoph. 265f; Nikephoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos, PG 147:292AB). In the *Typikon of the Great Church* (Mateos, *Typikon* 1:368–73), the festivities began at dawn with a procession (LITE) from St. Euphemia to Blachernai for the SYNAXIS. After the liturgy, the emperor offered a banquet for the patriarch and other dignitaries (Philotheos, *Kletor*. 219.24–221.4). But in the 14th C., the emperor attended both vespers and the subsequent Eucharist at Hagia Sophia instead, resting in the patriarchal chambers in between the services without returning to the palace (pseudo-Kod. 245.11–15).

The variety of Byz. names for the feast, signifying either Dormition or Assumption (*analepsis*) (M. Jugie, *La mort et l'assomption de la Sainte Vierge* (Vatican 1944) 185–95; Wenger, *infra* 422f), reflects differing theological opinion as to whether Mary really died, as was generally believed in Byz.,

or had been simply assumed into heaven. Both Theodore of Stoudios (PG 99:1696C) and the *Typikon of the Great Church* call the feast the *metastasis*.

Representation in Art. The most important texts for the iconography are the second homily of John of Damascus on the *Koimesis* (ed. Kotter, *Schriften* 5:516–40) and the “Pastoral Letter” of JOHN I of Thessalonike, read during *orthros* of 15 Aug. (M. Jugie in PO 19:344–438). Both draw on the legend, *Transitus Mariae*, associated with JAMES (the Lord’s brother), which includes the Dormition in a narrative running from the Annunciation of the Virgin’s imminent death (see GABRIEL) through the disappearance of her body (M. van Esbroeck in F. Bovon et al., *Les Actes apocryphes des apôtres* [Geneva 1981] 265–85). The earliest preserved representations of the Virgin’s death are 10th-C. Constantinopolitan ivories, isolated litur-

gical icons that show the iconography already fully developed. The Virgin lies on a bier, Apostles grouped symmetrically to either side; Christ stands behind her, raising her small, swaddled *eidolon* or soul to an angel who will carry it up to Heaven. This image becomes widespread: in devotional panels and steatites, in MSS accompanying the reading for 15 Aug. (Lk 11:38–42), and as the final Great Feast on templon beams and in monumental cycles, where it usually occupies the west wall of the naos. The composition was elaborated in the 11th–12th C. to include buildings housing mourning women, bishops (James, Dionysios the Areopagite, Hierotheos, and Timotheos of Ephesus, all of them authors whom legend supposed to have been present), the cloud-borne Apostles arriving, and the figure of Jephonias the Jew, whose hands—cut off by an angel when he tried to upset the bier—were restored when he acknowledged Christianity. Many Palaiologan versions add episodes from the longer narrative, and some show the Virgin’s bodily assumption into Heaven, whose gates open on high.

LIT. I. Zervou Tognazzi, “L’iconografia della Koimisis della Santa Vergine, specchio del pensiero teologico dei Padri bizantini,” *Studi e ricerche sull’Oriente cristiano* 8 (1985) 21–46, 69–90. A. Wenger, *L’Assomption de la t. s. Vierge dans la tradition byzantine du VI^e au X^e siècle* (Paris 1955). A. Raes, “Aux origines de la fête de l’Assomption en Orient,” *OrChrP* 12 (1946) 262–74. —R.F.T., A.W.C.

DOROSTOLON (Δορόστολον; also Lat. Durostorum; Slavic Dristra, Drüstŭr), also Silistra, city and fortress in Bulgaria on the right bank of the lower Danube. The Roman walls were destroyed in the 4th C., probably by the Visigoths, and more massive walls built in the 5th or 6th C. These in turn were destroyed, and later rebuilt by the Bulgarians in the 9th C. In 971 John I Tzimiskes captured the city, in which SVJATOSLAV had taken refuge. After the First Bulgarian Empire fell, Dorostolon became the capital of the Byz. province of PARISTRION. Occupied for a time in the late 11th C. by the Pechenegs, Dorostolon was recaptured by Alexios I Komnenos in 1088. In 1186/7 it became part of the Second Bulgarian Empire. In the 14th C. it was ruled by semi-independent Bulgarian or Rumanian despots and finally surrendered to the Ottomans in 1388. In a period of Ottoman weakness after the battle of ANKARA in 1402, the city was seized by the Ru-

manian prince MIRCEA THE ELDER and not recovered by the Turks until 1419/20. Dorostolon was an important ecclesiastical center: the seat of a bishop since the conversion of Bulgaria and in the 10th C. the residence of the patriarch.

LIT. A. Kuzev, V. Gjuzelev, *Bŭlgarski srednovekovni gradove i kreposti*, vol. 1 (Sofia 1981) 177–200. D.P. Dimitrov, “Le système décoratif et la date des peintures murales du tombeau antique de Silistra,” *CahArch* 12 (1962) 35–52. —R.B.

DOROTHEOS (Δωρόθεος), jurist, ANTECESSOR, professor at the law school of Berytus. He was appointed by Justinian I to the commissions for the compilation of the DIGEST and the second edition of the CODEX JUSTINIANUS and was ordered, together with THEOPHILOS, to compile the INSTITUTES. In the scholia to the BASILIKA several fragments of a Greek index to the *Digest* (esp. to its 24th book) have been preserved. The paraphrases of the *Digest* passages 2.8.12–2.11.4, preserved on papyrus (ed. V. Bartoletti, *Papiri greci e latini* 13.2 [Florence 1953] no.1350), were attributed to Dorotheos by their first editor G. La Pira (*Bullettino dell’Istituto di Diritto Romano* 38 [1930] 151–74) but on insufficient grounds (F. Pringsheim, *ZSavRom* 53 [1933] 488–91).

ED. Heimbach, *Basil.* 6:36–47.

LIT. K.E. Zachariä von Lingenthal, *Kritische Jahrbücher für Deutsche Rechtswissenschaft* 8 (1844) 808–10. —A.S.

DOROTHEOS, VISION OF, Greek hexameter poem preserved in a unique papyrus codex of the 5th C. (P. Bodmer 29). The poem, in 343 lines, describes the narrator’s journey to the court of heaven where he saw God, Christ, and the “swift angel” Gabriel. Christ was enthroned like a Roman emperor and surrounded by angels uniformed like Roman soldiers and court officials, and bearing such titles as *domestikos*, *praiapositos*, *primikerios*, *ostiaris*, etc. The man was severely punished for disobedience and vanity, baptized, and indoctrinated by Christ who admonished him to be modest. Probably written by an Egyptian poet, the work marks an important stage in the development of Christian epic.

ED. *Papyrus Bodmer XXIX: Vision de Dorotheos*, ed. A. Hurst, O. Reverdin, J. Rudhardt (Geneva 1984), rev. E. Livrea in *Gnomon* 58 (1986) 687–711. Eng. tr. A.H.M. Kessels, P.W. van der Horst, *VigChr* 41 (1987) 313–59.

LIT. J. Bremmer, "An Imperial Palace Guard in Heaven: The Date of the Vision of Dorotheus," *ZPapEpiG* 75 (1988) 82–88.
—L.S.B. MacC.

DOROTHEOS OF GAZA, monk and ascetic writer; born Antioch ca. 500, died between 560 and 580. Born to a wealthy family, Dorotheos received a classical education and became an ardent book collector. He then entered a monastery near Gaza where he came under the influence of the recluse BARSANOUPHIOS, author of a polemic against ORIGEN, and his friend John the Prophet. P. Canivet has suggested that Dorotheos was forced to leave this monastery because of his sympathy with the Origenist doctrines of EVAGRIOS PONTIKOS (*REGr* 78 [1965] 336–46). Dorotheos subsequently (ca. 540) founded and headed his own cenobitic monastery, also near Gaza. He compiled for the monks' use a set of spiritual instructions (*Didaskaliai*) inculcating the ascetic life. His work was frequently cited by THEODORE OF STOUDIOS. The *Didaskaliai* survive in a 9th-C. abridged revision probably made by one of Theodore's followers; some of its 24 sections may not be authentic. The *Didaskaliai* were translated into Syriac, Arabic, Georgian, and Church Slavonic. Eight of his letters and a small collection of maxims also survive.

ED. PG 88:1611–1844. *Oeuvres spirituelles*, ed. L. Regnault, J. de Préville (Paris 1963), with Fr. tr. Eng. tr. E.P. Wheeler, *Discourses and Sayings* (Kalamazoo, Mich., 1977).

LIT. J.M. Szymusiak, J. Leroy, *DictSpir* 3 (1957) 1651–64. D. Stiennon, *DHGE* 14 (1960) 686f.
—B.B.

DOROTHEOS OF MONEMVASIA, a name (perhaps fictitious) under which was printed a world chronicle that has survived in many MSS whose interconnections are not yet fully worked out. The first redaction ended at 1570. The chronicle consisted of several disconnected sections: biblical and ancient history; lists of Roman and Christian emperors, of Turkish sultans, and of patriarchs of Constantinople; the history of Rome from Aeneas to Emp. John VIII Palaiologos; the history of sultans to Selim II; and the history of the Greek church. The last section contains a prose version of the CHRONICLE OF MOREA, the story of the Council of Ferrara-Florence, a chapter on Venice, etc. The original compilation seems to have been based on a "popular" paraphrase of Theophanes the Confessor,

Theophanes Continuatus, and the *Ekthesis Chronike* (which covers the period from 1391 to 1515), as well as several now unidentifiable sources (e.g., for the Komnenian period).

The identity of the author of the original is under discussion: Moravcsik (*infra*) was inclined to accept the authorship of Manuel Malaxos from Nauplion, K. Sathas (Sathas, *MB* 3, p. 17) suggested Hierotheos of Monemvasia, T. Preger (*BZ* 11 [1902] 4–15) hypothesized that the author was an unknown Venetian. Russo and Lebedeva (*infra*), on the other hand, assume that Dorotheos could be a real person, a bishop of Monemvasia in the 16th C.

ED. *Biblion historikon periechen en synopsei diaphorou kai exochous historias* (Venice 1631; rp. 17 times up to 1818).

LIT. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* 1:412–14. I.N. Lebedeva, *Pozdnie grecheskie chroniki* (Leningrad 1968). D. Russo, *Studii istorice greco-român*, vol. 1 (Bucharest 1939) 51–100. E. Zachariadou, "Mia Italike pege tou pseudo-Dorotheou gia ten historia ton Othomanon," *Peloponnesiaka* 5 (1962) 46–59.
—E.M.J., A.K.

DORY (Δόρυ), also called Doros, a region in the mountainous southwestern part of Crimea where, according to Prokopios (*Buildings* 3.7.13), those GOTHS settled who did not follow Theodorik to Italy. The *kastron* or *phrourion* of Doros was situated in Crimean Gothia; Justinian II sought refuge there in 695. A bishopric was founded in Dory either by the end of the 7th or in the 8th C. Excavation has revealed the ruins of some "cave towns" (Eski-Kermen, Mangup, etc.) in the land of Dory as well as basilicas of approximately 6th-C. date and fortifications.

The name *Dory* disappears after the 9th C., probably surviving in the form *Theodoro* (N. Bănescu, *BZ* 35 [1935] 35f); the name *Mangup* for this region is first attested in a letter of the Khazar king Joseph (ca. 960): the Goths of Dory were at this time vassals of the Khazars. There is vague evidence that ca. 1223 the towns of Gothia paid tribute to the emperor of Trebizond (M. Tichanova, *MatIssArch* 34 [1953] 328f). Vasiliev's hypothesis (*infra* 157f) that Constantine Gabras was sent to the Crimea after his independent rule in Trebizond had been terminated in 1140 proves invalid (Kazhdan, *Arm.* 91).

By the 13th or 14th C. a principedom of Theodoro-Mangup appeared on the site of Dory. Eski-Kermen suffered from the raid of NOGAY in 1299, and probably between 1395 and 1404 Mangup

was under the rule of TIMUR; after Timur's death, the prince of Theodoro-Mangup, Alexios, regained independence, and the principality retained it, even after the Ottoman conquest of the Crimea in 1475. Around 1425 a fortress and palace were built in Mangup and the Church of Constantine and Helena restored. Greek traditions survived in Mangup, and Greek inscriptions, both funerary and dedicatory, have been found there. In the late 14th C. the hieromonk MATTHEW OF KHAZARIA wrote in Greek a poetic account of his visit to Theodoro, describing the devastation caused by the raids of Timur.

LIT. A.A. Vasiliev, *The Goths in the Crimea* (Cambridge, Mass., 1936). È.I. Solomonik, O.I. Dombrovskij, "O lokalizacii strany Dori," in *Archeologičeskie issledovanija srednevekovogo Kryma* (Kiev 1968) 11–44. E.V. Vejmar, I.I. Loboda, I.S. Pioro, M. Ja. Coref, "Archeologičeskie issledovanija stolicy knjažestva Feodoro," in *Feodal'naja Tavrika* (Kiev 1974) 123–39.
—O.P.

DORYLAION (Δορύλαιον, mod. Eskişehir), city of northwestern PHRYGIA, on a strategic road junction controlling passage from Constantinople to the interior of Asia Minor. A major military post, Dorylaion was frequently mentioned after 741, when it was base of the revolt of ARTABASDOS. It was a bastion of the OPSIKION theme and an APLEKTON; Arab raids often reached it in the 8th–10th C. According to IBN KHURDĀDHBEH, Dorylaion was noted for its plains, where imperial pack animals were raised, and for its hot springs. After the Turks captured it ca. 1080, Dorylaion lay in ruins in a no-man's land frequently occupied by nomadic Turkish tribes until Manuel I took the region in 1175, drove out the nomads, and built a new fortress for defense of the frontier (P. Wirth, *BZ* 55 [1962] 21–29). Soon after the battle of MYRIOKEPHALON, however, the city fell to the Seljuks. Dorylaion was a bishopric of Phrygia Salutaris, under Synada. Remains of the fortifications, which surrounded the medieval hilltop town, have entirely disappeared; they indicated two periods of construction, perhaps of the 7th–8th and 12th C.

LIT. *MAMA* 5:xii–xvii.

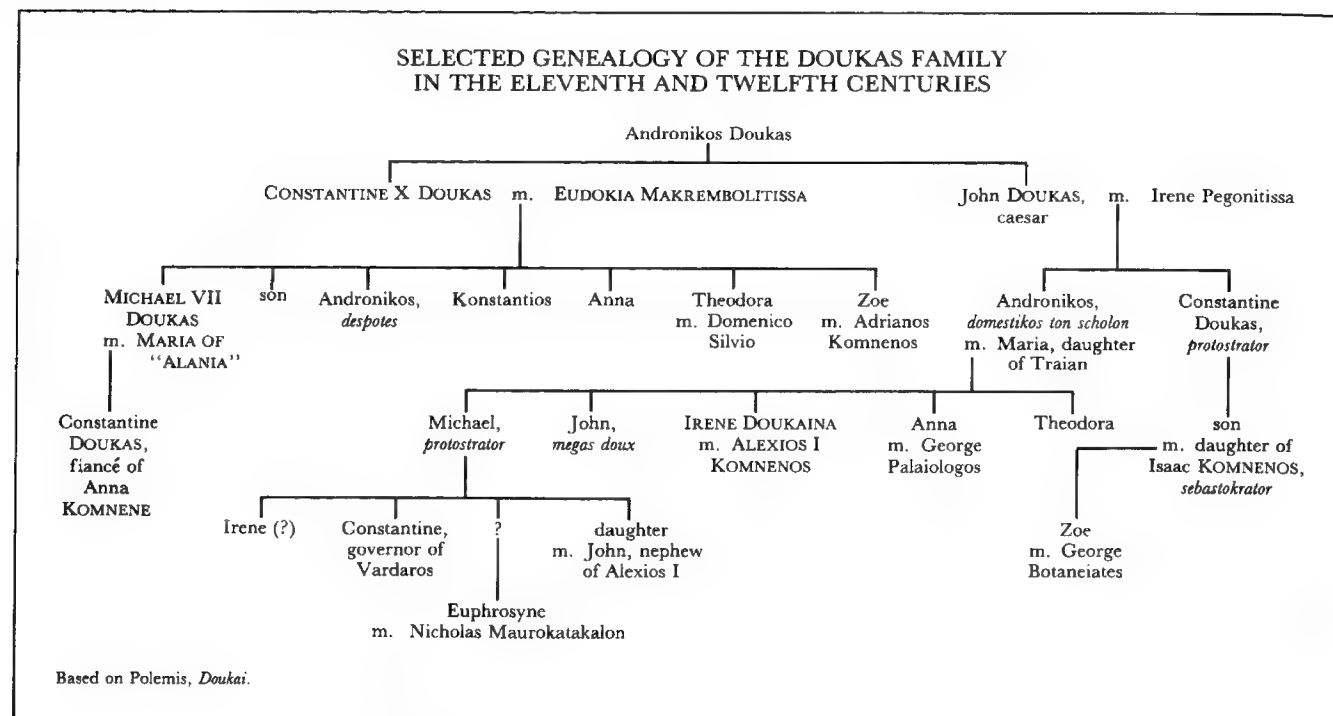
—C.F.

DOUKAS (Δούκας, fem. Δούκαινα, from DOUX, "leader, general"), a noble Byz. lineage. The hypothesis of their Armenian origin (*doux* being a translation of Arm. *sparapat*, "general") cannot be

proved. The first known Doukas was sent in the 9th C. by Empress Theodora to convert the PAULICIANS forcibly. The family was very prominent in the early 10th C. when Andronikos Doukas and Constantine Doukas served as military commanders; they became prototypes of two personages in the epic poem DIGENES AKRITAS (see DOUKAS, ANDRONIKOS and DOUKAS, CONSTANTINE). It is not clear whether Andronikos Doukas, who sided with Bardas SKLEROS in 976, was related to the elder Doukai. One of his sons, Bardas Mongos, commanded the fleet sent in 1016 to KHAZARIA (the Crimea). Again it is unknown whether CONSTANTINE X DOUKAS, who ascended the imperial throne in 1059, and his son MICHAEL VII DOUKAS were related to the elder Doukai as affirmed by PSELLOS and Nicholas KALLIKLES; Nikephoros BRYENNIO even went so far as to assert that their ancestors served Constantine I the Great. A 12th-C. historian (Zon. 3:675f) wrote, on the other hand, that the old lineage died out after the unsuccessful revolt of Constantine Doukas in 913, and Constantine X was a descendant only through the female line. The 11th-C. Doukai, who originated from Paphlagonia, were generals and governors: John Doukas was *katepano* of Edessa in 1059 (see DOUKAS, JOHN); his sons were respectively *domestikos ton scholon* and *protostrator*; Konstantios Porphyrogennetos, Michael VII's brother, was a famous soldier, even though he died at age 20 (at Dyrrachion in 1081).

The Doukai intermarried with many aristocratic families, including KOMNENOI (the family name Komnenodoukas was used): IRENE DOUKAÏNA, Andronikos's daughter, became Alexios I's wife; at the beginning of his reign Alexios considered her cousin Constantine Doukas as his heir apparent (see DOUKAS, CONSTANTINE); Irene's brother, the *protostrator* Michael, was one of the most important generals at the end of the 11th C.; another brother, John, was *megas doux*. In the 12th C. the name of Doukas was fashionable and applied to some members of other families (ANGELOS, KAMATEROS, VATATZES, etc.); it is difficult to identify some of the Doukai (the numerous Johns present a particular problem) and impossible to establish their connection with the imperial Doukai. Some were generals, but others served in the civil administration as *logothetes*, *hetairiarches*, or *vestiarites*.

The Doukai were great landowners. Their role



in cultural life was insignificant, although the *despotes* Andronikos is represented both in the monograms and portraits of a MS of JOHN KLIMAX in Milan (Ambros. B 80 Sup.), produced between 1068 and 1078. After the 12th C. only those Doukai are known who were interrelated with other lineages and formed "hyphenated" families. Descent from the Doukai was claimed, for example, by George PALAIOLOGOS, *sebastos* and *megas hetaireiarches*, who included Constantine X Doukas and Michael VII Doukas among his "ancestors" in the painted pronaos of his monastery church in Constantinople. (See genealogical table.)

LIT. Polemis, *Doukai*. J.C. Anderson, "A Manuscript of the Despot [sic] Andronicus Ducas," *REB* 37 (1979) 229-38. A. Kazhdan, "John Doukas: An Attempt of De-Identification," *Le parole e le idee* 11 (1969) 242-47. P. Karlin-Hayter, "99. Jean Doukas," *Byzantion* 42 (1972-73) 259-65. *PLP*, nos. 5676-99. M. Marcovich, "Three Notes on Byzantine Epigraphy," *ZPapEpig* 54 (1984) 207-15. —A.K., A.C.

DOUKAS, historian; born ca. 1400, died 1462 or later. Neither his baptismal name nor the date and place of his birth are recorded. His grandfather Michael Doukas, who was a supporter of JOHN VI KANTAKOUZENOS, fled from Constantinople in 1345 and took refuge at Ephesus with the Turkish emir of AYDIN. Doukas is first men-

tioned in 1421, living in Nea Phokaia and serving the Genoese podesta, Giovanni Adorno, as secretary. Subsequently he entered the service of the GATTILUSIO family, which controlled Lesbos. He went on several missions as envoy to the Ottoman sultan, visiting Adrianople, Didymoteichon, Philippopolis, and Istanbul.

The *History* of Doukas begins in 1341 and breaks off suddenly in 1462, in the middle of an account of the Ottoman siege of Mytilene. Doukas was an eyewitness to several of the events he describes, and his narrative is generally considered biased but reliable. He spoke Italian and Turkish, and thus had access to Genoese and Ottoman sources of information. He is the only Byz. historian to describe the peasants' revolt on the western coast of Asia Minor in 1416-18, led by Bürklüdje Mustafa, who advocated a "communistic" way of life and proclaimed the equality of Islam and Christianity (H.I. Cotsonis, *BZ* 50 [1957] 397-404). In contrast to Kritoboulos's praise of Mehmed II, Doukas emphasized the dissolute immorality and cruelty of the Ottoman sultan. He viewed the Turkish conquests as God's punishment for the sins of the Byz., but for him Fortune (TYCHE) was also an important element of historical causation. As a man in Frankish service, Doukas supported a policy of Union with Rome and felt that some

accommodation with the West was necessary to preserve the empire. An old Italian translation of Doukas includes an interpolated section on the battle of Kosovo Polje (M. Dinić, *ZRVI* 8.2 [1964] 53-67).

ED. *Istoria Turco-Bizantină*, ed. V. Grecu (Bucharest 1958), with Rumanian tr. Eng. tr. H. Magoulias, *Decline and Fall of Byzantium to the Ottoman Turks* (Detroit, Mich., 1975).

LIT. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:490-94. *PLP*, no. 5685. S.K. Krasavina, "Mirovozzrenie i social'no-političeskie vzgljady vizantijskogo istorika Duki," *VizVrem* 34 (1973) 97-111.

—A.M.T.

DOUKAS, ANDRONIKOS, general under LEO VI; died ca. 910 in Arab captivity. A *patrikios*, Andronikos won an important victory over the Arabs at Maraş (Nov./Dec. 904, according to Arab sources). Byz. chronicles relate that Andronikos, who was then ordered to join HIMERIOS in his expedition against the Arabs, suddenly revolted and "with his relatives and slaves" seized the town of Kabala near Ikonion. After Gregoras Iberitzes besieged him there for six months, he defected to the Arabs; Leo tried to persuade him to return, but through the intrigues of SAMONAS the Arabs learned of this scheme and put Andronikos in prison, where he probably died. His son Constantine DOUKAS managed to flee.

The story of Andronikos's plot raises several questions. C. de Boor, relying on the vita of Patr. EUTHYMIOS, dated the beginning of the revolt to summer of 904, whereas A. Vasiliev (*Byz. Arabes* 2.1:181-90), trusting Arab sources, preferred the date of 906/7. R. Jenkins (*Speculum* 23 [1948] 222-25) treated the revolt as part of an aristocratic scheme by Andronikos, NICHOLAS I MYSTIKOS, and the admiral Eustathios Argyros, who allegedly yielded Taormina to the Arabs in 902. Eustathios's treason at Taormina was questioned by R.H. Dolley (*SBN* 7 [1953] 340-53), but Andronikos's links with the patriarch seem substantiated by the story of Nicholas's resistance to the TETRAGAMY OF LEO VI. Epic elements color the chroniclers' narration of Andronikos's history, and eventually both Andronikos and his son Constantine were praised in the epic of DIGENES AKRITAS.

LIT. V. Grumel, "Notes chronologiques," *EO* 36 (1937) 202-07. P. Karlin-Hayter, "The Revolt of Andronicus Ducas," *BS* 27 (1966) 23-25. A. Kazhdan, "K istorii političeskoj bor'by v Vizantii v načale X veka," *Učenyje zapiski Tul'skogo pedinstitutu* 3 (1952) 191-206. Polemis, *Doukai* 16-21, no. 2. —A.K.

DOUKAS, CONSTANTINE, general, son of Andronikos DOUKAS; died Constantinople July 913. Constantine arrested SAMONAS during his flight to the Arabs and testified in the senate that Samonas was absconding to Syria. Constantine probably joined his father's rebellion against LEO VI and followed him to Arab territory. Eventually, however, he escaped to Byz., was promoted to the post of *strategos* of Charsianon and then *domestikos ton scholon*, and fought victoriously against the Arabs. After the emperor ALEXANDER died (June 913), Constantine entered Constantinople with an army and was proclaimed emperor at the Hippodrome; he may have been summoned by NICHOLAS I MYSTIKOS, who was frightened by the difficult political situation and esp. the Bulgarian threat. Unexpectedly, Nicholas changed his mind and prepared resistance to Constantine, who was killed at the gates of the Great Palace. Begun by aristocrats (including LEO CHOIROSPHAKTES, an Armenian named Kourtikios, and many relatives of Constantine), the rebellion was supported by the common people, and accordingly Constantine's defeat led to mass executions; scores were affixed to stakes on the eastern shore of the Bosphoros. Popular legend preserved Constantine's memory: in the 930s the rebel BASIL THE COPPER HAND assumed Constantine's name. At the same time the aristocracy praised him and his father as heroes; traces of this glorification are found in the epic of DIGENES AKRITAS and in the vita of BASIL THE YOUNGER. Six miniatures in the Madrid Skylitzes MS depict Constantine's revolt (Grabar-Manoussacas, *Skylitzès*, nos. 277-82).

LIT. A. Kazhdan in *Dve vizantijskie chroniki X veka* (Moscow 1959) 135f. Angelide, *Bios tou Basileiou* 122-46. Polemis, *Doukai* 21-25, no. 3. —A.K., A.C.

DOUKAS, CONSTANTINE, son of MICHAEL VII DOUKAS; born Constantinople ca. 1074, died ca. 1095. Doukas was PORPHYROGENNETOS and heir; his enamel portrait accompanies Michael's on the Holy Crown of Hungary (Wessel, *Byz. Enamels*, no. 37). He was betrothed to the daughter of ROBERT GUISCARD. During the reign of NIKEPHOROS III, Doukas's mother MARIA OF "ALANIA" protected him. After the accession of ALEXIOS I KOMNENOS, Doukas was again recognized as heir and affianced to Anna KOMNENE; they shared imperial acclamations. THEOPHYLAKTOS of Ohrid com-

posed a BASILIKOS LOGOS or *Paideia basilike* for him. After the birth of JOHN II, however, Constantine lost his title. In 1094 Doukas entertained Alexios at his estate near Serres. His end is unknown.

LIT. Polemis, *Doukai* 60–63.

—C.M.B.

DOUKAS, JOHN, caesar; died ca. 1088. Brother of CONSTANTINE X, Doukas was one of the eastern generals who petitioned MICHAEL VI in 1057. During his brother's reign, Doukas became CAESAR and helped suppress a conspiracy (1061). While EUDOKIA MAKREMBOLITISSA and ROMANOS IV ruled, Doukas upheld the rights of his nephew, MICHAEL VII. The Doukas family's enmity to Romanos appeared when Doukas's son Andronikos caused the retreat at MANTZIKERT, which left Romanos in the Turks' hands. When Romanos was released, Doukas led a coup that excluded Romanos and Eudokia from the throne in favor of Michael VII. Doukas's sons Andronikos and Constantine led Byz. forces against Romanos, and Doukas ordered Romanos's blinding. He introduced NIKEPHORITZES to Michael. In 1074 Nikephoritzes sent him as commander against ROUSSEL DE BAILLEUL; defeated and captured, Doukas became (half-willingly) Roussel's puppet-usurper. Captured by the Turks and then ransomed, he became a monk to evade punishment. In 1078 he encouraged Michael to abdicate. He sponsored the marriage of his granddaughter IRENE DOUKAÏNA to ALEXIOS I KOMNENOS, enthusiastically joined the Komnenoi when they revolted, and helped select Alexios for the throne. He corresponded with Psellos, and the earliest known MS of Constantine VII's DE ADMINISTRANDO IMPERIO comes from his library.

LIT. Polemis, *Doukai* 34–41. Skoulatos, *Personnages* 138–45. Ljubarskij, *Psell* 69–74.

—C.M.B.

DOUKATON (*δουκάτον*), rare term designating a territorial unit. Hagiographical texts of the 6th–7th C. understand *doukaton* as a district under the command of a DOUX: *doukata* of Palestine (CYRIL OF SCYTHOPOLIS, ed. Schwartz, p. 150.1) or of Alexandria (in PHILOSTORGIOS, *HE* 167.26–27). This meaning reappeared in the 10th C. Constantine VII used the term in an antiquarian context when describing the division of the Roman Empire into

EPARCHIAI, *hegemoniai*, *doukata*, and the so-called consular provinces (*De them.*, ch. 1.59–61, ed. Pertusi, p. 62). For him, *doukaton* was both the land of the Venetian doge (*De adm. imp.*, 28.47–50) and a part of a STRATEGIS (50.88–89). The term was also used in the treaty with BOHEMUND of 1108 to designate the princedom of Antioch (An. Komn. 3:135.28–29).

LIT. Ahrweiler, "Administration" 53. Ferluga, *Byzantium* 57–62.

—A.K.

DOUKATOPOULON (*δουκατόπουλον*, pl. *doukatopouloi*), a coin referred to in some fragmentary accounts from Thessalonike of the early 15th C. (S. Kugéas, *BZ* 23 [1914–19] 149). BADOER called it a *ducatello* or *duchatello* and valued it normally as 1.5 *keratia*, thus identifying it with the smallest silver coin (approximately 1 g) then being struck at Constantinople, the 1/16th of a HYPERPYRON and 1/8th of a STAUATON. Its name, a diminutive of "ducat," resulted from its being a continuation of the depreciated BASILIKON ducat of the 1340s.

LIT. Hendy, *Economy* 540f.

—Ph.G.

DOULOPAROIKOS (*δουλοπάροικος*, from *doulos* ["slave"] and *PAROIKOS*), a category of peasants whose nature is unclear. The term appears in four chrysobulls dating between 945/6 and 1079 that grant or confirm tax-exempt status to the *doulouparoikoi* held by certain monasteries in the vicinity of Thessalonike. In addition, a passage from John Tarchaneiotes' *Diegesis* (probably from the early 12th C.), describing the arrival of the pastoral Vlachs on Mt. Athos, states that these Vlachs served the monks of Athos "like *doulouparoikoi*." In these sources *doulouparoikoi* seem to bear no fiscal or service obligations toward the state and their status seems to be hereditary. Oikonomides suggests that *doulouparoikoi* were agricultural slaves and freedmen who held land from their masters in return for corvées and a part of their harvest. On the contrary, Litavrin (*Viz-Obščestvo* 86) considers *doulouparoikoi* as peasants working on demesne lands and possibly identical with *aktemones* and *aporoi*.

It remains unclear whether *doulouparoikoi* can be equated with the *douleutai* and *douleutoparoikoi* (MM 5:11.19) of documents of the 13th C. A charter

of 1263 identifies *douleutai* as *paroikoi* (*Patmou Engrapha* 2, no. 68.6–7).

LIT. N. Oikonomides, "Hoi byzantinoi doulouparoikoi," *Symmeikta* 5 (1983) 295–302. J. Karayannopoulos, "Ein Problem der spätbyzantinischen Agrargeschichte," *JÖB* 30 (1981) 231f. H. Köpstein, *Zur Sklaverei im ausgehenden Byzanz* (Berlin 1966) 40f.

—M.B.

DOULOS (*δούλος*, lit. "slave"). The term retained its ancient, literal meaning as long as SLAVERY remained a social institution in Byz. At the same time the word *doulos* was used to indicate other forms of dependence, or at least served in the formation of terms for new types of dependence, such as *douleutes* and DOULOPAROIKOS. The term was often used in a metaphorical sense to define moral dependence of both evil (*doulos* of gluttony) and good character (*doulos* of God, often found in inscriptions and graffiti). All the emperor's subjects were considered as his *douloi*, but at the same time the expression "the *doulos* of the majesty" (the parallel forms *oiketes* or *sklabopoulos* were infrequently used) became a characterization of close links with the sovereign and a kind of title.

LIT. H. Köpstein, *Zur Sklaverei im ausgehenden Byzanz* (Berlin 1966) 31–42. A. Kazhdan, "The Concept of Freedom (eleutheria) and Slavery (douleia) in Byzantium," *La notion de liberté au Moyen âge* (Paris 1985) 218–23.

—A.K.

DOUX (*δούξ*, Lat. *dux*), general. The term *dux* acquired a technical sense at the time of Diocletian (first mentioned in 289) when it designated the military commander of LIMITANEI stationed within the borders of a PROVINCE, with the official title *dux limitis provinciae illius*. The mobile troops of COMITATENSES were put under the command of the *doux* by Anastasios I in 492. The *doux* normally functioned separately from the civil administration; only in a few provinces (Isauria, Mauretania, the Thebaid) did the governor combine both military and civil functions. Also exceptional were cases when the *doux* administered troops stationed in several provinces. With the decline of the Roman administrative system, the term *doux* came to be employed to indicate a subaltern officer, *merarches* or commander of a *moira* (STRATEGIKON OF MAURICE 1.3.12–13), while the governors of THEMES were eventually called STRATEGOI.

From the 2nd half of the 10th C. the term was revived to indicate the military commander of a

larger district, sometimes called DOUKATON: Antioch (after 969), Chaldia (969), Thessalonike, Adrianople (after 971), Mesopotamia (976), and Italy. The *doux* of Koloneia is mentioned in the story of the FORTY-TWO MARTYRS OF AMORION (ed. Vasil'evskij, Nikitin, 29.36), but this may not reflect official terminology. H. Ahrweiler (*BCH* 84 [1960] 65f) identified *doux* with KATEPANO. The term was also applied to the DOMESTIKOS TON SCHOLON (N. Oikonomides, *TM* 6 [1976] 142) and, along with MEGAS DOUX, designated commanders of the fleet. After the 12th C. the term lost its prestige and the governors of small themes were called *doukes* (D. Angelov, *BS* 12 [1951] 60).

LIT. O. Seeck, *RE* 5 (1905) 1869–75. Oikonomides, *Listes* 344, 354. T. Wasilewski, "Les titres de duc, de catépan et de pronœtès dans l'Empire byzantin du IXe jusqu'au XIIe siècle," 12 *CEB* (Belgrade 1964) 2:233–36. J.C. Cheynet, "Du stratège de thème au duc: Chronologie de l'évolution au cours du XIe siècle," *TM* 9 (1985) 181–94.

—A.K.

DOWRY (*προίξ*), the property brought to a marriage by the wife. It could be provided by the father, or the parents, of the bride, but also by herself or an outsider. The amount of the dowry could be calculated on the basis of the amount of the DONATIO PROPTER NUPTIAS or HYPOBOLON; 100 pounds of gold was considered a large dowry (*Nov. Just.* 22.18; *Peira* 17.14). The dowry could have a determined (*diatetimemene*) or undetermined (*adiatimetos*) value. In the first case the husband was obliged, upon the termination of the marriage, to return the determined value; in the second case to return the objects provided, insofar as they were still available. During the marriage the husband was personally responsible for the administration of the dowry; the wife had right of seizure only in exceptional cases (i.e., the bankruptcy of her husband). Dowry lands could be alienated only under strict conditions. If the wife died, the dowry fell to her family or her children; the husband retained only its administration, unless the marriage contract assured him of a portion of the inheritance. If the husband predeceased his wife, the dowry reverted to the wife. As security for her claim for its return, she had a general pledge (PIGNUS) on her husband's property. Her claim had priority over those of simple creditors.

These main features of dowry law were preserved during the entire Byz. period, as the *Peira*

and dowry deeds show. However, deviations from these norms did exist; many are documented in the *Ecloga*, the *Epanagoge*, and certain treatises and scholia.

LIT. Zachariä, *Geschichte* 83–105. Simon, "Ehegüterrecht." D. White, "Property Rights of Women," *JÖB* 32.2 (1982) 539–48. —M.Th.F.

DOXOLOGY (δοξολογία, lit. "glorification"), a liturgical formula of praise, esp. the concluding exclamation (*ekphonesis*) of a prayer. Simple doxologies, used with great frequency in liturgical services and by church fathers to conclude sermons, are found already in the New Testament. As a response to the Arian crisis (see **ARIANISM**), Trinitarian doxologies ("Glory to the Father through the Son in the Holy Spirit") were leveled ("Glory to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Spirit"). The "Great Doxology," or *Gloria* ("Glory to God in the Highest"), an elaboration of Luke 2:14 sung only at *orthros* and *apodeipnon*, is to be distinguished from the widely used "Lesser Doxology" ("Glory to the Father").

LIT. C. Blume, "Der Engelhymnus *Gloria in excelsis Deo*: sein Ursprung und seine Entwicklung," *Stimmen aus Maria Laach* 73 (1907) 43–62. J. Magne, "'Carmina Christo': Le 'Gloria in excelsis,'" *EphLit* 100 (1986) 368–90. J. Mateos, "Quelques problèmes de l'orthros byzantin," *PrOC* 11 (1961) 32–34. —R.F.T.

DOXOPATRES, JOHN, 11th-C. rhetorician, commentator on APHTHONIOS and HERMOGENES. It is unclear whether Doxopates (Δοξοπατρῆς or Δοξαπατρῆς) used their works in the original or via Byz. commentators, such as JOHN GEOMETRES, whom he cites in his writings. The life of Doxopates is obscure. He quoted an inscription from the apse of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople praising Romanos III for his generous donation of 50 "talents" of gold (Mercati, *CollByz* 2:291f). He also wrote an ETHOPOEIA on the words that Michael V would have pronounced after his dethronement. Tzetzes referred to Doxopates' works.

ED. Rabe, *Prolegomenon* 80–155, 304–18, 360–74, 423–26.

LIT. H. Rabe, "Aus Rhetoren-Handschriften," *RhM* 62 (1907) 559–86. S. Glöckner, *Über den Kommentar des Johannes Doxopates zu den Staseis des Hermogenes* (Kirchhain N.L. [Nieder Lausitz] 1908–09). —A.K.

DOXOPATRES, NEILOS, theologian and canonist of first half of 12th C.; baptismal name

Nicholas. Doxopates (Δοξοπατρῆς) held a combination of ecclesiastical and secular offices in Constantinople: deacon of Hagia Sophia, patriarchal notary, and imperial *nomophylax*; his title was *protoproedros* of the *protosynkelloi*. Before 1142/3 he took the monastic habit and left for Sicily, where he worked at the court of ROGER II. He was commissioned by Roger to write a treatise on the five patriarchates (first in the form of an epitome), in which he not only attacked the concept of Roman PRIMACY, but also developed the idea of Constantinople's superiority in the PENTARCHY. In so doing Doxopates differed radically from those southern Italian Greeks like PHILAGATHOS who defended papal primacy (J. Siciliano, *BS/EB* 6 [1979] 176). This book on the patriarchates exists also in an Armenian translation. G. Mercati (*ST* 68 [1935] 64–79) attributed to Doxopates an anti-Latin polemical treatise titled *On Oikonomia*, of which only two books are preserved. Doxopates produced marginal notes to ATHANASIOS of Alexandria.

ED. F.N. Finck, *Des Nilos Doxopates "Taxis ton patriarchikon thronon"* (Marburg 1902).

LIT. Beck, *Kirche* 619–21. V. Laurent, "L'oeuvre géographique du moine sicilien Nil Doxapatri," *EO* 36 (1937) 5–30. S. Caruso, "Echi della polemica bizantina antilatina dell'XI–XII sec. nel *De oeconomia Dei* di Nilo Doxapates," *Atti del Congresso internazionale di studi sulla Sicilia Normanna* (Palermo 1973) 416–32. —A.K.

DRAGAŠ. See CONSTANTINE DRAGAŠ.

DRAGONS. See SNAKES.

DRAMA (δρᾶμα), ancient term designating action on a stage. With the disappearance of the THEATER, the term lost its literal meaning and was used either metaphorically (e.g., *drama* of life, of the world), or came to signify "story." Sometimes the term *drama* or its derivatives were applied to works in DIALOGUE form produced not for the stage but reading: thus CHRISTOS PASCHON is variously titled in the MSS as *hypothesis dramatike*, tragedy, or just *stichoi* (verses). The term could be used to characterize a romance; for example, Photios describes the romance of HELIODOROS and some other ancient romances as *dramatikon*. A later romance, that of Eustathios MAKREMBOLITES, was also called a *drama*. The term was used fig-

uratively for tragic events: thus Patr. Germanos II speaks of the *drama* of Solomon (PG 140:713A).

LIT. H. Kuch, "Gattungstheoretische Überlegungen zum antiken Roman," *Philologus* 129 (1985) 11–14. —A.K.

DREAMS AND DREAM VISIONS. In the medieval world dreams and dream visions were considered significant sensory phenomena that could predict the future or grant understanding. This belief derived partly from classical traditions. At the same time, church fathers accepted the dream as a regular means of divine revelation (M. Dulaey, *Le rêve dans la vie et la pensée de saint Augustin* [Paris 1973] 35–127). Dreams were considered to have played a critical role in the conversion of non-Christians, in the lives of saints, and in imparting divine knowledge. Problems resulted, however, from the acceptance of dreams: (1) dream interpretation had been connected intimately with pagan DIVINATION and augury; (2) if God could speak in one's dreams, then so could the devil and demons; (3) some heresies like Gnosticism and MONTANISM manipulated dreams to assail Orthodoxy and to sanction their own doctrines; and (4) a dream could have earthly causes (physiological, psychological, or intellectual factors). Therefore, Byz. writers concentrated on the classification of dreams by type and provenance in order to determine what sorts of dreams had a divine origin and therefore were authoritative.

Many conflicting systems of dream classification existed (A. Kessels, *Mnemosyne* 22 [1969] 389–424); the most common was the fivefold system, based on the dream's prophetic ability. The *enhyponion* and *phantasma* were nonpredictive dreams: the former is caused by mental or physical distress or a preoccupation with daily concerns, while the latter is the distorted image that a dreamer perceives between the sleeping and waking state. Three types of dreams were significant: the *oneiros*, a symbolic dream that usually required interpretation; the *horama*, or prophetic vision; and the *chrematismos*, a dream wherein God or some divine emissary proffers information or advice. At first, the *horama* was emphasized because of its greater religious authority and the nonsymbolic clarity of its contents; moreover, because of Iconoclasm, dream images were viewed as suspect and thus the dream came to be considered an inferior activity of the human soul.

Despite an influx of Arabic texts on dreams and a growing interest in pagan dream interpretations (Artemidoros of Ephesos, a dream interpreter of the 2nd C., was known to the SOUDA and the PHILOPATRIS), oneirocriticism became thoroughly christianized, with dream books (ONEIROKRITIKA) passing under the names of biblical or historical personalities. The *Oneirokritikon* of ACHMET BEN SIRIN is the best known example of Christian dreamlore. The cult of SAINTS was closely interwoven with dreams used for predicting the future and for HEALING the sick, whereas demonic visions, esp. of sexual character, were condemned. Imperial propaganda also employed the dream topic in order to demonstrate the divine origin of the emperor's power.

LIT. G. Dagron, "Rêver de Dieu et parler de soi: le rêve et son interprétation d'après les sources byzantines," in *I sogni nel medioevo*, ed. T. Gregory (Rome 1985) 37–55. J. Le Goff, "Le christianisme et les rêves (II^e–VII^e siècles)," *ibid.* 171–218. P. Cox Miller, "'A Dubious Twilight': Reflections on Dreams in Patristic Literature," *ChHist* 55 (1986) 153–64. S.M. Oberhelman, "The Interpretation of Dream-Symbols in Byzantine Oneirocritic Literature," *BS* 47 (1986) 8–24. J.S. Russell, *The English Dream Vision* (Columbus, Ohio, 1988) 1–81. —S.M.O.

DRIMYS (Δριμύς), a family name meaning "sharp" or "angry" (Koukoules, *Bios* 6:484). In the mid-11th C. PSELLOS (*Scripta min.* 2:69.17) referred to a "very noble" Drimys involved in litigation over a property. Leo Drimys, *spatharokandidatos* and *strategos*, known only from his seal, may have lived even earlier. A different Leo, *vestes*, is known from another, late 12th-C. seal: he was a governor (judge or *katepano*?) of Bulgaria. Zlatarski (*Ist.* 3:17f) identified him with the "župan or satrap of Bulgaria" mentioned in Ansbert's chronicle. Demetrios Drimys was governor (*praitor*) of Hellas and Peloponnesos in Andronikos I's reign and judge of the *velum* and *protoasekretis* under Isaac II. Members of the Drimys family did not occupy high posts thereafter, except for Dionysios Drimys, *parakoimomenos* ca.1300. John Drimys, a "Westerner" and priest in Constantinople, pretended to be a relative of the LASKARIS family; in 1305, backed by the ARSENITES and probably by the lower classes, he organized a conspiracy against Andronikos II (I. Ševčenko, *Soc. & Intell.*, pt.IX [1952], 149f). The synod of 1305 condemned Drimys and he was banished. V. Laurent's attempt to identify him with another pro-Laskaris con-

spirator, Glykys, does not seem valid (A. Kazhdan in *Charanis Studies* 79–81). According to Ševčenko, it is tempting to associate the arrest of Manuel MOSCHOPOULOS with Drimys's plot.

LIT. *PLP*, nos. 5827–32.

—A.K.

DROMON (δρόμων, “runner”), a term first used in the 5th C., generally referring to several similar types of decked warships emphasizing speed over weight, which became the mainstay of the Byz. NAVY. Prokopios (*Wars* 3.11.15–16) describes swift *dromones* powered by one bank of rowers, but later sources indicate two banks, one above the other (TAKTIKA OF LEO VI, 19.7). The *dromon* also had two masts, sometimes three, supporting triangular lateen sails. Its standard length is calculated at approximately 40 m, the breadth at 5.5 m. Smaller *dromones* carried a complement of 100 men, but larger types could carry as many as 230 or more (*De cer.* 670.3–6). Offensive weapons included a ram fixed to the prow and a launcher shooting GREEK FIRE mounted on the forecastle. An important advantage over Arab vessels was the wooden tower (*xylokastron*) amidships from which catapults and archers could fire down on the enemy, while hides soaked with water were hung along the sides to protect the ship against enemy incendiaries. In combat their sails were furled and the masts lowered; a sea battle in the 11th-C. Kylenegetika MS (Furlan, *Marciana* 5, fig.36a) shows mastless vessels, their sides protected by shields between which project eight or ten oars. Their shallow draught also made them useful for amphibious operations, as evident from Nikephoros II Phokas's efficient disembarkation of his army on Crete in 960 (Leo Diac. 7.15–8.12).

LIT. R.H. Dolley, “The Warships of the Later Roman Empire,” *JRS* 38 (1948) 47–53. Ahrweiler, *Mer* 409–18. E. Eickhoff, *Seekrieg und Seepolitik zwischen Islam und Abendland* (Berlin 1966) 135–48.

—E.M., A.C.

DROMOS (δρόμος, lit. “course”), also the “imperial (*demosios*) *dromos*” (JOHN LYDOS, *On Magistracies* 2.10.24, 29), Latin *cursus publicus*, the system of imperial post and transportation. The state post that existed during the early Roman Empire was reorganized by Constantine I or by Diocletian. It consisted of two sections: the regular (*platys*) *dromos* for goods and the accelerated (*oxys*) *dromos* for imperial officials and their baggage. The for-

mer was served by oxen pulling carts (ANGAREIA), the latter by horses and mules. It was forbidden to harness horses to carriages. On the ROADS, stations (*mansiones*, Gr. *stathmoi*) were established to change animals and to rest; they served also to collect goods for state transportation. Prokopios (*SH* 30.3) says that a rider without baggage could cover a distance of 5–8 *stathmoi* a day. Control over the *dromos* belonged to the department of the PRAETORIAN PREFECT who was the only official to grant *evictiones*, the documents entitling a person to use the *dromos*. Eventually, the surveillance of the *dromos* was taken over by the MAGISTER OFFICIORUM and in the 7th or 8th C. by the LOGOTHETES TOU DROMOU. According to seals, there was a distinction between Western and Eastern *dromoi*. The provision of animals, carriages, and hay was a burden imposed primarily on the EXKOUSSATOI of the *dromos*. A chrysobull of 1109 speaks of the “burden of *dromos* and shipping” (*Lavra* 1, no.58.8–9), and charters of tax exemption include a clause concerning *angareiai* and additional *angareiai* (*parangareiai*) just after “the supply of grain” (*Patmou Engrapha* 1, no.5.74–75). The term *demosios dromos* was employed also for the roads themselves (*Ivir.* 1, no.22.19).

LIT. E.J. Holmberg, *Zur Geschichte des cursus publicus* (Uppsala 1933). Laurent, *Corpus* 2:196–244. H. Bender, *Römischer Reiseverkehr: cursus publicus und Privatreisen* (Stuttgart 1978).

—A.K.

DROUGOUBITAI (Δρουγουβίται), the name of two settled groups of SKLAVENOI, one in southern Macedonia (between Thessalonike and Berroia) and another in Thrace around Philippopolis. The first vowel appears variously in the sources as “a,” “o,” and “ou.” The name is suspiciously close to the “Dregoviči” of the Kievan chronicle. Vasmer (*Slaven* 177) suggests a Slavic etymology, but O. Pritsak (*SettStu* 30 [1983] 404) proposes a Turkic derivation. They appear in the *Miracles* of St. DEMETRIOS together with four other Sklavene groups, among them the Sagoudatai, who lived along the left bank of the Bistrica River, southeast of Thessalonike. The Drougoubitai of the *Miracles* had their own “kings.” They paid tribute to Byz. and were required to go to war as allies of Byz.

The name survives in later documents. A charter of 897 mentions the village of Dragobountoi (*Lavra* 1, no.1.15–18); a certain Dragoboundos was a neighbor of the Iveron monastery in 1047

(*Ivir.*, no.29.47). A territorial unit called “Drougoubiteia” formed a part of the theme of Thessalonike and Strymon, and in 996 a certain Nicholas was called “*protospatharios* and judge of Strymon, Thessalonike, and Drougoubiteia” (*Ivir.*, no.10.2); seals of the judges of Drougoubiteia are also known. A bishop of Drougoubiteia (Dragbiste) participated in the council of 879. The name occurs (in the form *Drugunthia*) as the designation for one of the five Balkan autonomous dualist communities, of which “papa” Niquintas (ca.1174–77) was the spiritual leader (D. Obolensky in *Okeanos* 489–500).

LIT. G. Cankova-Petkova, “Njakoi momenti ot razselvaneto na slavjanskite plemena ot iztočnija djal na južnite slavjane,” *Slavjanska filologia* 14 (1973) 33–42. E. Lipšic, “Iz istorii slavjanskich obščin v Makedonii v VI–IX vv. n.e.,” *Akademiku Borisu Dmitrieviču Grekovu: Ko dnju semidesjatiletija. Sbornik statej* (Moscow 1952) 49–54. Oikonomides, *Listes* 357f.

—O.P.

DROUNGARIOS (δρουγγάριος), a military rank first mentioned in the early 7th C. During the 7th and 8th C., a *droungarios* in the provincial armies (*themata*) represented a high rank, immediately below TOURMARCHES and above KOMES, and in command of a DROUNGOS of as many as 1,000 men, later a BANDON of between 200 and 400. However, 9th- and 10th-C. sources indicate a gradual decrease in the authority of the *droungarios*. In the 911 expedition to Crete, the *droungarioi* commanded no more than 100 men each (*De cer.* 656.14–15), and in 949 the *droungarioi* figure only slightly higher than the common soldiers in rank and pay (*De cer.* 666.19–20, 667.10, 669.9). By the 11th C., *droungarios* and *komes* were equivalent ranks (*Kek.* 294.21–22), eventually merging into the combined office of *droungarokomes*.

LIT. Ju.A. Kulakovskij, “Drung i drungarii,” *VizVrem* 9 (1902) 1–30. Oikonomides, *Listes* 341. I. Ševčenko, “On the Social Background of Cyril and Methodius,” *Studia Palaeoslovenica* (Prague 1971) 341–51.

—E.M.

DROUNGARIOS TES VIGLAS (δρουγγάριος τῆς βίγλας), or of the *arithmos*, commander of the *tagma* of the VIGLA. The first mention of this *droungarios* is in the work of a 9th-C. chronicler (Theoph. 466.3–5) who relates that in 791 Empress Irene sent the *spatharios* and *droungarios tes viglas* Alexios MOSELE against rebellious soldiers in ARMENIAKON. The major function of this *droun-*

garios was guarding the emperor on expeditions and in the palace. The *droungarios* was the emperor's confidant and an active military commander. In the 10th C. represented among the *droungarioi tes viglas* are generals and members of aristocratic families such as Eustathios ARGYROS, John KOURKOUAS, and Manuel KOURTIKIOS. Under the command of the *droungarios* were officials such as the TOPOTERETES, CHARTOULARIOS, and *komites* (see COMES); one of these, the AKOLOUTHOS, is known only for this *tagma*.

About 1030 the function of the *droungarios tes viglas* changed radically (N. Oikonomides, *TM* 6 [1976] 133f), and he became a member of the judiciary. Eustathios RHOMAIOS, author of the *Peira*, occupied this post. From the second half of the 11th C. the epithet *megas* was added to this title (Laurent, *Corpus* 2, nos. 891–97). The *droungarioi* as judges were primarily members of the civil nobility—from families such as the KEROULARIOI, KAMATEROI, and MAKREMBOLITAI; among them are several writers such as John SKYLITZES, John ZONARAS, and Gregory ANTIOCHOS. On the other hand, Constantine KOMNENOS and a certain KONTOSTEPHANOS were probably not *droungarioi tes viglas*, but DROUNGARIOI TOU PLOIMOU (A. Kazhdan, *BZ* 76 [1983] 384). *Droungarioi tes viglas* existed until the end of Byz.; pseudo-Sphrantzes (Sphr. 340.31–32) equates them with the chief of the JANISSARIES.

LIT. Bury, *Adm. System* 60–62. Oikonomides, *Listes* 331f. Guiland, *Institutions* 1:563–87. Haldon, *Praetorians* 236f.

—A.K.

DROUNGARIOS TOU PLOIMOU (δρουγγάριος τοῦ πλοῖμου or τῶν πλοῖμων), commander of the fleet stationed in Constantinople. This *droungarios* is first mentioned in the TAKTIKON of Uspenskij (842/3). Bury (*Adm. System* 109) considered his existence in the 7th C. “not improbable”; on the contrary, Ahrweiler (*infra* 74) proposed a creation at the beginning of the 9th C. The *droungarios tou ploimou* occupied a modest position according to the *taktikon* of Uspenskij but gained in importance by the time of the late 9th-C. *Kletorologion* of Philotheos. Niketas Oryphas evidently held this post under Basil I; pseudo-SYMEON MAGISTROS (687.7–8) called him *strategos tou ploimou*. In the 10th C. many important personages, including the future emperor Romanos I, were *droungarioi*

tou ploimou. The role of the navy having diminished in the 11th C., the *droungarios* of the fleet, now called *droungarios tou stolou*, commanded primarily the battleships of Constantinople (Oikonomides, *TM* 6 [1976] 146). Even though under the Komnenoi the post was given the epithet *megas*, the *droungarios* lost his preeminence in the navy and was replaced by the MEGAS DOUX; nonetheless, the post of the *megas droungarios* remained highly ranked, and in the 13th and 14th C. it was held by members of the families of GABALAS and MOUZALON. The staff of the *droungarios* included the *topoteretes*, *chartoularios*, *komites*, and others. C. Mango (*RSBS* 2 [1982] 299f) hypothesized that a *chartoularios* of the navy existed in the 7th C., but there is no direct evidence to support this hypothesis. The function of the *komes* of the *hetaireia*, who was under the *droungarios*, is disputed; Bury (*Adm. System* 111) considered him a commander of foreign marines, while Oikonomides (*Listes* 340) argued he was commander of a special detachment of guards.

LIT. Ahrweiler, *Mer* 73–76. Guiland, *Institutions* 1:535–42. Hohlweg, *Beiträge* 144–48. —A.K.

DROUNGOS (δροῦγγος, δρόγγος, from the Germanic *thrunga*), a word with three meanings. (1) Prior to the 12th C., a *droungos* was a subdivision of the army of a THEME, commanded by a DROUNGARIOS; it was larger than a *bandon* but smaller than a *tourma*. (2) From the end of the 12th C., the term designated certain mountainous areas of Attica, Lakonia, and Epiros, and was synonymous with *zygos* ("mountain range" or "pass"). (3) During the 13th and 14th C., the term was applied to the military or paramilitary corps assigned to such mountainous areas.

LIT. Ju. Kulakovskij, "Drung i drungarij," *VizVrem* 9 (1902) 1–30. A. Kazhdan, "Novoe svidetel'stvo ob attičeskich drungach," in *Studia in honorem V. Beševliev* (Sofia 1978) 512–16. Ahrweiler, *Mer* 278f. —M.B.

DRUM, a cylindrical, polygonal, or, less frequently, square element providing visual and structural support for a DOME. The drum served to elevate the cupola and accommodate windows illuminating a building's interior. It developed from an essentially buttressing function in Roman domes. In 6th-C. architecture, the drum became a more open system of independent wall but-

resses separated by windows, directly related to the internal, structural ribs (e.g., at Hagia Sophia, Constantinople); yet a drum does not actually elevate the dome above its base (hence the term "false drum"). From the 9th C. onward, drums were used almost exclusively to elevate and visually accentuate domes externally. Through the 13th C. drums tended to be relatively squat, but in the 14th C., their proportions became considerably attenuated (e.g., Holy Apostles, Thessalonike). Drums also underwent a process of increasingly more elaborate external articulation. From simple geometric forms (cylinder, octagonal, or polygonal prism), they evolved into highly elaborate structures through the use of engaged colonnettes, recessed arches, surface textures, and other treatments. —S.Ć.

DRUNKENNESS (μέθη) was condemned as a grave sin and social evil by the church fathers, such as Basil the Great in his homily *Against Drunkards* (PG 31:444–64). In actual practice, however, WINE drinking was a popular pastime, in private, at BANQUETS and public FEASTS, and in TAVERNS. The BOOK OF THE EPARCH (19:3) prohibited the operation of taverns on Great Feasts and Sundays before the second hour of day, and ordered them closed at the second hour of night. Patr. ATHANASIOS I (ep.44.22–26) urged Andronikos II to fine anyone entering a tavern for the purpose of drinking, from Saturday evening to Sunday. Byz. moralists condemned drunkenness; one historian (Nik.Chon. 541.54–56) saw in alcoholism a principal reason for the decline of the empire. Some emperors were presented by historians as drunkards, for example, the Greens are reported (Theoph. 296.25–27) to have mocked PHOKAS, exclaiming, "You have drunk again of the cup; you have lost again your senses"; it is unclear whether it was a genuine insult or an apotropaic incantation. MICHAEL III was presented by hostile historiography as a drunken sot, a characterization that may be fabricated. Literati used the theme of drunkenness for parodies—Manuel II's diatribe *Against Drunkenness* or grotesque vernacular verses like the *Physiological Tale of Peter Zyphomoustos, the Father of Wine* (G. Protopapa-Bouboulidou, *EEBS* 39–40 [1972–73] 594–611)—or for mild ridicule, as in Psellos's

enkomion of wine (A. Garzya, *Byzantion* 35 [1965] 418–28).

LIT. E. Jeanselme, "L'alcoolisme à Byzance," *Bulletin de la Société française d'histoire de la médecine* 18 (1924) 289–95. —Ap.K., A.K.

DUALISM is a modern notion, probably first used by Thomas Hyde (1700) in his *Historia religionis veterum Persarum*. Technically, it denotes religious understandings, worldviews, or philosophical theories in which there appear two original principles fundamentally irreconcilable and opposed to one another. It may also include those religions typified by an eschatological dualism, for example, MANICHAISM and most systems of Gnosticism, which see an eschatological superiority of good over evil. Byz. also encountered dualism among the adherents of MESSALIANISM (Euchitai), PAULICIANS, and BOGOMILS or PHOUNDAGIAGITES.

In a broader sense one can speak of an anthropological dualism. The Platonic doctrine of the SOUL and INTELLECT predominant in Byz. emphasized their distinction and thus implied a dualistic conception of the BODY, of MATTER, and of the imagination. Byz. adopted an ethical dualism inherited from the New Testament. This appears esp. in the Gospel of John in the contrast between the world of darkness and the Kingdom of Light; but while this referred to the fundamental contrast stemming from belief and nonbelief, it could be converted into an ontological statement.

LIT. S. Pétremont, *Le dualisme chez Platon, les gnostiques, et les manichéens* (Paris 1947). E. Rochedieu, *Le dualisme chez Platon, les gnostiques, les manichéens* (Basel 1954). J. Ménard, *De la gnose au manichéisme* (Paris 1986). H. Beck, *Vorsehung und Vorherbestimmung in der theologischen Literatur der Byzantiner* (Rome 1937). —K.-H.U.

DUBROVNIK (Lat. Ragusium; Gr. 'Ραγούσιον, 'Ραγούσιον; Ital. Ragusa; Slavic Dubrovnik), port city and fortress in DALMATIA. It was founded probably in the 7th C., according to Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos, by refugees from ancient Epidaurus, which was destroyed by the Slavs and Avars ca.615. It was under Byz. authority; an Arab siege in 866–67 strengthened the Byz. presence. The city remained under Byz. domination until 1205, with intermittent Venetian (1000–1030) and Norman rule (1081–85, 1172, 1189–90); it

became an archbishopric in 1022. For a while in the 11th C. it was the seat of a Byz. theme. It was under Venetian control from 1205 to 1358, and then became a self-governing patrician city-state under Hungarian protection until 1526.

An important center for maritime commerce, Dubrovnik played a prominent role as intermediary in the metal trade between the Balkan hinterland and the West in the 13th–15th C. In the 13th C. representatives from Dubrovnik signed three treaties with the despotate of Epiros that granted their merchants free trade in Epiros on the condition of paying 3 percent *kommerkion*: only the purchase of grain was restricted and special customs duties had to be paid for weaponry and horses. If there was a treaty with Andronikos II of ca.1320 (*Reg* 4, no.2433), it was of short duration, since Dubrovnik sided with Venice against Byz. In 1451 the city received new trade privileges from Constantinople, through a chrysobull of Constantine XI, and from the despotate of Morea, through argyrobulls of Thomas and Demetrios Palaiologos (M. Andreeva, *BS* 6 [1935–36] 110–65).

Dubrovnik became a very prosperous, strongly fortified city, with remarkable urban development (well-planned and paved streets, stone houses, churches and palaces, a sewage system, an aqueduct, medical services, pharmacies, a hospital, an orphanage, etc.). Byz. interest in Dubrovnik is reflected in a description of the city by CHALKOKONDYLES (2:285.15–23), who emphasized that Dubrovnik, founded by the "Illyrians" (evidently Slavs), was governed by good laws in an aristocratic manner.

LIT. B. Krekić, *Dubrovnik (Raguse) et le Levant au moyen âge* (Paris-The Hague 1961). Idem, *Dubrovnik in the 14th and 15th Centuries: A City between East and West* (Norman, Okla., 1972). V. Foretić, *Povijest Dubrovnika do 1808*, 2 vols. (Zagreb 1980). —B.K., A.K.

DUIN (Δούβιος or Τίβιον), early medieval capital of ARMENIA on the east bank of the Azat River some 20 km south-southeast of modern Erevan. Duin may have been founded in the 4th C. (MOSES XORENAC'I, 3:8 vs. pseudo-P'AWSTOS BUZAND, 3:8), but it probably did not replace ARTAŠAT as capital until a century later. After the ARSACID dynasty fell in 428, Duin became the seat of the Persian and then the Arab governors of Armenia as well

as of the Armenian *katholikos* until the 9th C. The city was captured by both Herakleios (623) and Constantine IV (652/3), but it did not remain in Byz. hands. In the BAGRATID period Duin did not regain its status as capital; Muslim emirs controlled it more often than Armenian kings. The last Byz. attempt to reconquer Duin in 1045 failed.

Despite the great earthquake of 893 which nearly destroyed the city, recent excavations attest its importance, and both Prokopios (*Wars* 2.25.1–3) and 10th-C. Arab geographers praise Duin as an international trade center famous for its textiles. The city continued to flourish under the ZAK'ARIDS when the Georgian queen T'amara used it as her winter residence after 1203; only in the 14th C. did Duin gradually decline as a result of the Mongol conquest of Armenia.

LIT. N.G. Garsoïan, *DMA* 4:323–25. Manandyan, *Trade and Cities* 81f, 133f, 143f, 152, 154f, 169f. A. Ter-Ghewondyan, "Chronologie de la ville de Dvin (Duin) aux 9^e et 11^e siècles," *REArm* n.s. 2 (1965) 303–18. K. Kafadarian, "Les fouilles de la ville de Dvin (Duin)," *REArm* n.s. 2 (1965) 283–301, cf. 459f. —N.G.G.

DUIN, LOCAL COUNCILS OF. The first church council at DUIN, convoked in 505/6, was directed against Nestorianism; the Armenian church accepted the HENOTIKON, underscoring its anti-Chalcedonian tendency, and thus took the first step toward Monophysitism. These anti-Nestorian ideas were further developed in the "Letter of the Armenians to the Orthodox in Persia."

The second synod, of 554, formally rejected the council of Chalcedon. Hr. Bartikjan (*Istočniki dlja izučeniia paulikianskogo dvizenija* [Erevan 1961] 26–31) questions the traditional view that the synod dealt not only with Nestorianism but also Paulicianism and that its decisions are the first evidence concerning the PAULICIANS in Armenia.

LIT. E. Ter-Minassiantz, *Die armenische Kirche* (Berlin 1904) 32f, 47–49. R. Aubert, *DHGE* 14 (1960) 1243. —A.K.

DUKLJA. See DIOKLEIA; ZETA.

DURA EUROPOS (now Sālihīyah in Syria), Seleucid/Roman settlement on the Euphrates River near the Persian frontier, destroyed after it fell to the Sasanians in 256. For Byz. studies Dura Europos is notable, among other things, for the

wall paintings in its synagogue (now removed to Damascus) and other cult buildings and for its Christian "house church." Of a type that preceded the congregational church built on the plan of a public building (e.g., the basilica), this house church was an ordinary house, built ca. 240, whose rooms surrounding a courtyard were designated for congregational activities (instruction, celebration of the Eucharist, baptism). One room was decorated in fresco with individual narrative scenes from the Old and New Testaments. By contrast, the walls of the synagogue were painted with continuous bands of interrelated scenes from the Old Testament, and the Mithraeum and Temple of the Palmyrene gods displayed carved and painted sacrificial scenes. The figures in all types of compositions are distinguished by frontality and an intense gaze directed outwards. Most of these iconographic, compositional, and stylistic features occur later in Byz. art.

LIT. A. Perkins, *The Art of Dura Europos* (Oxford 1973). K. Weitzmann, H.L. Kessler, *The Frescoes of the Dura Synagogue and Christian Art* (Washington, D.C., 1990).

—M.M.M.

DURRĒS. See DYRRACHION.

DUŠAN. See STEFAN UROŠ IV DUŠAN.

DUX. See DOUX.

DYER (βαφείς). The profession was common in the late Roman Empire, and the term *bapheus* often appears in papyri (Preisigke, *Wörterbuch* 1:261) and inscriptions (J.P. Waltzing, *Études historiques sur les corporations professionnelles*, vol. 3 [Louvain 1899] nos. 121–28). Basil the Great (PG 31:568A) uses another term, *deusopoios*; this dyer prepared a vat for tincture (*baphe*) and then dyed fabric in PURPLE or some other color. "I imitate *deusopoioi*," says Theodoret of Cyrrihus (PG 81:232A), "by imbuing the water of the holy baptism in the color of blood." A *deusopoios* worked in the Stoudios monastery in the early 9th C. (Dobroklonskij, *Feodor* 413). An epitaph of a young Jewish dyer was discovered in medieval Corinth (J. Starr, *BNJbb* 12 [1936] 42–49). The *Book of the Eparch*, however, does not mention a guild of dyers, even though *Peira* 51.7 cites *baptike*, the dyeing profession, as an example of a SOMATEION.

The *Book of the Eparch* itself twice mentions *baphika*, dyes that were imported from Syria and sold by perfumers (*myrepsoi*), and, in the chapter on SERIKARIOI, the legislator prohibited dyeing silk with blood. It is difficult to explain this silence on the dyers' guild; *serikarioi* could have dyed silk themselves, but it is also possible that they dealt with a *somateion* of dyers omitted from the *Book of the Eparch*. NICHOLAS I MYSTIKOS (*Letters*, no. 139.11–13) emphasized the durability of Byz. dye, which could not be washed out.

LIT. Stöckle, *Zünfte* 28f. Kazhdan, *Derevnja i gorod* 227. —A.K.

DYING. Byz. writers often described the process of dying, both in cases of massive numbers of deaths (during a PLAGUE, hostile invasion, etc.) and in individual instances. Some descriptions of this kind are conventional and standardized. Thus, the death of pagans and heretics was presented contemptuously—a legend depicted ARIUS as dying in a public lavatory—and their physical sufferings were enormously exaggerated (e.g., Theoph. 427.25–28, 448.12–21). MARTYRS and saints, on the other hand, were typically represented as dying peacefully, without pain; they had a positive attitude toward DEATH, rejoicing at their approaching union with God. Other descriptions contain valuable observations (e.g., Anna Komnene's detailed depiction of her father's death), are sincere in their sympathy (Prodromos's image of his dying friend, Stephen Skylitzes), and, in contrast to the usual static portrayals, acquire dynamism in displaying the decay of the human body (Ljubarskij, *Psell* 241f).

Confession and the eucharist were administered to the dying by a priest; unlike the Latin church, Byz. priests also performed the UNCTION of recently deceased people as well as the sick and moribund. Many Byz. tried to assume the monastic habit before they died: a 12th-C. historian (Nik.Chon. 221.52–222.64) describes the last hours of Manuel I, for whom the courtiers were unable to find a monk's cloak of proper size. Pious people on their deathbed expressed concern about their relatives or brethren; thus, LAZAROS OF MT. GALESIOS allegedly had died and was being lamented by his monks, when he unexpectedly opened his eyes and signed the *typikon* of his monastery.

—Ap.K., A.K.

DYNAMIC STYLE, a term introduced by Demus (*infra*) to identify and characterize a highly mannered stylistic trend datable toward the end of the 12th C. Distinguished by elegant, often elongated figures, contorted poses, and esp. by an unnatural reduplication of thick, undulating drapery folds (e.g., at the overfall of the *himation* and the hem of the *chiton*), the dynamic style was first recognized in a series of geographically separated, dated mural cycles (KURBINOVO, LAGOUDEIRA, MONREALE). Undated icons and MSS have more recently been linked to (and dated according to) this stylistic trend.

LIT. O. Demus, "Die Entstehung des Paläologenstils in der Malerei," 11 *CEB* (Munich 1958) 24–26. K. Weitzmann, "Eine spätbyzantinische Verkündigungssikone des Sinai und die zweite byzantinische Welle des 12. Jahrhunderts," in *Festschrift für Herbert von Einem* (Berlin 1965) 299–312. —G.V.

DYNAMIS (Δύναμις), the embodiment of Power, or Strength, personified as an armed, winged female. Ultimately derived from the goddesses who protected warriors in Classical art, Dynamis attends DAVID in his fight with Goliath in the PARIS PSALTER (Cutler, *Aristocratic Psalters*, fig. 248) and in the illustration of marginal PSALTERS; she is opposed to Alazoneia (Boastfulness), who abandons the giant. A similar but unidentified figure protects David on sarcophagi of the 4th and 5th C. —A.C.

DYNATOI (δυνατοί, lit. "powerful"), legal term designating prominent office- or titleholders potentially capable of using their positions to aggrandize themselves at the expense of weaker neighbors. According to the normative formulation of Romanos I Lekapenos (Zepos, *Jus* 1:209.1–9), the *dynatoi* were comprised of the following categories: high officials of the army, central bureaucracy, and provincial administration; MAGISTROI, PATRIKIOI, and holders of senatorial dignities; metropolitans, bishops, and *hegoumenoi*; and administrators of imperial and ecclesiastical foundations. As this definition was predicated upon social rather than economic status, the *dynatoi* probably included some possessors of modest fortunes, but substantial wealth was considered a normal attribute (Zepos, *Jus* 1:210.5–11). The highest posts and dignities were frequently, although never hereditarily, transmitted among a

limited number of families, some of which by the 11th C. had begun to form an inchoate ARISTOCRACY.

The 10th and 11th C. witnessed increasing, at times forcible, encroachment by the *dynatoi* on peasant landownership, threatening the empire's social equilibrium and jeopardizing its chief source of taxes and soldiers. Emperors from Romanos I to Basil II enacted legislation to arrest this phenomenon as well as to curb the particularistic influence exercised by the *dynatoi* over provincial society at the expense of centralized imperial authority. The earliest novel directed against the *dynatoi*, that of Romanos I, used to be dated 922 (*Reg* 1, no.595), but this date is questionable; the first dated edict (*Reg* 1, no.628) is that of Sept. 934, which bars *dynatoi* from obtaining peasant lands. Basil II subsequently voided all such acquisitions made after this date and abolished the 40-year statute of limitations that had hitherto protected these transactions (*Reg* 1, no.783). Special restrictions were placed upon landholdings of powerful monasteries and upon the alienation of STRATIOTIKA KTEMATA to *dynatoi*, and *dynatoi* were forbidden to retain thematic soldiers in their personal service or to interfere with local commercial fairs; they became liable—through the ALLELENGYON—for the tax arrears of poorer neighbors.

The term *dynatoi* was used in charters as well as in law codes: a judge's decision of 952 deals with an allotment encircled by the lands of *dynatoi*, so that no weak neighbor could exercise the right of PROTIMESIS over it (*Lavra* 1, no.4.22–23); an act of 1037 excludes any *dynaton prosopon* from inheriting certain land (*Esphig.*, no.2.24). Thereafter the term fell into disuse.

LIT. R. Morris, "The Powerful and the Poor in Tenth-Century Byzantium," *Past and Present* 73 (1976) 3–27. Lemerle, *Agr.Hist.* 85–131. Litavrin, *VizObščestvo* 7–28.

—A.J.C.

DYRRACHION (Δυρράχιον, Slav. Drač, Albanian Durrës, Ital. Durazzo, anc. Epidamnos), city on the eastern shore of the Adriatic Sea, the western terminus of the Via EGNATIA, capital of the province of Nova Epirus. Despite earthquakes in 341 and 522 and an Ostrogothic sack in the 480s, Dyrrachion remained a major port and for-

trass in the area; Anastasios I, a native of Dyrrachion, provided the city with a triple wall and citadel, rebuilt by Justinian I. The question of Slavic settlement in the region is disputed. In the first half of the 9th C. the fortress was in Byz. hands, and a theme of Dyrrachion was established: the *strategos* of Dyrrachion is mentioned in both the 9th-C. *Taktikon of Uspenskij* (Oikonomides, *Listes* 49.17) and seals of the first half of the 9th C. (Zacos, *Seals* 1, nos. 2521, 2655); Ja. Ferluga, on the basis of a letter of Theodore of Stoudios, hypothesized that the theme was founded under Nikephoros I (12 *CEB*, vol. 2 [Ohrid 1961] 83–92).

The city, although a metropolitan see (*Notitiae CP* 3.20), was a stronghold rather than an economic center as it had been in late antiquity; according to Anna Komnene (*An.Komn.* 1:142.3–13), Dyrrachion occupied only a part of ancient Epidamnos whose ramparts were ruined. The old city played an important role during Basil II's war against Bulgaria and during the revolt of DELJAN. Nikephoros BRYENNIOS and Nikephoros BASILAKES, successively *doukes* of Dyrrachion, revolted in the 1070s. The Normans attacked it several times: ROBERT GUISCARD took the city in 1081, Bohemund besieged it in 1107–08; in 1185 WILLIAM II of Sicily pillaged it. From the 12th C. onward, Venetians (and later merchants from Dubrovnik) used Dyrrachion as a port for the export of local products (salt, wood, hides) and tried to establish their political power over the city, but were opposed by MICHAEL I KOMNENOS DOUKAS of Epiros, MANFRED of Sicily, Serbs, and Byz. In 1392 Venice occupied Dyrrachion and held it until 1501 when it fell to the Ottomans.

The role of Dyrrachion in the Byz. ecclesiastical hierarchy gradually diminished: the metropolitan had eight suffragans in the 9th C. but none by the end of the 12th C.—its territory was taken over first by Ohrid and then by the Latin archbishopric of Bar (Antivari). By the 14th C. Albanians became the dominant inhabitants.

LIT. A. Ducellier, *LMA* 3:1497–1500. Idem, *La façade maritime de l'Albanie au moyen âge* (Thessalonike 1981). Ferluga, *Byzantium* 225–44.

—T.E.G.

DŽVARI. See MC'XET'A.

E

EAGLES (sing. *ἀετός*). The most majestic of BIRDS was employed as both a sacred and a secular emblem. In myth the eagle appears as an instrument of God's will, announcing the selection of the capital or promotion to the imperial throne: Skylitzes relates the prophecy regarding the future Basil I, overshadowed in his cradle by an eagle's wing, as depicted in the illustrated Madrid MS (Grabar-Manoussacas, *Skylitzès*, no.202). The motif of an eagle battling a SNAKE occurs in floor mosaics, as a sculptural group in the Hippodrome of Constantinople, and probably as a military emblem (L. Maculevič, *VizVrem* 16 [1959] 185–202), symbolizing the victory of Good over Evil. As an aspect of imperial symbolism, the consuls carried an eagle-topped scepter, which is depicted on their diptychs. This form of scepter disappeared from coins in the reign of Emp. Philippikos. The eagle may have symbolized the emperor in the early 6th C.: J. Engemann (in *Festschrift Wessel* 103–15) has interpreted the Anastasios Plate in the SUTTON HOO TREASURE in this light. Eagles with rings in their mouths and jeweled collars are found on imperial silks of the late 10th or early 11th C.

The date of the introduction of the double-headed eagle in Byz. has been much discussed. It was certainly employed by members of the Palaiologan dynasty (Belting, *Illum. Buch* 64, figs. 35–36), perhaps to suggest that the empire looked both to the East and West. It was appropriated by John VI Kantakouzenos for his footstool (Spatharakis, *Corpus*, vol. 2, fig.477) and by the Venetians for the state barge that welcomed John VIII. Perhaps the latest occurrence is on the pavement in the Metropolis at Mistra, where Constantine XI was crowned. The single-headed eagle continued in imperial portraits, such as that of Alexios V in the Choniates MS in Vienna (Belting, *ibid.*, fig.15).

In patristic exegesis the image of the eagle represented a supernatural envoy, an angel, or Christ himself. As an EVANGELIST SYMBOL it normally indicated John, although on occasion it was used

for Mark. In the PHYSIOLOGOS the eagle is a symbol of regeneration. (See also COATS OF ARMS.)

LIT. G. Gerola, "L'aquila bizantina e l'aquila imperiale a due teste," *FelRav* 43 (1934) 7–36. A. Fourlas, "Adler und Doppeladler," in *Philoxenia* (Münster 1980) 97–120, and in *Thiasos ton Mouson: Festschrift für J. Fink* (Cologne 1984) 179–90.

—A.C.

EARRINGS (ἐνώτια) have been found, often singly, throughout the Byz. world, mostly in funerary contexts but also in TREASURES. They may be made of gold, silver, bronze, gilded bronze, and/or enamel, with or without added precious and semiprecious stones or glass paste. Most are designed to pierce the earlobe as a simple hoop that fastens into a knob or ball. In the late antique period the fashion was hoops of wire, with or without additional decorations of granulation, braid, or beads. By the 6th–7th C. the popular style was a hoop or a flat lunette shape, with pendant chains ending in one or more GEMS, pearls, or beads. Examples of this type are worn by Empress Theodora and her ladies in the mosaic in S. Vitale, RAVENNA. Gradually the lunette shape changed from a solid form to filigree; by the 10th C. it was three-dimensional and basket-shaped, with extensive granulation. This type is often hard to distinguish from Islamic jewelry. Simple bronze earrings with traces of gilding have been found in many excavations and demonstrate a popular market for "costume" jewelry, imitating pieces produced in more costly materials.

LIT. H. Schlunk, "Eine Gruppe datierbarer byzantinischer Ohringe," *Berliner Museen* 61 (1940) 42–47. S. Ercegović-Pavlović, "Grozdolike vizantijske naušnice u Srbiji," *Starinar* 18 (1967) 83–90.

—S.D.C.

EARTHQUAKES (sing. *σεισμός*). Since most of the Byz. world lay within a region esp. vulnerable to earthquakes, a quake is recorded for almost every year of Byz. history, the best documented being those at Constantinople. As in pagan times, the Byz. interpreted quakes, like other NATURAL PHENOMENA, as heavenly portents, signifying either

forthcoming catastrophe or divine displeasure at the sins of man. To atone for the divine anger manifested through quakes, the Byz. developed various liturgies, held processions, and frequently sought the intercession of a local holy man. Sometimes relics were employed as a talisman to ward off quakes. As a perpetual reminder of the power of God's wrath, an annual commemoration of many devastating quakes took place on the anniversary of their occurrence; some became part of the liturgical calendar, at least at Constantinople and Alexandria. The Byz. were little interested in the natural causes of quakes, but there were always a few advocates of the Aristotelian explanation that quakes were caused by the movement of winds in subterranean caverns. An 11th-C. historian (Attal. 88.22–89.2) found it necessary to refute this theory. Photios, in his sermons and in the *Bibliotheca*, presented the traditional view that quakes are caused by our sins; pseudo-Symeon Magistros (*TheophCont* 673.10–12), however, accused him of teaching that quakes were caused not by mankind's sins but "by abundance of water." The most significant quakes at Constantinople occurred in 365, 438, 447, 525, 557, 740, 886, 869, 989, 1064, 1296, and 1346. A full list is in Grumel, *Chronologie* 476–81, but a modern catalog is needed.

LIT. F. Vercléyen, "Tremblements de terre à Constantinople: L'impact sur la population," *Byzantion* 58 (1988) 155–73. G. Dagron, "Quand la terre tremble . . .," *TM* 8 (1981) 87–103. B. Croke, "Two Early Byzantine Earthquakes and their Liturgical Commemoration," *Byzantion* 51 (1981) 122–47. *Tremblements de terre*, ed. B. Helly, A. Pollino (Valbonne 1984) 87–94, 183–219. G. Downey, "Earthquakes at Constantinople and Vicinity, A.D. 342–1454," *Speculum* 30 (1955) 596–600. B. Willis, *Earthquakes in the Holy Land* (Stanford 1928). —B.C.

EASTER (Πάσχα), the feast of the RESURRECTION (Anastasis), the Jewish Passover christianized, with Jesus being the new paschal sacrifice and lamb (see AMNOS). By the beginning of the 3rd C., the focus of the feast, which originally commemorated the entire victorious passover of Jesus from death to life, narrowed to the resurrection. BAPTISM at the VIGIL preceding the feast makes the Christian as well as Christ protagonist of the rising. The First Council of NICAIA canonized the celebration of Easter on the Sunday after the first full moon after the spring equinox. The Eastern use of astronomically inaccurate paschal tables

and calendar led to differences in calculating Eastern and Western Easter. From the 4th C. onward, Easter was prepared for by LENT and with its FASTING and CATECHUMENATE, and more immediately by HOLY WEEK. Its celebration extended through the following week, called "bright week" or "renewal," and throughout PENTECOST until its closure (*apodosis*) the day before the ASCENSION.

Easter liturgy in Constantinople is detailed in the *TYPIKON OF THE GREAT CHURCH* (Mateos, *Typicon* 2:82–97) and in books of ceremonial (*De cer.*, bk.1., ch.35; pseudo-Kod. 231.17–238.4). Later Byz. Easter services, of Palestinian origin, are found at the end of the TRIODION and the beginning of the PENTEKOSTARION.

In Constantinople the Easter vigil began HOLY SATURDAY evening in Hagia Sophia with festive VESPERS, during which the customary three LECTIONS were expanded to a series of fifteen Old Testament readings, eight of which were always read, with the others added only if necessary to occupy the people until the BAPTISMS and anointings were finished and the procession was ready to enter. After the first lection, the patriarch went to the Great BAPTISTERY, where he blessed the waters and the oil of the catechumens and incensed around the baptismal font thrice, then anointed and baptized the *photizomenoi*. After the conferral of baptism, the patriarch led the neophytes, now vested in robes of white, to the Church of St. Peter just east of Hagia Sophia, where he administered to them the SACRAMENT of chrismation (confirmation). After all had been chrismated with *myron*, the patriarch, accompanied by twelve bishops, led the neophytes in solemn procession, to the chant of Psalm 31[32], into Hagia Sophia to join the waiting congregation for the LITURGY, which began not with the usual TRISAGION but with the baptismal TROPARION from Galatians 3:26. At this liturgy the neophytes completed their initiation by receiving COMMUNION for the first time.

LIT. G. Bertonière, *The Historical Development of the Easter Vigil* (Rome 1972). Arranz, "Les sacrements," *OrChrP* 51 (1985) 60–86; 52 (1986) 145–78; 53 (1987) 59–106; 55 (1989) 33–62. Talley, *Liturgical Year* 1–77. —R.F.T.

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORIANS, conventional name for a group of historians whose works were dedicated to the history of the Christian church. EUSEBIOS OF CAESAREA was the founder

of the genre, followed by GELASIOS OF CAESAREA, PHILOSTORGIOS, SOKRATES, SOZOMENOS, and some other writers of the 5th and 6th C. The objective of Eusebios was to show the heroic progress of Christianity from the apostolic age to the victory of the new religion; this victory was achieved primarily due to the charismatic emperor Constantine I. History acquired a providential and teleological character, the line between miracle and reality was blurred, and political history merged with the biography of the holy man. The successors of Eusebios, both orthodox and heretical, stressed the local element, the piety of saints and bishops, and native traditions. In the 6th C. THEODORE LECTOR, in his compilation, tried to gather from his predecessors all substantial evidence concerning the development of Christianity after Constantine. Many of the works of ecclesiastical historians (e.g., Basil the Cilician, John Diakrinomenos) are lost and known only from fragments or from the *Bibliotheca* of Photios. After Theodore Lector, the genre practically disappears, and church history tended to be combined with general political history. In the 14th C. Nikephoros Kallistos XANTHOPOULOS returned to the genre when he composed his antiquarian *Ecclesiastical History*, based on the works of earlier church historians and some hagiographical texts.

LIT. *La storiografia ecclesiastica nella tarda antichità* (Messina 1980). F. Winkelmann, "Rolle und Problematik der Behandlung der Kirchengeschichte in der byzantinischen Historiographie," *Klio* 66 (1984) 257–69. L.C. Ruggini, "The Ecclesiastical Histories and the Pagan Historiography," *Athenaeum* 55 (1977) 107–18. R.A. Markus, "Church History and the Early Church Historians," in *The Materials, Sources and Methods of Ecclesiastical History* (Oxford 1975) 1–17. A. Momigliano, "Pagan and Christian Historiography in the Fourth Century AD," in *The Conflict between Paganism and Christianity in the Fourth Century* (Oxford 1963) 79–99. —A.K.

ECCLESIOLOGY (ἐκκλησιολογία), a modern term to designate the study of the nature of the church. In Greek patristic literature and Byz. apologetic and dogmatic surveys, the church was never an object of systematic theological speculation. This lack of ecclesiological development, however, was not deliberate for the church was ultimately the context of all theology, the presupposition of all theological speculation. Besides, the church as a sociological phenomenon, as a visible institution with its own administrative structure

and unity within the framework of the empire, was frequently the object of conciliar and imperial legislation. Texts such as the NOMOKANON OF FOURTEEN TITLES, the EPANAGOGE with its theory of the two powers, and the canonical corpus of the Council in TRULLO are in fact a rich source of information on church structure, discipline, and ecclesiological ideas. Equally, practical problems generated by canon law, such as the relationship between ecclesiastical and imperial legislation, were often the object of debate by canonists (cf. BALSAMON, PG 104:981B–C).

In addition, from the 11th C. various authors dealt extensively with such issues as the prerogatives of a METROPOLITAN and his relationship to the patriarch, right of appeal, CELIBACY, the functions of the patriarch as president of the synod, canonical questions raised by the ARSENITE schism, and episcopal or clerical elections, depositions, ordinations, and resignations. Another essentially ecclesiological problem was of course the debate over PRIMACY (cf. PENTARCHY). The church's understanding of itself as an institution did not, however, emphasize structure or juridical categories exclusively, for these, it was realized, could never adequately exhaust or define the ultimate reality of the church as a divine and earthly community.

LIT. Darrouzès, *Ecclès.* J. Meyendorff, *Byzantine Theology* (New York 1974) 79f. —A.P.

ECLIPSES (sing. ἔκλειψις). The computation of a lunar or, even more, a solar eclipse was a difficult problem for Byz. astronomers, but one that was often tackled, it seems, just to display the astronomer's superior knowledge. Early surviving examples of eclipse computations are those by PAPPOS and THEON in the 4th C. and by STEPHEN OF ALEXANDRIA in the early 7th. Thereafter, until the Palaiologan period, there survives only one eclipse computation, for 1072, in a text based on an Arabic source (A. Jones, *An Eleventh-century Manual of Arabo-Byzantine Astronomy* [Amsterdam 1987]). Anna Komnene (An.Komn. 2:92f), however, records how Alexios I Komnenos used a prediction of a total solar eclipse to his advantage in negotiations with the Pechenegs (K. Ferrari d'Occhieppo, *JÖB* 23 [1974] 179–84). In the late Byz. period interest in eclipse prediction revived: we have computations in the translations from

Persian and Arabic in the 1290s, in the treatises by Nikephoros GREGORAS and BARLAAM OF CALABRIA in the 1330s, a number of such computations for the years 1374–1408 executed by John ABRAMIOS and his successors, and one by Michael Chrysokokkes in 1435.

Eclipses were, of course, one of those NATURAL PHENOMENA regarded as ominous in Byz. The texts that instructed Byz. on how to interpret these omens include PTOLEMY (*Astrological Effects* 2, 5–10), HEPHAISTION OF THEBES (*Astrological Effects* 1, 20–22), JOHN LYDOS (*On Omens* 9), RHETORIOS OF EGYPT, and THEOPHILOS OF EDESSA (*Astrological Effects* 6–7 [=CCAG 8.1:266–70]) as well as chapters of astrological texts translated from Arabic such as those of Abū Ma'shar and of Aḥmad the Persian (possibly ACHMET BEN SIRIN). The eclipse that marked the CRUCIFIXION was often indicated in art by the averted heads of the SUN AND MOON.

Observations of Eclipses and Their Use for Dating Events. Reports of eclipses in Byz. documents are to be used with caution. Although astronomically verifiable, the observational locations of most recorded Byz. solar and lunar eclipses are difficult to determine because of lack of precision in the historical records that is frequently compounded by textual corruption. Following the Aristotelian tradition Byz. scholars ascribed eclipses to natural astronomical causes, but the majority of the Byz. population interpreted them as divine signs or omens. Some eclipses were therefore invented or redated to suit a particular predictive purpose such as that of Pachymeres (Pachym., ed. Failler 1:59.4–6) foretelling the death of THEODORE II LASKARIS in 1258. As in the case of COMETS, EARTHQUAKES, and FIRES, the annual commemoration of an eclipse (such as that of 8 Aug. 891) was occasionally incorporated into the liturgical calendar (*Synax.CP* 878.9–16). The most reliably attested Byz. solar eclipses occurred on 6 June 346; 28 Aug. 360; 19 July 418; 14 Jan. 484; 29 June 512; 4 Oct. 590; 5 Nov. 644; 5 Oct. 695; 15 Aug. 760; 16 Sept. 787; 14 May 812; 8 Aug. 891; 22 Dec. 968.

SOURCE. J. Mogenet, A. Tihon, et al., *Nicéphore Grégoras, Calcul de l'éclipse de soleil du 16 juillet 1330* (Amsterdam 1983).

LIT. Grumel, *Chronologie* 458–69. D.J. Schöve, A. Fletcher, *Chronology of Eclipses and Comets AD 1–1000* (Dover, N.H., 1984). Pingree, "Chionides & Astronomy" 136f, 156f. Idem, "The Byzantine Version of the Toledan Tables: The

Work of George Lapithes?" *DOP* 30 (1976) 103f. H. Usener, *Ad historiam astronomiae symbola* (Bonn 1876) 25f. R.R. Newton, *Medieval Chronicles and the Rotation of the Earth* (Baltimore 1972) 515–59. —D.P., B.C., A.C.

ECLOGA (Ἐκλογὴ τῶν νόμων, lit. "selection of the laws"), a law book issued in Mar. 741 (rather than 726) by Leo III and Constantine V. The *Ecloga* presents in 18 titles the most important legal standards for everyday life, representing the first official attempt at a revival of the administration of justice after over 100 years. Among the few substantive innovations are the restrictive DIVORCE law (*Ecloga* 2.9), a regulation concerning division of war BOOTY (18), and the penal law (17). The section on penal law introduces, in addition to a great number of punishable sexual offenses, a new system of punishment by MUTILATION that echoes the offense; it is surely to this that the announced "improvement in the sense of greater clemency" in the title of the law refers, because of the extensive restriction of capital punishment.

The originality of the *Ecloga* lies above all in its form. Its concise compilation of legal material and the fact that its selection and arrangement was oriented more to the circumstances of life than to legal systems made the *Ecloga* a prototype of the Byz. legal handbook. The *Ecloga* appears to have been quickly supplemented by the *Appendix Eclogae* (ed. L. Burgmann, S. Troianos, *FM* 3 [1979] 24–125), a heterogeneous collection of mainly penal law regulations. Along with the Appendix, which included the NOMOS STRATIOTIKOS, the FARMER'S LAW, and the RHODIAN SEA LAW, the *Ecloga* constituted a corpus of secular law unrivaled until the end of the 9th C.

Under the Macedonian dynasty, the *Ecloga* was replaced, in a move to reappropriate Justinianic law, by the EPANAGOGÉ; the latter, however, remained strongly indebted in content and form to the *Ecloga*, as did the PROCHIRON, issued somewhat later, whose polemic, as Schminck has shown (*Rechtsbüchern* 64f), was directed not against the *Ecloga* but against the *Epanagoge*. The continuing popularity of the *Ecloga* is attested by the existence of numerous copies and compilations (some of southern Italian origin), the ZAKON SUDNYJ LJUDEM and other Slavonic translations (see LAW IN SLAVIC COUNTRIES, BYZANTINE), an Arabic adaptation (ed. S. Leder, *Die arabische Ecloga* [Frankfurt

am Main 1985]), and an Armenian translation (see LAW IN THE EAST, BYZANTINE).

ED. L. Burgmann, *Ecloga* (Frankfurt am Main 1983). Eng. tr. E.H. Freshfield, *A Manual of Roman Law: The Ecloga* (Cambridge 1926). Russ. tr. E. Lipšic (Moscow 1965).

LIT. Zachariä, *Geschichte* 16f. Sinogowitz, *Strafrecht*. E. Lipšic, *Pravo i sud v Vizantii v IV–VIII vv.* (Leningrad 1976) 195–201. —L.B.

ECLOGA AUCTA, an adaptation of the ECLOGA. Designated in one MS as the "second *Eklogadion*," it probably antedates the Macedonian period. As far as can be determined from the indirect (ECLOGA PRIVATA AUCTA) or fragmentary transmission, the author borrowed the structure and style of the *Ecloga* and copied some of its chapters verbatim, but revised, replaced, or expanded the rest. The changes are characterized by a renewed rapprochement with Justinianic law; the MUTILATION punishments of the *Ecloga* are eliminated, with the exception of castration for sodomy (17.12b).

ED. D. Simon, S. Troianos, "Eklogadion und Ecloga privata aucta," *FM* 2 (1976) 45–86.

LIT. Troianos, *Poinalios*.

—L.B.

ECLOGA BASILICORUM, a legal commentary composed in 1142 by an unknown lawyer on a selection from the BASILIKA, which existed at the time but has not been transmitted independently. The commentary was intended to cover all 60 books of the *Basilika* but actually comprises only the first ten. Its sources are chiefly the complete text of the *Basilika* with scholia, the paraphrase of the *Institutes* by the 6th-C. jurist THEOPHILOS, and the legal writings of the 11th C. The commentary is characterized by explanatory paraphrases, examples (*thematismoi*), short introductory explanations (*protheoriai*), and quotations of legal principles (*kanones*). Recent imperial legislation is incorporated, and concrete examples are provided, esp. for the area of court procedure. The beginning of the work, as handed down, is not original.

LIT. L. Burgmann, *Ecloga Basilicorum* (Frankfurt am Main 1988). —L.B.

ECLOGA PRIVATA AUCTA, a compilation of the ECLOGA and ECLOGA AUCTA. It is itself poorly transmitted, but nonetheless provides crucial evidence for the text of the *Ecloga aucta*. The *pro-*

oimion, preserved in only one MS, shows minor, yet important, variations from the *Ecloga*.

ED. Zepos, *Jus* 6:1–47. Eng. tr. E.H. Freshfield, *A Revised Manual of Roman Law* (Cambridge 1927).

LIT. D. Simon, S. Troianos, "EPA Sinaitica," *FM* 3 (1979) 168–77. F. Gorla, *Tradizione romana e innovazioni bizantine nel diritto privato dell'Ecloga privata aucta: diritto matrimoniale* (Frankfurt am Main 1980). E.E. Lipšic, *Zakonodatel'stvo i jurisprudencija v Vizantii v IX–XI vv.* (Leningrad 1981) 7–42. —L.B.

ECONOMIC THEORIES. The church fathers dealt primarily with the problem of reconciling the primeval ("natural") right of all men to the riches of the earth (air, water, land, etc.), which were created by God for the whole of mankind, with the reality of an unequal distribution of riches, the existence of wealth and poverty (see POOR). The solution of the problem was both historical and moral: historically approached, the reason for inequality was ORIGINAL SIN, the moral fall of mankind; the moral solution consisted in the distinction between evil and good wealth, the latter being of honest origin and devoted to good purposes, that is, philanthropy and charity; thus ecclesiastical and monastic PROPERTY was justified. In addition, the concept of "excessive" wealth (luxury) was developed that was contrasted with a self-sufficient, modest standard of living, albeit above the level of "blessed" poverty. This accounts for the elaboration of a hierarchy of properties and PROFITS that considered landed property more noble than mercantile property, treated profits from USURY as indecent, proclaimed church property sacrosanct, provided different legal protection (e.g., PROTIMESIS) for peasant property than the property of the DYNASTOI, etc.

There were no other consistent economic theories in Byz. although some attempts to understand the history and mechanism of economic forces were made. EUSTATHIOS OF THESSALONIKE suggested a history of mankind not in categories of fall and salvation but as a slow material progress from savagery to civilization (Kazhdan-Franklin, *Studies* 178f). Psellos, in the vita of St. AUXENTIOS, deliberated on the laws determining the function of the market (A. Kazhdan, *Byzantion* 53 [1983] 550), and TZETZES formulated the idea that labor sets the price of the product (eps. 81.16–82.2). PLETHON praised protectionist policy as a powerful means to stimulate a Byz. economy suffering from the competition of Italian industry and trade.

LIT. I. Seipel, *Die wirtschaftlichen Lehren der Kirchenväter*² (Graz 1972). S. Giet, *Les idées et l'action sociale de S. Basile* (Paris 1941). E.F. Bruck, *Kirchenväter und soziales Erbrecht* (Berlin 1956). —A.K.

ECONOMY. The Byz. economy was based primarily on AGRICULTURE; the intensive cultivation of land was typical of the littoral areas in both the Balkans and Asia Minor, whereas in the mountainous regions a pastoral economy predominated. Urban life was also concentrated mostly along the coastline. The means of production were limited as is typical of the Middle Ages—the ERGASTERION, operated by a family (with the help of one or two laborers) and located in the same building as the living quarters, was the main site of industrial activity, larger factorylike units being reserved for state needs (mints, armories, production of luxury goods); but even the “factories” were assemblages of individual producers rather than cohesive entities. In the countryside, production was organized on small parcels of land with the help of traditional AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS requiring manual labor with only a limited use of animal power. The use of natural power resources was restricted mainly to water MILLS for grinding grain and to the AUTOMATA at imperial palaces; the mechanical “pre-revolution” of the 12th and 13th C. touched Byz. only insignificantly, and the wind mill (in evidence by 1300) appeared here later than in the West. Nevertheless, until the end of the 12th C. Byz. was considered the wealthiest country of Europe, rich in grain, wine, dairy products, clothing, and jewelry.

Transportation (see TRAVEL), like production, was limited. Poor ROADS rendered impossible overland trade of any significance, and the Byz. were mediocre sailors. The Roman domination over Mediterranean COMMERCE was weakened by the Arabs in the 7th C., and Byz. maritime activity was sharply curtailed by the growth of the Italian maritime republics from the 12th C. onward. The Byz. did not organize trading expeditions on a large scale, preferring to attract their neighbors to Constantinople, Thessalonike, or Trebizond rather than to sail ships or organize caravans to foreign centers, although some Greeks traveled to the Crimea, Egypt, and Montpellier.

A monetary economy was always a characteristic of Byz., although some fluctuations in its history can be observed: unquestionably dominant in the

4th–mid-7th C., it declined thereafter; it was then revived first in Constantinople and the littoral areas (after 800) and then inland; it was extremely active from the 11th to mid-13th C., but subsequently Byz. coins were replaced by Italian currency, as the Levantine trade was transferred to Venice and Genoa and their colonies on Byz. soil. A BARTER ECONOMY, including rents and salaries in kind, existed not only in the countryside but also in Constantinople where officials and physicians were paid for their services, in part, with grain, fodder, and clothing.

Surviving figures on the Byz. BUDGET and private wealth are not reliable; it can, however, be safely stated that Byz. aristocrats derived their incomes more from their salaries (and related revenues) than from their estates (G. Litavrin in *VizOč* [Moscow 1971] 152–68). Assets were expressed in terms of money rather than land. An example is the dowry of Theodora (Manuel I's niece), which consisted of 100,000 hyperpers, plus 10,000 hyperpers for wedding expenses as well as jewelry, clothing, carpets, etc., estimated at 40,000 hyperpers, whereas her husband, Baldwin III of Jerusalem, gave her as a gift the city of Acre (William of Tyre, PL 201:734AB). Contrasting with this reality is the concept of Byz. moralists (e.g., Kekaumenos) that land is the most honorable source of income. The nonmonetary wealth of Byz. aristocrats consisted of livestock as well as land. Income from trade was held in low esteem, sometimes even despised.

The state played a major role in the Byz. economy: it levied taxes on land and trade, retained the privilege of minting, possessed certain MONOPOLIES, exercised control over guilds, and owned vast lands and workshops. All these supplied the state with large revenues. At the same time, the state had enormous expenses: for the army and diplomacy; for the salaries of dignitaries; for building activity; and for various largesses for ecclesiastical institutions, officials, and the needy. The largesses either took the form of direct donations, or conferral of the right to a portion of taxes, or EXEMPTION from taxation. The concentration of resources (in money and in kind) in the state treasury and their generous distribution among officials, churches, and indigents (primarily in Constantinople) created in the capital an atmosphere conducive to the increased production of various goods (esp. objects of luxury and

religious cult) and for the marketing of grain, meat, fish, etc. Constantinopolitan MERCHANTS, unlike those of Venice and Genoa who sought distant markets and resources, were not aggressive but conservative, awaiting imports and spoiled by the constancy of state demands.

There are many blank spaces in the picture of Byz. economic development, but it can be presented tentatively as follows: the late Roman economy was evidently prosperous but based on the exploitation of the countryside by the city and of the province by the capital. By the mid-7th C. the urban economy was in decay, trade shrinking, the monetary economy contracting; on the other hand, the countryside recovered after its previous stagnation and was able to compensate for the lost provinces. In the 9th and 10th C. slow revival concentrated around Constantinople, whereas in the mid-11th–mid-13th C. it was the provincial town that benefited most and the countryside that was able to supply agricultural goods to neighboring countries. The domination of the Italian republics in the Mediterranean led to greater economic activity in Byz. territory, but Greek merchants and the Byz. state harvested only a slight portion of the growing revenues.

LIT. M. Hendy, *Studies in the Byzantine Monetary Economy* (Cambridge 1985). A. Kazhdan, “Iz ekonomičeskoj žizni Vizantii XI–XII vv.,” *VizOč* (1971) 169–212. N. Svoronos, “Remarques sur les structures économiques de l'Empire byzantin au XIe siècle,” *TM* 6 (1976) 49–67. P. Charanis, *Social, Economic and Political Life in the Byzantine Empire* (London 1973), pt.IV (1951), 94–153; pt.IX (1953), 412–24. Jacoby, *Recherches*, pt.I (1976), 42–48. A. Laiou, “The Byzantine Economy in the Mediterranean Trade System,” *DOP* 34–35 (1980/81) 177–222. W. Treadgold, *The Byzantine State Finances in the Eighth and Ninth Centuries* (New York 1982). —A.K.

ECSTASY (ἐκστασις, lit. “displacement,” “a state outside one's self”) designated a rapture or state beyond normal mental activity caused by deep EMOTIONS. According to the church fathers it is an “alienation” produced by the impact of fear, intoxication, sin, heretical opinions, etc. They did, however, recognize mystic ecstasy: thus METHODIOS of Olympos (*Banquet*, ch.8: PG 18:73C) speaks of Christ's ecstasy that took place after his Incarnation and Passion; Prokopios of Gaza (PG 87:173B) defines *ekstasis* as “a state beyond normal consciousness” bestowed by God in his OIKONOMIA on such favored figures as Abraham, in the course

of which they received profound revelations. Adam, David, and some apostles are said to have enjoyed mystic ecstasy, which is to be distinguished from the ecstatic frenzy of false prophets. The ecstatic vision of the divine light played a significant part in the teaching of SYMEON THE THEOLOGIAN and later in HESYCHASM. Ecstasy, sometimes characterized as “inebriation,” was usually contrasted with dreams, although it could be accompanied by VISIONS; its most typical feature was a complete disruption of the material senses so that a person could be “transported” to the supernatural world.

Ecstasy was not a canonical subject in art. Exceptionally, prophetic visions as depicted in the apse mosaic of the church of the Latomos monastery (now Hosios DAVID) in Thessalonike, may include awestruck witnesses, but normally rapture was a state attributed to the beholder of a picture rather than to a protagonist in it. Late depictions of the TRANSFIGURATION sometimes show the apostles blinded and bowled over by the vision of the metamorphosed Jesus. —A.K., A.C.

ECUMENICAL PATRIARCH (οἰκουμηνικός πατριάρχης). Only in the 6th C. did the term come into regular use as a courtesy title for the archbishops of Constantinople (Mansi 8:1038A, 1042D, 1058A). Patr. MENAS, for example, used it in 536 (Mansi 8:959B). By the end of the century, under JOHN IV NESTEUTES, that title was also being used in official correspondence. Finally, by the 9th C., under PHOTIOS, it entered official protocol in addressing the patriarch. MICHAEL I KEROULARIOS was the first to introduce it on his seal (Laurent, *Corpus* 5.1, no.16).

Strictly speaking, the qualifying term denoted the superior Orthodox patriarch of the ecumenical empire of Byz., whose see was also the imperial capital. It did not mean “universal” bishop, but “superior” bishop (H. Grégoire, *Byzantion* 8 [1933] 570f). The title therefore was not intended to deprive Rome of its honorary primacy within the PENTARCHY; nor did it imply universal jurisdiction over the entire church. Still, Popes Pelagius II (579–90) and GREGORY I THE GREAT were scandalized by it (Mansi 9:1213C–E).

LIT. S. Vailhé, “Le titre de patriarche oecuménique avant saint Grégoire le Grand,” *EO* 11 (1908) 65–69. V. Laurent, “Le titre de patriarche oecuménique et la signature patriar-

cale," *REB* 6 (1948) 5–26. A. Tuilier, "Le sens de l'adjectif 'oecuménique' dans la tradition patristique et dans la tradition byzantine," *Nouvelle revue théologique* 86 (1964) 260–71. —A.P.

EDESSA (Ἐδεσσα, mod. Urfa in Turkey), capital of the province of OSRHOENE until it was lost to the Arabs ca.640; it remained an important Christian and commercial center in the Islamic world until at least the 13th C. Situated in the Mesopotamian plain, Edessa is dominated on the south by a high rock and crossed by the Daisan River. Little remains of late Roman Edessa apart from sections of Justinian I's circuit walls, the *temenos* walls of the present Great Mosque (which stands beside what was probably the north-south *cardo*), traces of various structures on the acropolis, and rock-cut tombs. Local written sources, however, supply concrete details concerning the period.

Edessa was christianized in the 2nd C. when its king, Abgar IX (179–216), accepted the faith. The event was recorded in various legendary accounts that attribute the conversion of the king, identified by Eusebios as Abgar V the Black (4 B.C.–A.D. 7, then 13–50), to a correspondence with Christ, who sent him the MANDYLION. The text of the letter was inscribed as a talisman above the city gates and the Mandyliion came to be displayed in the cathedral. Christianity at Edessa was eventually represented by four groups (Monophysites, Nestorians, Chalcedonians, Maronites). Church building is recorded in the CHRONICLE OF EDESSA (of ca.540): a cathedral (312/13–23); its baptistery (369/70); and at least seven other churches (345–471), including that of the Apostle Thomas, visited by EGERIA. Altogether 30 churches are known by name. Bishops and governors provided charitable and civic amenities between 458 and 505: infirmary, towers, bridges, circuit walls, aqueducts, baths, praetorium. Eulogios also provided 6,800 *xestai* of oil to light public porticoes. Following a flood Justinian rerouted the Daisan River and rebuilt the damaged southern part of the city, including the Cathedral of St. Sophia and the Antiphoros, the latter being, apparently, an open space in front of a forum. In 578–603 Bp. Severos erected porticoes and "numerous constructions" (MICHAEL I THE SYRIAN, *Chronicle* 2:373).

Edessa was a literary and intellectual center of Syriac culture, whose writers included the theologians APHRAHAT, EPHREM THE SYRIAN, and RAB-

BULA of Edessa as well as JOSHUA THE STYLITE and DIONYSIOS OF TELL-MAHRĒ. The theological school, founded in 363 by immigrants from Nisibis, was closed in the 5th C. for Nestorian bias; it was subsequently refounded at Nisibis.

During the 6th-C. Persian military campaigns, Edessa remained a rich, impregnable city. When it finally fell under Persian control from 602 to 628, it supplied Chosroes II with 120,000 pounds of silver, much of it from the furniture revetments of St. Sophia and the city's wealthy inhabitants. Herakleios resided there after his victory over the Persians in 628. Conquered soon thereafter by the Arabs, Edessa was recovered in 944 by the Byz., who removed the Mandyliion to Constantinople. The city fell to the Crusaders in 1098. The local CHRONICLE OF 1234 records the conquest of Zengi in 1146 as particularly devastating, as was undoubtedly that of the Mongols. (For Edessa in Macedonia, see VODENA.)

LIT. J.B. Segal, *Edessa, the Blessed City* (Oxford 1970). H. Leclaine, "Crises économiques à Edessa (494–506) d'après la chronique du pseudo-Josué le Stylite," *Pallas* 27 (1980) 89–100. V.P. Stepanenko, "Iščany Edessy i vnešnepolitičeskaja orientacija goroda v 70-ch godach XI-načale XII v.," *VizVrem* 45 (1984) 87–94. —M.M.M.

EDESSA, COUNTY OF. The first Crusader state in Syria, the county included Edessa and Saruj east of the Euphrates, and Tell Bashir, Kesoun, and other towns west of it. In 1097 Baldwin of Boulogne was invited by the Armenians of Edessa to aid them; their lord Thoros adopted Baldwin. Thoros was soon murdered by his own people (A.A. Beaumont in *The Crusades and Other Historical Essays Presented to Dana C. Munro* [New York 1928] 104–12), and Baldwin became count. Armenians constituted a large part of the county's inhabitants. The Byz. never yielded their claim to Edessa, but it was too remote for them to exercise authority. After ZANGI took Edessa, the area west of the Euphrates was preserved. In 1150, following the capture of Count Joscelin II, Countess Beatrice sold Tell Bashir, Aintab, Duluk, and a few other fortresses to Manuel I, who agreed to garrison them and pay Beatrice and her children a life-income. The Byz. troops, however, proved insufficient, and in 1151 NŪR AL-DĪN easily seized these places.

LIT. N. Elisséeff, *Nūr ad-Dīn* (Damascus 1967) 2:457–62. —C.M.B.

EDICT OF MILAN, the name given by modern scholars to the first decree granting toleration to Christianity, supposedly issued by CONSTANTINE I and LICINIUS as a result of a meeting in Milan in 313. The text of the edict, given by Eusebios of Caesarea (*HE* 10.5.2–14) and Lactantius (*Lactant. De mort. pers.* 48.2–12), grants religious freedom to both Christians and non-Christians and orders the return of confiscated church property. The authenticity of the edict was called into question by O. Seeck (*ZKirch* 12 [1891] 381) who pointed out that, according to Lactantius (*Lactant. De mort. pers.* 34; cf. Eusebios, *HE* 8.17.3–10), Galerius had issued a similar edict of toleration in 311. Others (e.g., Christensen, *infra*) have more recently argued that the originator of the edict was Licinius and that he was following in the tradition established by Galerius. Both Constantine (in 306) and even MAXENTIUS (in 311) had declared toleration prior to 313 and the whole concept of the "Edict of Milan" should probably be discarded. Nevertheless, the question continues to be debated (see M. Anastos, *REB* 25 [1967] 13–41).

LIT. T. Christensen, "The So-Called Edict of Milan," *ClMed* 35 (1984) 129–75. —T.E.G.

EDICTUM (ἔδικτον), edict, term used for general laws following Roman tradition. *Edicta* were usually addressed to groups (all the emperor's subjects or the inhabitants of a region or the members of a profession), but some were addressed to individuals (top officials, lay or ecclesiastic); they were usually signed by the emperor and countersigned by the QUAESTOR. The *edictum* differed from the SANCTIO PRAGMATICA (*pragmatikos typos*) in that the latter was used for special laws, with general application but issued in response to a private request. With increasing frequency, laws were called *novellae* (*constitutiones*; see NOVELS), *nearai* (*nomothesai*), or *sakrai* (from *sacra lex*). From the end of the 11th C. onward legislation was promulgated more and more in the form of a CHRYSOBULL or a PROTAGMA.

LIT. Dölger-Karayannopoulos, *Urkundenlehre* 71–84. —N.O.

EDIRNE. See ADRIANOPLE.

EDUCATION (παιδεία) in Byz. was based on two contradictory principles: Greco-Roman tradition

and Christian faith. Christianity, in its extreme, rejected ancient civilization as permeated by false mythology, permissive and cruel morality, and a deceptive image of the world and its history; being a "religion of the Book," however, it required of its followers an elementary aptitude for reading (see LITERACY) and the memorization of essential texts. The resolution of this contradiction was to maintain traditional educational methods and to make pagan literature acceptable by allegorical interpretation, by alleging derivation from Old Testament sources, by discerning in it a foreshadowing of Christianity, or by concentrating on the form while rejecting the content. Egyptian exercise books of the 4th–7th C. still contained mythological names and traditional maxims and anecdotes used for teaching reading and writing. Children in SCHOOLS continued to be given the "venom" of Homer and the poets to develop their knowledge of language, while their home upbringing was supposed to supply them with an "antidote" of moral precepts.

The 7th C. was a watershed in the development of education. By that time the tertiary schools (universities) had disappeared, and even secondary schools (those of grammar) became rare. In the 9th C. the young CONSTANTINE THE PHILOSOPHER was unable to find a GRAMMATIKOS in Thessalonike. The scholarly curiosity of youth had to be content with private TEACHERS, in the form of individual teacher-STUDENT connections, as was the case with LEO THE MATHEMATICIAN who found on Andros a "wise man" to teach him rhetoric, philosophy, and arithmetic. The vast majority of those who overcame illiteracy acquired only the rudimentary skills of reading and writing with the help of parents and local literate men. Thus JOSEPH THE HYMNOGRAPHER, who was born to a well-to-do family, was taught by his parents; there is no mention in his vita of a professional teacher or of Joseph's going to school. NICHOLAS OF STOUDIOS was educated by his parents and continued his studies, from the age of ten, in the Stoudios monastery. These two examples may be atypical, however, and should be used with caution, since Joseph was born in Sicily and became a refugee in the Peloponnesos, while Nicholas was destined to be a monk. Other saints' vitae on occasion mention teachers (*didaskaloi*) to whom children were sent to learn *hiera grammata*, the act of reading. The vita of THEODORE OF EDESSA, which

describes the saint's education by a sophist Sophronios whom the Edessenes had as a "common teacher" and who taught the boy grammar, rhetoric, and philosophy, is exceptional for 9th-C. saints; in reality it is a later hagiographic "romance" of the 10th C., reflecting the situation of the subsequent period.

This shift occurred in mid-9th-C. Constantinople when Caesar BARDAS organized the MAGNAURA school to revive the "external [secular] wisdom" that had been neglected by previous generations "which wallowed in boorishness and illiteracy" (*TheophCont* 185.2–5). Leo the Mathematician, the head of the school, taught philosophy, while his student Theodore instructed in mathematics, Theodegios in astronomy, and Kometas in grammar. This school was revived or refounded by Constantine VII (*TheophCont* 446.1–22). Two sources provide insights into school life of the 10th C.—the vita of ATHANASIOS OF ATHOS, who started as a popular teacher in Constantinople, and the correspondence of the anonymous teacher (see TEACHER, ANONYMOUS). Secondary education, under control of the state, was concentrated in Constantinople and was organized on the private basis of teacher-student relations. It had as its major goal the formation of the higher echelon of functionaries. The main subject of teaching was GRAMMAR (with elements of eloquence and philosophy); students also studied the dead language of the ancient classics. The subject matter for training was Homer, Aelian, Demosthenes, etc., with the Bible added to this classical heritage. EPIMERISMS to the Psalms from the school of George CHOIROBOSKOS served as a textbook.

The 11th and 12th C. marked a new level in the development of Byz. education. An attempt was made to reintroduce the tertiary school, the UNIVERSITY OF CONSTANTINOPLE. Other educational institutions were also active in the capital, including the school at the Church of the Holy Apostles described in detail by Nicholas MESARITES, where the classes combined students of various ages, from children learning to count on their fingers to medical doctors discussing the pulse. The PATRIARCHAL SCHOOL was created, the new SCHEDOGRAPHIA was applied as a method to enhance independence of thought, and competitions of students took place. The greatest intellectuals of the time were involved in education, including John MAUROPOUS, Michael PSELLOS,

EUSTATHIOS OF THESSALONIKE. Unlike Western universities, however, the Byz. school of the 11th–12th C. was not granted legal independence; it functioned under the sway of the state, its main figures (NOMOPHYLAX, MAISTOR TON RHETORON, HYPATOS TON PHILOSOPHON) being institutionally imperial officials. Moreover, from the end of the 11th C. onward the church was acquiring institutional impact on education.

The fall of Constantinople in 1204 was a heavy blow to education, which had been concentrated in the capital. An attempt to found a Latin university in Constantinople was stillborn. In the Greek-controlled territories of the splintered empire there seem to have been no formal academic institutions, but only individual teachers who attracted small groups of devoted followers; thus the young Nikephoros BLEMMEYDES wandered from one teacher to another, via Nicaea, Smyrna, and Skamandros. He established a school with five students at the monastery of Gregory Thaumaturgos in Ephesus. After the recapture of Constantinople in 1261 Michael VIII founded a "school of philosophy" headed by George AKROPOLITES. The school of Maximos PLANOUDES in Constantinople ca.1300 was linked with a monastery, although it was also supported by imperial grants (*siteresia*). Nikephoros GREGORAS had his school in his room (*oikiskos*) in the Chora monastery. All these private schools concentrated on grammar, even though time and again the disciplines of the QUADRIVIUM are proudly mentioned. Much information on education in the 14th and 15th C. is contained in the letters and other writings of Theodore HYRTAKENOS, George LEKAPENOS, and John CHORTASMENOS. The last evidence on Byz. schools is the correspondence of 1453 (J. Darrouzès, *REB* 22 [1964] 122), which mentions a school in Adrianople administered by a *didaskalos* and his young assistant. It was under the patronage of the local judge and was probably attached to his house.

LIT. G. Buckler, "Byzantine Education," in *Byzantium*, ed. N. Baynes, H. Moss (Oxford 1948) 200–20. R. Guiland, "La vie scolaire à Byzance," *BullBude* 3 1 (1953) 63–83. A. Moffatt, "Schooling in the Iconoclast Centuries," in *Iconoclasm* 85–92. K. Gaik, "Die christliche Pädagogik der Kirchenväter und ihre erziehungsphilosophischen Grundlagen" (Ph.D. diss., Pädagogische Hochschule Rheinland, 1978). Kazhdan-Epstein, *Change* 121–33. C. Constantines, *Higher Education in Byzantium in the Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries* (Nicosia 1982). Lemerle, *Humanism* 281–308. —A.K., R.B.

EGERIA (4th C.), a wealthy nun from the western Mediterranean or a land on the Atlantic coast (Aquitaine? Galicia?) who left a detailed account (approximately one-third extant) of her journey to the Holy Land in 381–84. The earliest graphic account of Christian pilgrimage to survive, her *Travels* records observations and responses to a variety of LOCA SANCTA in Palestine, Syria, and Egypt. Included are elements of the natural terrain (e.g., trees "planted by the patriarchs"), humble tombs and houses traditionally associated with heroes of the Old and New Testaments, churches that had been recently built by Constantine I, holy men (esp. in Egypt), and the local religious community and liturgy (particularly in Jerusalem). Indeed, her account is most valuable for what it reveals of the topography, piety, and esp. the liturgy of the Holy Land as pilgrimage was acquiring its distinctive Christian character and a rapidly increasing number of participants.

ED. *Egérie, Journal de voyage*, ed. P. Maraval (Paris 1982), with Fr. tr.

LIT. J. Wilkinson, *Egeria's Travels* 2 (Jerusalem-Warminster 1981). —G.V.

EGNATIA, VIA, Roman military road running across the Balkan peninsula, built in the second half of the 2nd C. B.C. It had two starting points on the Adriatic: Apollonia and Dyrrhachion. Thence it passed by Lychnidos (Ohrid), Herakleia Lynkestis (near Bitola), Edessa, Pella, and reached the Aegean Sea at Thessalonike. It then cut across the base of the Chalkidike peninsula to Amphipolis and Philippi and originally terminated at Kypsela on the Hebros (Marica). Its extension to BYZANTION appears not to have borne the name of Egnatia. From the Hebros the road went to Herakleia (Perinthos, Marmara Ereğlisi), then (before Constantine I) struck inland to avoid the lagoons of Athyras (Büyük Çekmece) and Rhegion (Küçük Çekmece), passing through Kainophourion (Kurfalı?) and Melantias (Yarım Burgaz?); it reached Byzantion at the gate of Melantias. By ca.330 the stretch from Herakleia to Byzantion was shifted to the coast and made to pass by Selymbria, Athyras, Rhegion, and what was to become the suburb of HEBDOMON before terminating at the GOLDEN GATE of Constantinople.

A number of MILESTONES have been discovered, some of them post-Constantinian in date. The last epigraphically attested evidence of upkeep is of

the reign of Valentinian and Valens (364–75), but PROKOPIOS OF CAESAREA (*Buildings* 4.8.5) records that the stretch between Hebdomon and Rhegion was first paved by Justinian I. Whatever its physical condition, the Egnatia remained a major route of overland communication for much of the Middle Ages.

LIT. N.G.L. Hammond, *A History of Macedonia* (Oxford 1972) 1:19–58. Idem, "The Western Part of the Via Egnatia," *JRS* 64 (1974) 185–94. P. Collart, "Les milliaires de la Via Egnatia," *BCH* 100 (1976) 177–200. L. Gounaropoulou, M.B. Hatzopoulos, *Les milliaires de la Voie Egnatienne entre Héraclée des Lyncestes et Thessalonique* (Athens 1985). —C.M.

EGYPT. As a province of the late Roman Empire, Egypt was simultaneously the principal source of the vital grain supply and the seedbed of a flourishing and original culture. Thoroughly reorganized by the reforms of Diocletian, the region was divided into six provinces for most of the period—Aegyptus I and II, Augustamnica, Arcadia, and THEBAID I and II—and integrated into the fabric of the empire. The 4th C. was a time of radical and profound change. The old Roman metropolis with its administrative division called a nome (the *chora*) became a *civitas* plus its *territorium*; the hinterland was made up of rural administrative districts (*pagi*) presided over by *praepositi* who took the place of the old *strategoi*. The taxation system was completely reworked according to principles of abstract productive units and collective responsibility. The workability of the liturgy system, which compulsorily assigned civic and administrative functions to members of the town councils and the decurion class, was shored up by ties to the central authority. The governor of Egypt was the AUGUSTALIOS, with *duces* and *praesides* under him in the provinces. By 382 Egypt constituted a diocese of its own with its capital at ALEXANDRIA.

After the Great Persecution in 303, the Christian Church became a prime originator and carrier of culture in Egypt. The COPTIC LANGUAGE emerged alongside Greek in the Bible and church services and eventually in record-keeping and public documentation; native Egyptian thinkers and writers were in the vanguard of thought in philosophy, theology, and belles-lettres. The monastic movement, beginning with ANTONY THE GREAT and PACHOMIOS, captured the imagination and channeled much of the best talent of Egyptian society.

The 5th C., less well documented, saw a further transformation from the mobile world of post-Constantinian society to a new pattern of greater stability. The CODEX THEODOSIANUS already reflects the growth of patronage and of attachment to one's *idia* (Lat. *origo*, "place of origin"), which was to shape late antique Egypt. The fixed land-tax (*demosios*) payable in money did away with the older differentiated categories of land. The growth of the large estate (*oikos*) and the privilege of independent tax collection (*autoprageia*) are difficult to trace in the extant sources, but it may be assumed that they were substantial and their effects favored locally based productivity. The large monasteries became great landowners, encouraging both economic and literary output. The increasing centralized power of the patriarchate of ALEXANDRIA, under such bishops as CYRIL and the monastic leadership of SHENOUTE, encouraged

Egyptian ecclesiastical independence prior to the Council of Chalcedon (451). Open controversy over what constituted authentic patriarchal authority and succession produced polemical literature, liturgical experimentation, and the beginnings of a self-defining Egyptian Christian hagiography, esp. monastic biography. The first effort to compose a history of the Egyptian church in Coptic also occurred in the later 5th C. Egyptian poets traveled widely (see POETS, WANDERING), serving as court officials and envoys; NONNOS OF PANOPOLIS reshaped the late Greek epic and told the Gospel story in hexameters.

The tax reforms of Anastasios I (before 518) and the thorough reorganization of Egypt by Justinian I's Edict 13 (probably 538/9) together restructured and centralized the administration and its bureaucracy. The *doux* of each province held both civil and military power, and local tax collection was managed by pagarchs, officials of the notable class who succeeded to the functions of the old decurions. The large landowners of each area grouped together as *syntelestai* to look after their interests and maintain the rights of their tenants. The estates of these proprietors functioned in a quasi-public manner: the rent (*phoros*) payable to an estate's central office came to function as a tax revenue, while the tenants of an estate performed jobs equivalent to compulsory services (*leitourgeiai*). The *embole* or annual grain shipment to Constantinople was maintained using vessels belonging to both magnates and monasteries. Financial records were extremely thorough, as the abundant surviving papyri attest. By the 6th C. Egypt possessed a rich local culture that integrated with striking success classical pagan learning and a strong locally based Christianity. Comparative prosperity encouraged a flowering of the visual arts, esp. sculpture and textiles (see COPTIC ART AND ARCHITECTURE), and an active literary life in both Greek and Coptic, producing works ranging from encomiastic poetry to philosophy, theology, homilies, and saints' Lives. Coptic jurisprudence also came into its own.

The successors of Justinian developed varying economic and religious policies for Egypt. Under Maurice all official documents had to begin with a Christian invocation. Abundant papyrus documentation in both Greek and Coptic attests to the continuing vitality of economic and social institutions; the numerous papyrus codices of classical

and patristic literature produced in the later 6th–early 7th C. illustrate the ongoing currents of Egyptian cultural life. Coptic visual art continued to flourish. Herakleios's revolt against Phokas led to his taking control of Egypt ca.609. During his reign the Persians occupied Egypt between 618/19 and 628/9, leaving behind papyrus documents in Pahlavi. Herakleios's appointee to the Chalcedonian patriarchate, KYROS "the Caucasian," also discharged civil functions. Both BENJAMIN I, the non-Chalcedonian patriarch, and the influential Upper Egyptian bishop Pesynthios of Coptos lived to be eyewitnesses of the Arab conquest, as did the monastic founder Samuel of Qalamun and the chronicler JOHN OF NIKIU. The political takeover of Egypt by a Muslim military force proceeded piecemeal (640–42). Historians still have not satisfactorily explained the reasons for its success. Most of the late antique administrative structure remained in place for about a hundred years, but after ca.800 the old culture began to die.

LIT. J. Gascou, "Les grands domaines, la cité et l'état en Egypte byzantine," *TM* 9 (1985) 1–90. R.S. Bagnall, K.A. Worp, *Chronological Systems of Byzantine Egypt* (Zutphen, Netherlands, 1978). R.S. Bagnall, *Currency and Inflation in Fourth-Century Egypt* (Decatur, Ga., 1985). Idem, "Late Roman Egypt," *DMA* 10:453–56. *The Roots of Egyptian Christianity*, ed. B. Pearson, J. Goehring (Philadelphia 1986). A. Bowman, *Egypt after the Pharaohs* (Berkeley 1986).

—L.S.B. MacC.

EIDIKON (εἰδικόν), imperial treasury and storehouse. The etymology of the word is disputed; Guiland supported the view that it originates from *idikos*, "private," whereas Bury (*Adm. System* 98) flatly rejects this derivation and E. Stein (*Studien* 149) connects the term with the word *eidos*, "ware." Accordingly, it remains uncertain whether the *eidikon* was the emperor's private treasury, that is, the successor to the department of the COMES RERUM PRIVATARUM, or a special state treasury that had no connection with the emperor's *patrimonium*.

The first mention of the *eidikon* is in the 9th C., from the reign of Theophilos; Laurent's assertion (*infra* 305) that the institution was autonomous from the 7th C. is not supported by any evidence. The *eidikon* was a storehouse of precious goods, such as gold and silk as well as various materials for the needs of the army and the navy, and Arab dress for spies. The *eidikon* functioned as a state treasury; one of its responsibilities was the pay-

ment of *ROGA* to senators. The head of the *eidikon* was called *eidikos* (variants *idikos* and *edikos*) or *epi tou eidikou*, and from the 11th C. *logothetes tou eidikou*. In addition to regular notaries, his staff included ARCHONTES TON ERGODOSION and directors of the ARMAMENTON and of the warehouses in the Great Palace. The *sekretion* of the *logothetes tou eidikou* was still functioning in 1081 (*Lavra* 1, no.43.65), and *eidika* (in the plural) are mentioned in a formula of exemption in 1086 (*Lavra* 1, no.48.50). Thereafter the department seems to have been abolished; Guiland suggests that it was replaced by the *logothesion* of the OIKEIAKOI.

LIT. R. Guiland, "Les logothètes," *REB* 29 (1971) 85–95. Laurent, *Corpus* 2:304–52. Dölger, *Beiträge* 35–38. Oikonomides, *Listes* 316–18.

—A.K.

EILITON (εἰλητόν, lit. "wound, wrapped"), a cloth spread over the top of the ALTAR for setting the eucharistic elements, the Byz. equivalent of the Latin corporal. *Eilita* were of linen (Symeon of Thessalonike, PG 155:317B) and possibly silk. In the post-Byz. period their function was superseded by the ANTIMENSION. As with other altar cloths, such as the ENDYTE, the *eilita* were given symbolic significance in liturgical commentaries, esp. as the winding sheets of Christ (e.g., pseudo-Sophronios in PG 87:3985B). No Byz. *eiliton* has survived. Although it is generally believed that *eilita* were unadorned, they may, in fact, have had decoration: several painted representations of altar-tables show the eucharistic vessels placed over *eilita*-like covers decorated with corner GAMMATA, for example, the Melchizedek and Abel mosaic in S. Vitale, Ravenna, and the Communion of the Apostles mosaic in St. Sophia, Kiev.

LIT. Soteriou, "Leitourgika amphia" 604–10. P. Speck, "Die Endyte," *JÖB* 15 (1966) 326–30.

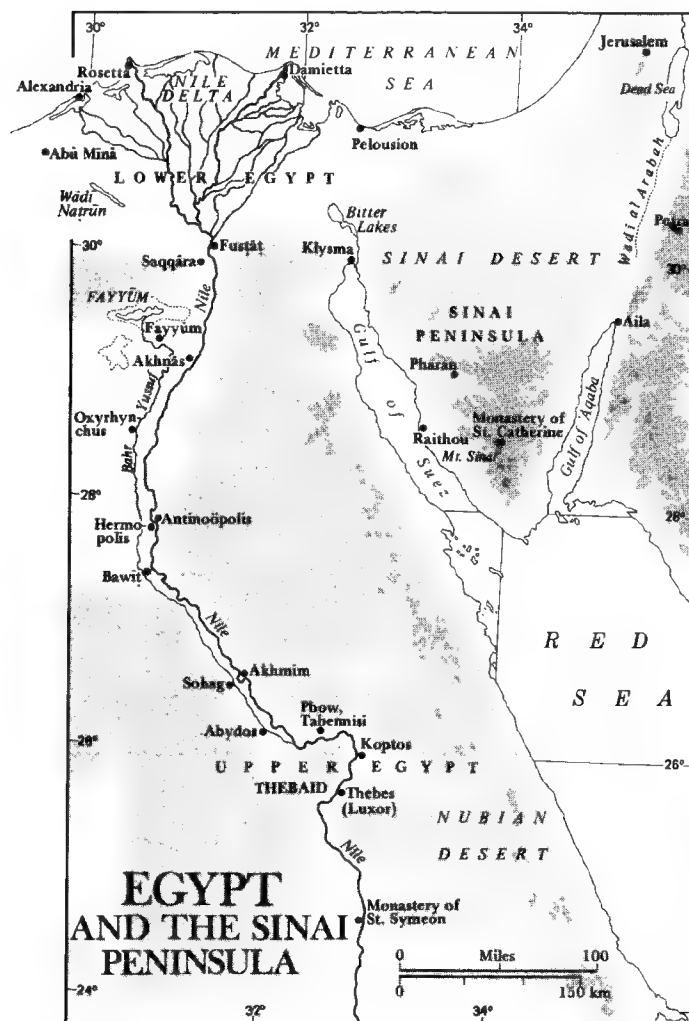
—A.G.

EISAGOGE. See EPANAGOGE.

EJMIACIN. See VALARŠAPAT.

EKDIKOS. See PROTEKDIKOS.

EKDOSIS (ἐκδοσις, "issuing, publication"), or *editio* (Lat.), recension of the text of a work of literature made available by the author or by an editor for copying. First used by Alexandrian scholars to



denote a recension of the text of Homer, in Byz. usage *ekdosis* often denotes a particular version of a text believed to have been approved by the author. Thus PHOTIOS (*Bibl.*, cod.77) owned copies of two *ekdoseis* of the *History* of EUNAPIOS and the first *ekdosis* of the Atticist lexicon of Ailios Dionysios (*Bibl.* cod.152). The *Breviarium* of Patr. NIKEPHOROS I and the *History* of Niketas CHONIATES survive in two variant recensions that are possibly the work of the author. Sometimes successive *ekdoseis* of a text have become amalgamated in the MS tradition and can be reconstructed only in part by textual criticism, as is the case with the *Ecclesiastical History* of EUSEBIOS OF CAESAREA. Early versions of official texts were sometimes suppressed and replaced by later versions; thus the first version of the CODEX JUSTINIANUS, issued in 528, but lost, is known only from the preface to the second *editio*, published *ex repetita praelectione* (*De emendatione Codicis Iustiniani*, par.4). The term *ekdosis* is sometimes used in the Palaiologan period for a version of a classical text—most often a play—accompanied by marginal notes and other explanatory matter and prepared by a scholar for teaching purposes. It also sometimes denotes a collection of the letters or speeches of a Byz. writer, often in chronological order, as in the case of Michael CHONIATES, and prepared by the author himself or by a friend or pupil. In antiquity and the Middle Ages there is nothing corresponding to an “edition” of a printed book. Handwritten books are never entirely uniform.

LIT. G. Pasquali, *Storia della tradizione e critica del testo*² (Florence 1952) 187–393. H.-G. Beck, “Überlieferungsgeschichte der byzantinischen Literatur,” in H. Hunger et al., *Geschichte der Textüberlieferung der antiken und mittelalterlichen Literatur* (Zurich 1961; rp. Munich 1978) 1:423–510.

—R.B.

EKKLESIA (Ἐκκλησία), PERSONIFICATION of the Church. Ekklesia usually occurs in liturgical contexts and more rarely in Byz. than in the medieval West. Patristic exegesis made a protean figure of Ekklesia, recognizing her in the figures of Eve, Susanna, and other biblical heroines. She appears in these guises in wall painting and on sarcophagi of the 4th and 5th C. At Bawīr, Ekklesia is represented as a crowned and richly dressed woman. The Early Christian distinction between the *ecclesia ex circumcisione* and the *ecclesia ex gentibus*, sym-

bolized by the cities of Jerusalem and Bethlehem, was not preserved. Nonetheless, Ekklesia is often paired with Synagogue, each portrayed as a draped woman. In monumental painting and in illustrated Gospel books and homilies of Gregory of Nazianzos (Galavaris, *Liturgical Homilies*, fig.94), Ekklesia and Synagogue are present at the CRUCIFIXION, where Ekklesia is shown catching Christ's blood in a chalice. This motif survives in monumental painting of the 13th–15th C., esp. in Serbia and on Mt. Athos (Millet, *Athos*, pls. 12.3, 69.2). Another version, found at Kastoria, in which Ekklesia is led toward a church by one angel while another drives Synagogue from the scene, has been interpreted as an expression of local anti-Semitism (A.W. Epstein, *Gesta* 21 [1982] 26–28).

LIT. K. Wessel, *RBK* 2:30–33. M.-L. Thérél, *Les symboles de l'“Ecclesia” dans la création iconographique de l'art chrétien du IIIe au VIe siècles* (Rome 1973). Orlandos, *Patmos* 213–15.

—A.C.

EKKLESIARCHES (ἐκκλησιάρχης, fem. ἐκκλησιάρχισσα), sacristan, a church official who was responsible for setting out the liturgical books, sacred vessels, eucharistic wine and bread, and for providing the appropriate number of candles and lamps for LIGHTING of the church. In monasteries, the *ekklesiarches* was one of the leading officials, appointed by the superior. At the BEBAIAS ELPIDOS NUNNERY in Constantinople, the *ekklesiarchissa*, together with the OIKONOMOS, was second only to the superior; at LIPS, however, she was subordinate to the *skeuophylakissa* (see SKEUOPHYLAX). The *ekklesiarches* not only prepared the church for services, but led the monks or nuns in the singing of the offices, making sure that they knelt or stood at the proper moment, made responses correctly, and that no sections of the office were omitted or recited in wrong order. The *ekklesiarches* also maintained proper discipline among the monks or nuns. The *typikon* of Bebaias Elpidos (pp.45.19–47.31) states that the *ekklesiarchissa* should be a good singer who is very familiar with the liturgy, esp. since she is responsible for the instruction of novices in the chanting of the office. The *ekklesiarches* at the PETRITZOS monastery (*Typikon*, ed. Gautier, p.69.827–30) received an annual stipend of 20 nomismata.

LIT. Arranz, *Typicon* 396f. Meester, *De monachico statu* 24, 280. Darrouzès, *Offikia* 285–88.

—A.M.T.

EKPHRASIS (ἐκφρασις), a formal description. Well known in ancient literature, description received its formal definition in the RHETORIC of the Roman Empire: the textbooks considered an *ekphrasis* as a descriptive speech (*logos*) whose goal was to make the subject visible; HERMOGENES lists as subjects of *ekphraseis* persons, places, periods of time, actions, and feasts. NICHOLAS OF MYRA adds to this list works of art. The theoreticians of rhetoric perceived the *ekphrasis* as a kind of PROGYMNASMA, but in practice the *ekphrasis* was essential to many major genres (epic, historiography, romance, hagiography, etc.) or existed as a separate unit in prose (*ekphrasis* proper) or verse (EPIGRAM). While persons and actions became in practice the subject of other rhetorical genres, primarily PANEGYRICS, *ekphraseis* focused on the description of works of art, mainly buildings, either secular (e.g., by PROKOPIOS OF GAZA, CHORIKIOS, Constantine MANASSES) or sacred (by GREGORY OF NYSSA, PAUL SILENTIARIOS, Nicholas MESARITES); epigrams often dealt with minor artifacts. *Ekphraseis* of cities were typical of the earlier period (e.g., LIBANIOS on Antioch), disappeared for a long time, but were revived in the 13th–15th C. by THEODORE II LASKARIS, Theodore METOCHITES, BESSARION, and John EUGENIKOS. *Ekphraseis* of religious feasts were common, often inserted in a SERMON. Rhetoricians also produced descriptions of everyday objects: GARDENS (usually embedded in a romance), hunting scenes (Constantine Manasses, Constantine PANTECHNES), and fairs (TIMARION). Even parodical and critical *ekphraseis* are known: SYMEON THE THEOLOGIAN describes the silly behavior of the lazy merchant at a fair, and Gregory ANTIOCHOS the shabbiness of Serdica.

LIT. A. Hohlweg, *RBK* 2:33–75. G. Downey, *RAC* 4:921–44. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:170–88. Maguire, *Art and Eloquence* 22–52. B.D. Hebert, *Spätantike Beschreibung von Kunstwerken* (Graz 1983). D. Pallas, “Les ‘ekphraseis’ de Marc et de Jean Eugenikos,” *Byzantion* 52 (1982) 357–74.

—A.K., E.M.J.

EK PROSOPOU (ἐκ προσώπου), a generic term for deputy or representative, similar to ANTIPROSON. The *Taktika* of Leo VI (ch.4.7, PG 107:701C) applies this term to the STRATEGOS as imperial legate; Basil BOIOANNES, *strategos* and *katepano* of Italy, calls himself *ek prosopou* in a document of 1023 (Guillou, *Byz. Italy*, pt.VII [1961], 28.30–31). Various functionaries, even metropolitans,

had *ek prosopou* as deputies. In the ΤΑΚΤΙΚΑ of the 9th–10th C. the *ek prosopou* occupied a place lower than *strategos* and was considered a temporary representative of the *strategos*, *katepano*, or *klei-sourarches*. Ahrweiler (*infra*) hypothesizes that the *ek prosopou* had primarily fiscal functions but the evidence is not clear. Kekaumenos (Kek. 196.20) forms a noun *ekprosopike* for the district under an *ek prosopou* and states that it, along with *archontia*, could be a risky source of income; the *ek prosopou* of various themes (Anatolikon, Boukellarion, etc.) and regions (Athens, Philippopolis, etc.) are named on seals. In the 11th C. the *asekretis* Michael served as *ek prosopou* of [the *logothetes*] *ton agelon* (Zacos, *Seals* 2, no.845). The term probably disappeared after the 12th C., but in a document of 1214 (?) an obscure tax, *ekprosopikion*, is listed after KANISKION (*Patmou Engrapha* 1, no.23.9; cf. no.36.13).

LIT. Ahrweiler, “Administration” 41f. Bury, *Adm. System* 46f. Litavrin, *Bolgarija i Vizantijska* 305f. M. Mitard, “Études sur le règne de Léon VI,” *BZ* 12 (1903) 592–94.

—A.K.

EKTHESIS (Ἐκθεσις, “statement of faith”), the formula issued by Emp. Herakleios at the end of 638 in an attempt to reconcile Chalcedonians and MONOPHYSITES by supporting MONOTHELETISM. The text of the *Ekthesis*, which was written by Patr. SERGIOS I of Constantinople, attempted to end disputes concerning MONOENERGISM by forbidding a discussion of the energy in the person of Christ, while asserting that the two natures of Christ were joined by a single will (see FREE WILL). The formula “one will” had been proposed by Pope Honorius I (625–38) in a letter to Sergios. Although the *Ekthesis* was accepted by local councils in Constantinople in 638 and 639, Herakleios soon realized the futility of his conciliatory attempt and did not press the issue. Constans II withdrew the *Ekthesis*, replacing it with the *Typos* (see TYPOS OF CONSTANS II) in 648. The *Ekthesis* was condemned at the Third Council of Constantinople in 680 (see under CONSTANTINOPLE, COUNCILS OF).

ED. Mansi 10:991–98.

LIT. V. Grumel, “Recherches sur l'histoire du monothélisme,” *EO* 29 (1930) 16–28.

—T.E.G.

EKTHESIS NEA (lit. “new setting out”), the only known Byz. CHANCERY handbook, dated 1 Sept.

1386. Preserved in many MSS, it concerns letters (PITTAKIA), mainly those written by ecclesiastics. Though not a true FORMULARY, it lists opening (and eventually concluding) formulas used by the patriarch of Constantinople in letters addressed to other patriarchs, autocephalous archbishops and suffragan metropolitans and archbishops; opening formulas used by the patriarch and by metropolitans when writing to other ecclesiastics and to lay rulers; presentation of the patriarchal *pittakia*; opening formulas for all kinds of letters of laymen and of ecclesiastics (only in MS Sinai gr. 1609); and transfers and promotions of bishops (ceremonies, documentary formulas). The *Ekthesis Nea* is interesting for the political and social ideologies reflected in the formulas and for the unique insights it provides into the patriarchal chancery's secret methods of preventing or discovering FORGERIES: the usage or lack of a seal, the kind and placement of the seal, the format in which the letter was folded, and the formulation and placement of the address all had to be combined according to strict, complicated, and secret rules in order to guarantee the authenticity of the document.

ED. AND LIT. Dartouzes, "Ekthesis Nea." —N.O.

ELATIKON (ἐλατικόν, probable etymology, "for marching"), an accessory tax mentioned in several documents of the 11th C. (e.g., *Ivir.*, no.30.33; *Lavra* 1, no.39.7; *Pantel.*, no.3.30), always in connection with SYNETHIA. According to a treatise ON TAXATION (ed. Dölger 122.21–22), *synethia* was collected for the DIOIKETAI (an act of 1047 speaks of the *synethia* of the *dioiketes* and of *elatikon* [*Ivir.*, no.29.96]), whereas *elatikon* was received by *taxotai* (probably the subalterns of the *dioiketai*), whose functions are not known. A novel of Alexios I, the so-called *Palaia logarike* (see LOGARIKE, PALAIA AND NEA), states that *elatikon* is collected by the GENIKON and transferred to officials called SEKRETIKOI (Zepos, *Jus* 1:332.20–23). An act of 1098 directs that *synethia* and *elatikon*, as well as another secondary tax, *dikeratoexaphollon*, be paid to the owner or partial owner of the village (or of its part), Maria Basilakina (Dölger, *Schatz.*, no.65.13–14). *Elatikon* was calculated as a certain part of the main tax, and the total of *synethia* and *elatikon* from a single estate should not rise above 10 nomismata (Zepos, *Jus* 1:333.41–43).

LIT. Svoronos, *Cadastre* 82f. Litavrin, *VizObščestvo* 90. —A.K.

ELECTRUM. See COINS.

ELEGMOI MONASTERY. See HELIOU BOMON MONASTERY.

ELEOUSA MONASTERY. See VELJUSA MONASTERY.

ELEPHANTS (sing. ἐλέφας). The Byz. knew both the African and Indian elephant; KOSMAS INDIKOPLEUSTES (3:353–54) distinguished between the Indians, who domesticated the elephant, and the Africans, who hunted them. Byz. armies frequently encountered war elephants during the Persian Wars (Prokopios, *Buildings* 2.1.11; Agath. 110.8–11, 119.4–8). In the early 7th C. Heraклеиος made a triumphal entrance into Constantinople in a chariot drawn by four elephants that were exhibited in the circus and the Hippodrome (Nikeph. 22.20). By that time, however, the elephant was not widely used for warfare. The author of the *Anonymous Treatise on Strategy* (6th C. or later) did not discuss fighting with elephants because he considered their use obsolete (Dennis, *Military Treatises* 44.20–21).

Their appearance in the empire was a rare sight. MARCELLINUS COMES reported the arrival of an elephant in Constantinople in the reign of Anastasios I (MGH *AuctAnt* XI.2.94, 33–34), while JOHN OF EPHEBUS (3.2.48, 3.6.10) described the "pious" behavior of several such beasts in the Hippodrome under Justinian I, perhaps booty from the Persian War. Constantine IX Monomachos obtained an elephant and a giraffe for his zoo in Constantinople (see ANIMALS). In the DIEGESIS TON TETRAPODON ZON (106.943) the elephant is mocked because his legs lack joints. The PHYSIOLOGOS (128–33), however, portrays the elephant as a sacred animal whose characteristics and habits symbolize man's fall and salvation. As the source of IVORY, its tusks were always prized; esp. large examples are shown among the offerings to an emperor on the BARBERINI IVORY.

Statues of elephants stood in public places in Constantinople (*Parastaseis* 80.18–19, 98.9–13). In most surviving mosaic representations the ge-

nus is indeterminate, but the peristyle mosaic at the GREAT PALACE of Constantinople clearly depicts both an African and an Indian elephant, one attendant upon DIONYSOS, the other engaged in an ANIMAL COMBAT. An African elephant is depicted with some verisimilitude in the Venice MS of the *Kynegetika* (see OPIAN), fol.36r; others, much more fantastic, occur among the fauna that adorn the frames of CANON TABLES.

LIT. A. Cutler, "The Elephants in the Great Palace Mosaic," *Bulletin de l'Association Internationale pour l'Étude de la Mosaïque Ancienne* 10 (1985) 125–38. —Ap.K., A.C.

ELESBOAM (Ἐλεσβόας, Ἑλλησθεαῖος), also called Kaleb Ella Asbeha; Christian king of AXUM (from ca.520); saint; born ca.500, died ca.540. In alliance with Justin I, Elesboam led an expedition to HIMYAR in 525, defeated the native king DHŪ-NUWĀS, and set in his place Sumayfa' Ashwa', who was eventually overthrown by ABRAHA; the latter nevertheless remained Elesboam's vassal. Elesboam's victory inscription was discovered in Ma'rib (A. Caquot, *Annales d'Ethiopie* 6 [1965] 223–26). Elesboam did not succeed in transforming South Arabia into a fully integrated part of Axum. Malalas (Malal. 457f) describes the luxury of his costume and of his chariot pulled by four elephants.

Elesboam was a Monophysite and the Axumite church acknowledged the jurisdiction of the Monophysite patriarch of Alexandria. In Christian tradition he appears as a builder of churches and destroyer of idols in South Arabia (I. Shahid, *DOP* 33 [1979] 55–66).

LIT. Yu. Kobiščanov, *Axum* (University Park, Pa.–London 1979) 95–108. V. Christides, "The Himyarite-Ethiopian War and the Ethiopian Occupation of South Arabia in the Acts of Gregentius," *Annales d'Ethiopie* 9 (1972) 115–46. I. Shahid, *The Martyrs of Najrān* (Brussels 1971) 252–60. A. Vasiliev, "Justin I (518–527) and Abyssinia," *BZ* 33 (1933) 67–77. —A.K.

ELEUTHEROS (ἐλεύθερος, lit. "free"), a fiscal category of peasants who were free from state payments; they were sometimes termed *xenoi*, lit. "alien," "unknown to the fisc," or "not inscribed in the *praktika*." The adjective *eleutheros* was first applied to things (*Ivir.*, no.15.20, 34–35, a.1008) with the notion of freedom "from any powerful and fiscal hand" (*Lavra* 1, no.55.24–25) as well as from any private ownership (*Patmou Engrapha* 2,

no.61.31–32). In the 13th–15th C. it was also used to categorize the status of persons. *Eleutheroi* are normally mentioned at the moment when imperial permission was granted to settle them on the property of (usually monastic) landlords. Their origins are obscure; we may surmise that they were *paroikoi* who had lost their property or had fled from their former lords or from the Turks. There is a common opinion that *eleutheroi* were poor; in some cases, however, they do not seem any poorer than neighboring *paroikoi*, and it is difficult to distinguish clearly between the two categories. When settled, *eleutheroi* were reintegrated into the main body of dependent peasants; their status of fiscal exemption was transitory, but the name *eleutheroi* sometimes persisted.

The similar category of *agrafus*, not inscribed in an official cadaster, is known in Latin Romania. Only on Venetian territory was state sanction required (as in Byz.) to settle them on private lands—in Frankish Morea a free settler would become a *villanus* after remaining for a year and a day.

LIT. Ostrogorsky, *Féodalité* 330–47. V.A. Smetanin, "Deklassirovannaja proslojka v pozdnevizantijskoj de-revne," *ADSV* 4 (1966) 94–135. K. Chvostova, "K voprosu ob upotreblenii termina 'elevter' v vizantijskich opisjach XIII–XIV vv.," *VizVrem* 44 (1983) 18–26. Jacoby, *Recherches*, pt.III (1975), 139–52. —M.B.

ELIAS (Ἠλίας), a *spatharios* and retainer of Justinian II sent in 711 with a naval expedition to CHERSON and installed there as governor. Elias soon joined the revolt of PHILIPPICOS, whereupon Justinian murdered his children and "compelled his wife to marry her Indian cook" (Theoph. 379.16–17). After Philippikos entered Constantinople, Elias was detailed to pursue Justinian into Asia Minor. Finding the emperor's camp at Damatrys and inducing his Byz. and Bulgarian troops to desert him, Elias personally decapitated Justinian and returned the head to Constantinople.

LIT. Stratos, *Byzantium* 5:157–75. —P.A.H.

ELIAS I, patriarch of Jerusalem (23 July 494–Aug. 516); born ca.430, died Aila, on Red Sea, 20 July 518. An Arab by birth, he spent his early youth as an anchorite in the Nitrian desert. During the Monophysite persecution of TIMOTHEOS AILOUROS Elias took refuge in the lavra of EUTHYMOS THE GREAT in Palestine, and in 473 was ordained priest. While serving at the Church of

the Anastasis in Jerusalem he founded two monasteries near Jericho. His episcopate was troubled by Monophysite infiltration into Palestine. In his resistance he received the help and repeated support of St. SABAS. At the council of Sidon (511) the dissident opposition failed to force him to denounce the Council of CHALCEDON. His attitude ultimately caused his deposition and banishment (Aug. 516) to Aila as Monophysitism was strengthened under Emp. Anastasios I. But his stand was also a factor in the failure of Anastasios to impose MONOPHYSITISM as the official faith of the empire. Significantly, the emperor's selection of a successor to Elias marks the beginning of Constantinople's interference in the internal affairs of the patriarchate of JERUSALEM and in the appointment of its patriarchs.

LIT. S. Vaillhé, "Les premiers monastères de la Palestine," *Bessarione* 3 (1898) 340–51. F. Diekamp, *Die origenistischen Streitigkeiten im sechsten Jahrhundert* (Münster 1899) 15–27. Papadopoulos, *Hierosolym.* 196–204. —A.P.

ELIAS BAR SHINĀYĀ, a scholar, monk, and priest of the Nestorian community; metropolitan of Nisibis (from 1008); born Nisibis 11 Feb. 975, died after 1049. Bilingual in Syriac and Arabic, he has to his credit a long list of works in both languages, only a few of which have been published in modern editions or studied by modern scholars. His particularly important contributions to scholarship were in Syriac grammar and lexicography, religious dialogue with the Muslims, and historiography. Elias was the only Nestorian man of letters to compose a universal history in Syriac, and it is this work alone, usually called the *Chronography*, that is well known. It survives in a unique MS (London, B.L. 7197) that dates from the writer's own era. The *Chronography* is in two parts, the first of which includes the universal chronicle and a list of canons; the second part is a treatise on the calendar systems of the several communities in the Oriental patriarchates, complete with conversion tables to tabulate the references from one system to another. For Byz. history the chronicle is valuable for its notices of military engagements between the Arabs and the Byz., esp. in the 10th and early 11th C.

ED. *Opus chronologicum*, ed. E.W. Brooks, J.B. Chabot, 2 vols. (Paris 1910; rp. Louvain 1954). Fr. tr. L.J. Delaporte, *La Chronographie d'Élie bar-Sinaya* (Paris 1910).

LIT. Baumstark, *Literatur* 287f. Graf, *Literatur* 2:177–89. Kh. Samir in R. Caspar, A. Charfi, Kh. Samir, eds., "Bibliographie du dialogue islamo-chrétien," *Islamochristiana* 3 (1977) 257–84. —S.H.G.

ELIAS EKDIKOS, theologian, fl. 11th C. (Beck, *Kirche* 588) or 11th–12th C. (Disdier, *infra*). His biography is unknown, and his works are often ascribed to other authors: MAXIMOS THE CONFESSOR, JOHN OF KARPATOS, Nikephoros MOSCHOPOULOS (N. Tomadakes, *Athena* 78 [1980–82] 284f). His major work is a FLORILEGIUM entitled *Other Chapters*, a compact presentation of Christian piety. Elias distinguishes three elements of the human being: the body (connected with *aisthesis*, the capacity of feeling); the soul with its faculties, *dianoia* ("thought") and *logos*; and *nous* ("reason"). The human being is normally mired in passions, but while Maximos considers all the passions as directed against nature, Elias is ready to accept that corporeal passions are *kata physin* ("according to nature"). The main path to salvation is, according to Elias, through acquiring *apatheia*, liberation from passions, and the fear of God is an important means to achieve this end. Apparently SYMEON THE THEOLOGIAN influenced Elias, but he differs from Symeon in the system of his imagery, preferring agricultural and military metaphors and similes (Kazhdan, "Simeon" 18).

ED. PG 90:1401–61 (under the name of Maximos) and 127:1129–76.

LIT. M.-T. Disdier, "Elie l'Ecdicos et les *hetera kephalaia*," *EO* 31 (1932) 17–43. N. Polites, "He pros ten theorian hodos Helia tou Ekdikou," *EEBS* 43 (1977–78) 345–64. V. Laurent, "Le rituel de la proskomidie et le métropolitain de Crète Elie," *REB* 16 (1958) 116–42. —A.K.

ELIAS OF ALEXANDRIA, Neoplatonist commentator of Aristotle (6th C.), possibly the same person as Elias, prefect of Illyricum in 541, although the title APO EPARCHON could have a different meaning. He seems to have succeeded OLYMPIODOROS OF ALEXANDRIA ca.565–70 as the head of the Alexandrian philosophical school and was in turn succeeded by DAVID THE PHILOSOPHER. The MS tradition of Elias is confused and the distinction between him, David, and the so-called pseudo-Elias as well as their distinction from earlier authors is not always clear. It is assumed that the oeuvre of Elias includes commentaries on Aristotle's *Organon*, on Porphyry's *Isagoge*, and

probably *Prolegomena to Platonic Philosophy* as well as some minor works. Although officially Christian, Elias supported the ancient idea of the eternity of the world, whereas David mentions this doctrine without discussing it. Elias also followed Olympiodoros in defending the priority of the universal in nature as well as in logic.

ED. A. Busse in CAG, 18.1. Westerink, *Prolegomena* xx–xxiii, xlv–xlvii, l.

LIT. L.G. Westerink, *Texts and Studies in Neoplatonism and Byzantine Literature* (Amsterdam 1980) 59–72, 93–99. D.J. O'Meara, *Neoplatonism and Christian Thought* (Norfolk, Va., 1982) 83, 242 n.3. C.W. Müller, "Die neuplatonischen Aristoteleskommentatoren über die Ursachen der Pseud-epigraphie," *RhM* 112 (1969) 124f. —A.K.

ELIAS SPELEOTES, saint; born Reggio Calabria 864?, died nearby at Saline, 11 Sept. 960. His vita, which attributes to him a longer life than that of the first hermit, ANTONY, mentions very wealthy parents and an accident that maimed his hand and led to the surname Monocheir ("One-Hand"). After unsuccessful attempts at becoming a hermit in Muslim Sicily and a recluse in Rome, Elias ultimately found a spiritual master in his Calabrian homeland, the monk Arsenios. Together they fled Muslim attacks by crossing to Patras in the Peloponnesos. Upon returning to Reggio, they met ELIAS THE YOUNGER and his disciple Daniel, with whom Elias dwelt at Saline after their two masters had died. He then moved north to Melicuccà, near Seminara, where he began to direct crowds of followers, first in a LAVRA involving many small caves, and then, after a vision of himself nurturing a hive of bees, in a monastery in a large cave. Elias was also a scribe who copied many books. His Life, written at Melicuccà at least a generation later, features control over animals, exorcisms, prophesies, and ecstatic trances. He reportedly warned the *patrikios* Byzalon that he who resists the emperor resists the divine order and precisely predicted this rebel's death.

SOURCES. AASS Sept. 3:843–88. V. Saletta, "Vita di S. Elia Speleota secondo il manoscritto Cryptense B. β.XVII," *Studi meridionali* 3 (1970) 445–53; 4 (1971) 272–315; 5 (1972) 61–96.

LIT. BHG 581. E. Morini, "Eremo e cenobio nel monachesimo greco dell'Italia meridionale nei secoli IX e X," *Rivista di storia della Chiesa in Italia* 31 (1977) 355–58. G. Schirò, "Testimonianza innografica dell'attività scriptoria di s. Elia lo Speleota," *ByzF* 2 (1967) 313–17. G. Matino, "Stratigrafia linguistica nella 'Vita di S. Elia lo Speleota,'"

JÖB 32.3 (1982) 237–45. M. Dunn, "Evangelisation or Repentance? The Re-Christianisation of the Peloponnese in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries," *Renaissance and Renewal in Christian History* (Oxford 1977) 79f. —J.M.H.

ELIAS THE YOUNGER, saint; born Enna, Sicily, 823?, died Thessalonike 17 Aug. 903. After having been twice captured by Muslim invaders of his homeland, Elias made his way to Jerusalem, where he received the monastic habit from Patr. Elias III (878–906). After returning to Sicily, Elias then crossed to the mainland where, 22 km south of Reggio, soon after 880, he founded the earliest known Calabrian Italo-Greek monastery, Saline (later called St. Elias, then Sts. Elias and Philaretos). His peregrinations did not trouble his nearly contemporary biographer, since "every place is safe for those who follow the will of God" (ed. Rossi Taibbi, 46.607–08). Elias did not hesitate to preach morality to local Byz. officials, troops, and citizens, and his vita indicates that reform always led to victory, vice to defeat. Famous as a wonder-worker and a prophet of Arab raids, he caught the attention of LEO VI. After the fall of Taormina in 902, Leo summoned Elias to Constantinople; en route, at Thessalonike, just before he died, Elias predicted the attack on that city by LEO OF TRIPOLI. Elias's corpse was returned to his monastery in Calabria.

SOURCES. *Vita di Sant'Elia il Giovane*, ed. G. Rossi Taibbi (Palermo 1962). E. Follieri, "Un canone inedito per S. Elia Siculo," *BollBadGr* n.s. 15 (1961) 15–23.

LIT. BHG 580. F. Cezzi, "La 'Mens' biblica nella 'Vita di S. Elia il Giovane,'" *Nicolaus* 1 (1973) 345–60. G. Caliman, "Interazioni di lingua e società nella *Vita di Sant'Elia il Giovane*," *Annali della Facoltà di lettere e filosofia. Università di Napoli* (n.s. 9) 21 (1978–79) 97–109. A. Amatulli, "Aspetti della relazione tra Chiesa e Stato nel 'Bios' di Elia di Enna," *Nicolaus* 8 (1980) 195–203. —J.M.H.

ELIJAH (Ἠλίας), Hebrew prophet who was taken up to heaven in a fiery chariot. John Chrysostom contrasted Elijah with Christ: in ascending to heaven, the former gave his cloak to Elisha (4 Kg 2:13), whereas the latter gave the gifts of grace (*charismata*) to his disciples (PG 50:450). In a second homily Chrysostom compared Elijah's cloak with the eucharistic body (*sarx*) of Christ (PG 49:46). These ideas were not taken up in the

visual arts, although Elijah's Ascent (4 Kg 2:11–13) appears as early as the Via Latina CATACOMB in Rome. More extensive narrative cycles are found in the SACRA PARALLELA, as illustrations to the Book of KINGS, and, surprisingly, in the *diakonikon* of the church at Morača (1252), where Elijah's birth and ten other scenes from his life are depicted (A. Skovran-Vukčević, *ZRVI* 5 [1958] 149–72). Elijah's most frequent appearance is in the New Testament image of the TRANSFIGURATION. Because of his association with mountains, Elijah's name was attached to monasteries and settlements in lofty locations throughout the empire. A 12th-C. icon at Sinai (Soteriou, *Eikones*, no.74) may be due to a local cult on this mountain. Basil I was esp. devoted to Elijah, founding or rebuilding many churches dedicated to him. Elijah is occasionally cited in hagiography, as in the vita of DAVID OF THESSALONIKE (ed. Rose, ch.16.31).

LIT. K. Wessel, *RBK* 2:90–93. E. Lucchesi-Palli, L. Hoffscholte, *LCI* 1:607–13. Janin, *Églises centres* 143–46. –J.H.L., A.C., C.B.T.

ELIS. See ANDRAVIDA.

ELISABETH THE THAUMATURGE, mid-5th-C. saint; born near Thracian Herakleia, died Constantinople; feastday 24 Apr. Elisabeth was born to a "noble and rich" couple, after a long period of sterility, on their estate on Thrakokrene (later Abydenoi). Orphaned at 15, she divided her gold, silver, and other property among the poor, emancipated her slaves, and confined herself in the nunnery of St. George on the Mikros Lophos, in Constantinople. Two years later her paternal aunt, *hegoumene* of the convent, died, and Patr. GENADIOS I appointed Elisabeth in her place. Leo I conferred on the nunnery an imperial estate of St. Babylas in Hebdomon where a dragon dwelt. Elisabeth, in imitation of St. George whose convent she headed, "sealed" the dragon with her cross, spit on him (W. Lackner, *AB* 92 [1974] 287f), and trampled him to death. She performed cures, including posthumous healing miracles. An anonymous Life of Elisabeth is preserved in a 14th-C. MS, but Halkin (*infra*) dates this vita before 591 on the basis of an *argumentum ex silentio* (no mention of the Avar devastation of Herakleia). It is plausible that Elisabeth's legend is a female version of St. GEORGE and the dragon.

SOURCE. F. Halkin, "Sainte Elisabeth d'Héraclée, abbesse à Constantinople," *AB* 91 (1973) 251–64.

LIT. *BHG* 2121–2122a. A. Kazhdan, "Hagiographical Notes," *Byzantion* 56 (1986) 169f. –A.K.

ELIŠE, author of an Armenian *History* describing the unsuccessful revolt led by Vardan MAMIKONEAN against Sasanian overlordship in 450/1. Of Eliše little is known, and it is debatable whether he wrote as an eyewitness (as he claims) or whether this *History* was written after that of LAZAR OF P'ARPI, who describes the same events somewhat differently.

Eliše's *History* is one of the most sophisticated works in early Armenian literature. Speeches, letters, and dialogue enhance Eliše's message; according to him, nation and Christian faith are one, the apostate and the traitor are identical. Eliše was familiar with a wide range of Greek and Syriac texts, but his main model was the MACCABEES. The setting is Armenia and Iran; Eliše notes that the Byz. emperor MARCIAN abandoned the Christian Armenians to their fate. Some later Armenian writers (e.g., VARDAN VARDAPET) adduce this war of 450/1 as the reason for the absence from the Council of CHALCEDON of bishops from Greater Armenia. Numerous theological works are also attributed to Eliše, but their authorship is most uncertain.

ED. *Matengrut'iwnk'* (Venice 1859). *Hayoc' Paterazmin*, ed. E. Ter-Minasean (Erevan 1957). *History of Vardan and the Armenian War*, tr. R.W. Thomson (Cambridge, Mass., 1982).

LIT. P.N. Akinian, *Elisäus Vardapet*, 3 vols. (Vienna 1932–60). V. Nalbandjan, *Egiše* (Erevan 1972). R.W. Thomson, "Eliše's History of Vardan: New Light from Old Sources," in *Classical Armenian Culture* (Chico, Calif., 1982) 41–51.

–R.T.

ELPIDIOS (Ἐλπίδιος), a *patrikios* sent as *strategos* to Sicily by Empress Irene in Feb. 781. Within two months he was accused of supporting Caesar NIKEPHOROS and his brothers who were aspiring to the throne; Elpidios may even have proclaimed himself emperor. Irene sent the *spatharios* Theophilos to arrest Elpidios; when the Sicilians would not surrender him, she had his wife beaten, tonsured, and imprisoned with his sons in Constantinople. Perhaps it was in reaction to the revolt of Elpidios that Irene sought an alliance with CHARLEMAGNE through a marriage between his daughter Rotrud and her son Constantine VI (C. Tsirpanlis, *Byzantina* 6 [1974] 347). In 782 Irene

dispatched a large expedition to Sicily, forcing Elpidios to flee to North Africa, where the Arabs reportedly invested him with imperial regalia. In 794 he accompanied Sulaymān, the son of HĀRŪN AL-RASHĪD, on a raid into Byz. territory (E.W. Brooks, *EHR* 15 [1900] 741).

LIT. Guiland, *Titres*, pt. IX (1970), 329. –P.A.H.

ELPIOS THE ROMAN. See OULPIOS.

EMBASSIES, FOREIGN. Foreign ambassadors and their retinues were received at the frontier by the service responsible for the imperial post; on their way to Constantinople, they were accompanied by officials (*basilikoi*), were provided with safe-conducts (sometimes CHRYSOBULLS), used the post (DROMOS) facilities, and were offered food and hospitality by the taxpayers of the regions that they crossed (this was a secondary tax). Once in the capital, they were in contact with the MAGISTER OFFICIORUM and in later centuries the LOGOTHETES TOU DROMOU, who also accompanied them in official meetings. They were the responsibility of the *scrinium barbarorum* (early period) and resided in a special residence, the *apokrisiari-kion*. The emperor tried to impress them by displaying his power and wealth and by stressing his supremacy among rulers, sometimes by using mechanical gimmicks (AUTOMATA); then he might invite them for meals and eventually have direct discussions with them, such as the ones vividly described by LIUTPRAND OF CREMONA. Simplicity prevailed in the later centuries with the decline of the empire. The exchange of presents was a standard feature of all incoming and outgoing embassies, whose security was guaranteed by the receiving state, sometimes (for barbarians) by giving or exchanging hostages. (For outgoing Byz. embassies, see AMBASSADORS.)

LIT. D.E. Queller, *The Office of Ambassador in the Middle Ages* (Princeton 1967). A.D. Lee, "Embassies as Evidence for the Movement of Military Intelligence between the Roman and Sasanian Empires," *The Defence of the Roman and Byzantine East*, ed. P. Freeman, D. Kennedy (Oxford 1986) [= *BAR Int.Ser.* 297] 2:455–61. –N.O.

EMBOLOS (ἔμβολος), the regular late antique word for a colonnaded street, also denoted the porticoes that lined it. The frequent appearance of the term in texts and inscriptions of the 4th–

6th C. reflects the appearance of the cities, in which *emboloi* were a prominent element, common to any place of size or pretension. The streets often served as main arteries through the cities (though many were closed to wheeled vehicles). The colonnades provided access to shops which formed the major commercial centers, often replacing the ancient AGORAS. As commerce flourished, vendors' booths were often set up between the columns, and shops were extended out into the street despite official prohibition. *Emboloi* were particularly prominent in Constantinople where they connected all parts of the city. Principal *emboloi* in Constantinople were those of the shops of the ARGYROPRATAI, of Domninos, of Leontios, and of Zeuxippos as well as the Grand (*Makros*) and the New (*Neos*) *emboloi*. After the 7th C., *emboloi* in provincial cities generally lost their function and were frequently built over with houses.

LIT. C. Foss, *Ephesus After Antiquity* (Cambridge 1979) 65f. Janin, *CP byz.* 87–94. D. Claude, *Die byzantinische Stadt im 6. Jahrhundert* (Munich 1969) 60–63. –C.F., A.C.

EMBROIDERY, either of silver (ἀργυροκέντητα) or of gold (χρυσοκέντητα, also *chrysosolenokenteta*, *chrysoklaba*, and *chrysoklabarika*) was used for the COSTUME of emperors and high functionaries, liturgical cloths, etc. It was executed by skilled artisans, or *chrysoklabarioi*: Theophanes (Theoph. 469.3–4) refers to an imperial workshop of *chrysoklabarioi* in Constantinople; Philotheos speaks of imperial tailors, *chrysoklabarioi*, and goldsmiths as participating in court ceremonial (Oikonomides, *Listes* 133.9–10); and an EPITAPHIOS in Berat (ca.1376) is signed by a *chrysoklabares* George. The *De ceremoniis* frequently mentions embroidered costumes but rarely describes them in detail; once it speaks of the emperor's purple MAPHORION as covered with gold-embroidered roses (*De cer.* 529.15). The LOROS, esp. that worn by emperors, was particularly sumptuous, embroidered with gold and precious stones. The finest embroideries were done with silk, gold, or silver threads on purple, red, or blue silk backing. Silk threads were used primarily for faces and occasionally detail. Most of the design was embroidered with gold and silver threads made either as metal strips wound around a silk, often colored, yarn (these are known as *chryso-* and *argyronemata* or by the attributive *solenotos* or *klapotos*) or as finely drawn wires (known

as *symmata*); both were applied by couching. Embroideries could also include pearls and enamels (e.g., on the Great SAKKOS of Patr. Photios of Moscow, 1409–13).

Except for a few fragments from Egypt, surviving embroideries are late in date; the Halberstadt KALYMMATA of ca. 1195 are probably the earliest datable example. Other important specimens include the 13th-C. St. Lawrence textile sent to Genoa by Michael VIII Palaiologos (now in the Palazzo Bianco in Genoa) as well as the so-called DALMATIC OF CHARLEMAGNE, and the Thessalonike AER, both 14th C. The use of embroidery in the decoration of textiles appears to have increased with the decline of SILK weaving and a greater demand for specific figural compositions on liturgical cloths and costume in the Palaiologan period.

LIT. G. Millet, *Broderies religieuses de style byzantin* (Paris 1939–47). Koukoules, *Bios* 2.2:41–47. P. Johnstone, *The Byzantine Tradition in Church Embroidery* (London 1967). M.S. Theophanes, *Ekklesiastika chrysokenteta* (Athens 1986). A. Chatzemichale, "Ta chrysoklabarika—symmateina—symmakesika kentemata," in *Mélanges offerts à Octave et Melpo Merlier*, vol. 2 (Athens 1956) 447–98. —A.G.

EMESA (Ἐμεσα, Ἐμισ(σ)α, Ar. Ḥimṣ [Homs] in Syria), city of the province of Phoenicia Libanensis, at the crossing of routes from PALMYRA to the sea and from DAMASCUS to the north. It became an autocephalous metropolitan see under the patriarch of ANTIOCH after the head of John the Baptist was discovered there in Feb. 453 by monks of the Spelaion (Cave) Monastery; the relic was placed in the cathedral and venerated by pilgrims. Although about 300 Greek inscriptions from Emesa (dating from the 1st C. B.C. onward) have been published (*IGLSyr* 5, nos. 2202–501), there are relatively few other archaeological remnants of the antique city; those of the Byz. period include a basilica and funerary chapel (*ibid.* 2205–11). The vitae of local saints, such as Julian of Emesa, and esp. the vita of SYMEON OF EMESA by Leontios of Neapolis (C. Mango in *Byz. und der Westen* 25–41) mention other, public buildings: a hippodrome, theater, two baths. ROMANOS THE MELODE was a native of Emesa. The city was under Persian rule from 609/10 to 628.

There are several conflicting accounts of the loss of Emesa to the Arabs in 635–36. Then Abū Ubayda al-Jarrah abandoned Emesa, and the Byz.

force entered the city (Donner, *Conquests* 132f), but after the defeat of Yarmuk the situation changed and Herakleios left Emesa. The Arabs seized the city without bloodshed after the population had paid a ransom (71,000 dinars) and probably turned the Church of St. John into a mosque (N. Elisséeff, *ET*² 3:397); the urban properties left vacant were divided up among the Muslims (Donner, *Conquests* 247). Emesa remained under Muslim control thereafter except for short periods in the 10th C.: the Arab geographer al-Iṣṭakhrī (951) praised the climate, soil, and paved streets and markets of Emesa, but lamented the damage caused in the area by the Byz. (G. Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems* [rp. Beirut 1965] 353f). Nikephoros II Phokas occupied Emesa in 969 and took away the head of John the Baptist; JOHN I TZIMISKES levied tribute there in 975; the Byz. burned the city in 983 and Basil II extended his authority over it in 995, setting fire to it yet again in 999.

LIT. P. Peeters, "La Passion de S. Julien d'Émèse," *AB* 47 (1929) 44–76. —M.M.M.

EMIR (ἀμῖρᾱς, ἐμίρης), Turkish form of Arabic title *amīr*, generally meaning "commander" and largely used by the Islamic peoples. In early Islamic times only commanders of armies used the title, but later persons exercising administrative and financial authority adopted it. Under the SELJUKS it was given to military officers and to younger princes. In the late 13th and in the 14th C. it was used by lesser rulers such as those of the Turkish states that succeeded the old sultanate of RŪM; it was finally used by the Ottoman sultan. The term appears in early Byz. sources (e.g., THEOPHANES THE CONFESSOR) as a loanword from the Arabic. The names of some Byz. families (e.g., Amiro-pouloi, Amiroutzes) originate from this title. The *Song of the Ameras* (*Emir*) forms the first section of the epic DIGENES AKRITAS. It was gradually used alternatively with or replaced by the Turkish title BEG.

LIT. L. Bazin, *ET*² 1:1159. A.A. Duri, *ET*² 1:438f. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* 2:66–68. E.A. Zachariadou, "Pachymeres on the 'Amourioi' of Kastamonu," *BMGS* 3 (1977) 57–70. —E.A.Z.

EMMANUEL. See CHRIST: Types of Christ.

EMMAUS (Ἐμμαοῦς, Ar. 'Amwās), identified by Sozomenos as Nikopolis, and, according to Eusebios of Caesarea, "a famous polis" in Judaea, on the road from Jerusalem to Jaffa. It was an autocephalous archbishopric under the jurisdiction of Jerusalem. It contained several goals of pilgrimage—a healing spring and churches. Ruins of a church and baptistery with mosaics of the 5th/6th C. were discovered there. The city also had a Jewish and Samaritan population. Conquered by the Arabs between 634 and 638, it was decimated by the plague of 639. Emmaus was displaced by DIOSPOLIS and then Ramla, and later pilgrims give confused testimony concerning its location. The Byz. church was rebuilt in the Crusader period.

It remains debatable (R. Janin, *DHGE* 15 [1963] 428) whether the Emmaus mentioned in the Gospels as the place where Christ had revealed himself to two of his disciples can be identified as Emmaus-Nikopolis.

LIT. H. Vincent, F.M. Abel, *Emmaüs, sa basilique et son histoire* (Paris 1932). G. Hölscher, *RE* 17 (1937) 533–35. Wilkinson, *Pilgrims* 156. *EAEHL* 2:362–64.

—G.V., Z.U.M.

EMOTIONS (τὰ πάθη) were defined by Nemesios as a kind of movement (*kinesis*): movement according to nature is energy, whereas movement against nature is emotion or passion (PG 40:673C). Ancient ETHICS created an ideal of freedom from emotions—*apatheia* or *ataraxia*—and church fathers inherited from the ancients a condemnation of emotions, which were identified as VICES; thus Theodore of Mopsuestia wrote, in accordance with Romans 7:5, of sinful passions working in our body (PG 66:808AB). The *hegoumenos* Dorotheos in the 6th C., however, drew a distinction between the two—*pathe* are evil desires and *hamartiai* (vices) their energies, or realizations (PG 88:1621D). Theologians emphasized consistently that God has no emotions and is *apathe*s (Gregory of Nyssa, PG 45:49B).

The solemnity of Byz. ceremonial, ecclesiastical and imperial alike, rejected emotional movements; an uncontrolled gesture or unbalanced BEHAVIOR were signs of barbaric, uncivilized upbringing, whereas an ideal appearance presupposed "measure," "balance," and "rhythm," or harmony and symmetry (Ljubarskij, *Psell* 235f) in contrast to emotional outbursts. Ammianus Mar-

cellinus described the "statuesque" pose of Constantius II, and the imperial portraits of the 4th C. presented motionless, "stony" figures. Patience was treated as a necessity in any situation and would be rewarded in heaven (E. Osborn, *Ethical Patterns in Early Christian Thought* [Cambridge 1976] 133). Hagiographers also emphasized that their heroes and heroines acted without emotion in the most distressing situations, even on the verge of death. At the same time, the Byz. distinguished between good and bad emotions: LAUGHTER was a bad emotion, whereas tears (see CONTRITION) were always welcome and indicated a sympathetic character; the gentle smile also fit the ideal of sanctity. Strong emotions such as passionate LOVE of God were also acceptable in Christians. The PASSION OF CHRIST is the focus of the theology of salvation. From the 12th C. onward Byz. writers presented emotions ever more boldly (e.g., delight in dancing and even obscure BODY LANGUAGE); they participated enthusiastically in processions and even displayed emotions that trespassed on the conventional moral code.

Representation in Art. In art, emotions were expressed less through physiognomy than through GESTURE. D. Winfield (*DOP* 22 [1968] 128) suggested that painters limited themselves to two basic facial attitudes: one for emotional disturbance, one for tranquility. Confronting innumerable impassive saints, the modern observer may doubt even the second category (L. Brubaker, *Word and Image* 5 [1989] 19–32). The reason for this lack of animation was not necessarily the sacred nature of the image: similar expressionless faces characterize scores of warriors, mimes, and dancers on bone CASKETS AND BOXES, the largest preserved class of secular art. Manuel CHRYSOLORAS (PG 156:57D–59A) echoed the 3rd-C. theoretician Philostratos (*Die Bilder*, ed. O. Schönberger [Munich 1968] 4.21–22), who had prescribed that artists convey dispositions, as these are reflected in faces. The steeply angled brows of mourners in the Vienna GENESIS convey obvious feeling, but, while many 5th- and 6th-C. images show open-mouthed horror or smiling pleasure, no extant works of art display the range of expressions that CHORIKIOS OF GAZA and Nicholas MESARITES purport to describe. Except for the sorrowful Virgin in Crucifixion scenes, emotional manifestations are rare even in the "pathetic" phase of 12th-C. MONUMENTAL PAINTING;

in the 14th C., the Massacre of the Innocents is performed by murderers treated at worst as CARICATURES.

LIT. Maguire, "Depiction of Sorrow." —A.K., A.C.

EMPEROR (called *BASILEUS*, *AUTOKRATOR*, also *DESPOTES*), the pinnacle of Byz. POLITICAL STRUCTURE and society, whose extraordinary position is reflected in virtually every creation of Byz. civilization. The ideology of his power came from Rome, refashioned by Christian and Hellenistic conceptions. The divinely promoted emperor was considered to have been elected commander in chief, whether it was the army, senate, or CITIZENS that acted as God's agents by their ACCLAMATION. This lack of juridical clarity helps explain the LEGITIMACY of military success, the absence of hereditary succession (designated successors were made co-emperors), and the vitality of USURPATIONS.

From the 7th and 8th C. onward, Byz.'s new social conditions fostered the gradual appearance of a legitimacy of birth—PORPHYROGENNETOS—and lineage. The providential ruler chosen by God (*ek theou* on coins—DOC 3.1:179) was conceived as God's representative on earth, the SUN and serenity were his chosen metaphors, and he enjoyed unique liturgical and executive privileges within the church (A. Michel, *Die Kaisermacht in der Ostkirche (843–1204)* [Darmstadt 1959]). As the source of law, he was not bound by it (*Basil.* 2.6.1; cf. e.g., Leo VI, nov.47) and some believe he possessed a right of land ownership over the entire empire (Kazhdan, *Gosp.klass.* 229–35). Although Byz. frequently revolted against emperors and killed or toppled them, and their effective authority was somewhat ambiguous, few questioned the idea of emperor. The reality of his power lay in a professional army and a bureaucracy expert at extracting wealth through elaborate taxes and extensive private revenues, the whole enhanced by PROPAGANDA and the emperor's centrality to Byz. mentality and PATRIOTISM—a system unparalleled in European states before the 13th C.

The emperor was distinguished from his subjects (*douloi*) by his seclusion in the PALACE and his way of life (a living archaism in the 10th C.); by a sacral status inherited from the IMPERIAL



EMPEROR. The emperor and four court officials; miniature in a manuscript of the Homilies of John Chrysostom (Paris, Coislin 79, fol.2r); 11th C. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. Emp. Nikephoros III Botaneiates is seated before Truth and Justice.

CULT; by his use of PURPLE and GOLD (e.g., CHRYSOBULLS), CEREMONY, and INSIGNIA; and by a sanctity indirectly derived from the cult of Constantine I and the commemoration of his successors in the *Synaxarion of Constantinople*. He was united with his subjects by the exercise of his powers, his justice (cf. the story of Theophilos and the marketplace: *TheophCont* 87.9–88.3) and PHILANTHROPY, by ceremony and prayers that concretized their mutual relations, by their OATHS of allegiance, and by their payment of taxes. His relations with the aristocracy were explicitly defined by the office and dignities he granted them.

By Ostrogorsky's count, 88 emperors ruled Constantinople from 324 to 1453 for an average reign of about 13 years, or 12 without the exceptional longevity of the Palaiologoi (an average of over 19 years from 1259 to 1453). This apparent stability contrasts with high turnover in periods of crisis (e.g., 695–717, seven emperors came to

power in 22 years; 797–820, five in 23; 1055–81, seven in 26; 1180–1204, six in 24) and numerous failed usurpations. The unusual political and administrative continuity favored by this longevity must be reckoned a factor in Byz.'s survival.

Patterns of the transmission of power changed significantly, the most important trends being the decline of election—partly supplanted by successful usurpation—and the growth of family succession in later dynasties of Komnenoi and Palaiologoi. The period 324–610 saw ten designated successors take power without significant violence against the senior emperor; seven of these successors were family members, six more were elected, and four took power violently, although among them Constantine I and Julian could claim family and institutional rights. Family and usurpation loomed larger from 610 to 1204, when 32 co-emperors succeeded, 25 of whom were offspring and six more coopted into the imperial family; Michael I Rangabe might claim election, but he was the son-in-law of Nikephoros I. Twenty-one took power violently.

The family dominated late Byz. succession: eight emperors, all with close family connections by blood or marriage, took power as designated successors, although two used violence to enforce their claims; moreover, the two elected emperors were sons of emperors. Of the four usurpers, two were closely related to a predecessor.

The institutional background of emperors reflects the political structure: the early Byz. army (324–610) supplied 12 emperors, the bureaucracy only Anastasios I, while the imperial family provided nine emperors, if one includes Constantine I and BASILISKOS. The period of the 7th–12th C. reflects the triumph of lineage, and the bureaucracy and palace milieux gained against the army: the former supplied roughly one emperor for every two from the army. The bureaucracy disappears as a recruiting ground for late Byz. emperors.

Except for ZENO, the European provinces supplied all early Byz. emperors of known background born outside of Constantinople down to Tiberios II; thereafter, Asia Minor (with some exceptions, e.g., Irene and Basil I) predominated for emperors born outside Constantinople, reflecting its enhanced economic and social significance. In its final centuries, the empire's reduced

size severely limited the possibilities and their significance.

Most new emperors came from the aristocracy. Nonetheless, the rise of nonaristocrats to supreme power through imperial service (e.g., Justin I, Basil I, Michael IV) was an exceptional but persistent phenomenon down to the Komnenoi; more common, probably, was the rise of second-generation aristocrats (e.g., Valens, Justinian I). Aristocratic background and the premium Byz. placed on literacy meant a high level of culture among the overwhelming majority of emperors, many of whom, like Justinian I, Constantine VII, or Manuel II, have left significant writings. (For list of emperors, see *BYZANTIUM, HISTORY OF*.)

LIT. *Das Byzantinische Herrscherbild*, ed. H. Hunger (Darmstadt 1975). —M.McC.

EMPHYTEUSIS (*ἐμφύτευσις*), in the 4th C., the term referring to a set of administrative regulations whereby estates belonging to the crown were transferred to private cultivators. By the late 5th C. *emphyteusis* had developed into a specific type of written contract governing long-term, usually perpetual leases of real property applicable not only to crown lands but to holdings of private and ecclesiastical landlords. Emp. Zeno defined *emphyteusis* as a right distinct from lease or sale, although possessing certain qualities of both (*Cod.Just.* IV 66.1). An *emphyteuta* could not be evicted as long as he paid an annual fee (*solita pensio*) or presented to his master receipts (*apodochae*) for public services; his tenement was heritable and could be alienated unless the tenant had lost the contract, *emphyteuticum instrumentans* (*Cod.Just.* IV 66.2–3).

In case of sale, the owner possessed a right of preemptive purchase and was otherwise entitled to a payment equal to 2 percent of the purchase price. Persons undertaking an emphyteutical contract were required to pay an initiation fee, to keep the land in cultivation, and to return it unimpaired. Special restrictions (Justinian I, novel 120) were placed on the use of *emphyteusis* for ecclesiastical lands in order to prevent the alienation of church property. Later jurisprudence adhered closely, with some simplifications and modifications, to Justinianic regulations. After the 7th C. *emphyteusis* appears primarily to have been

applied to ecclesiastical property. Legal texts retain the traditional meaning of the term (e.g., D. Simon, S. Trojanos, *FM* 2 [1977] 67f) up to the 15th C. (e.g., *Xénoph.*, no.32.29–30), whereas in documents of the 13th–15th C. the term *emphyteuma* was applied to the urban milieu (Constantinople, Thessalonike, Serres) and denoted, like *enoikion*, “house rent,” the annual payment for a house built by the tenant (A. Kazhdan, *JÖB* 39 [1989] 22).

LIT. D. Simon, “Das frühbyzantinische Emphyteuse-recht,” *Akten der Gesellschaft für griechische und hellenistische Rechtsgeschichte*, vol. 3 (Vienna 1982) 365–422. G. Weiss, “Die Entscheidung des Kosmas Magistros über das Parökenrecht,” *Byzantion* 48 (1978) 477–500. —A.J.C.

EMPORION (ἐμπόριον, μπόριο in later sources, e.g., the *Chronicle of the Tocco*), a term of ancient origin (J. Rougé, *Recherches sur l'organisation du commerce maritime en Méditerranée sous l'empire romain* [Paris 1966] 108) designating a place of trade, found along frontiers, coasts, and trade routes. Primarily associated with seaports, they are also attested in inland areas, such as Thrace and Bithynia. Niketas Choniates (Nik.Chon. 75.56–57) defines the *emporion* of Corinth as “the lower polis.” In charters *emporion* (usually juxtaposed with *KASTRA*) are small settlements of urban type where ships can be docked (*Lavra* 1, no. 55.59–60, a.1102). Near the *emporion tou Kotzinou*, on the island of Lemnos, was the *kastron* of the same name (*Dionys.* no. 25.12–15, a.1430), and the *Lavra* of Athanasios was said to own a house in the *kastron Kotzinou* and two more in the *emporion* (*Lavra* 3, no. 164.4–5, a.1415), which according to another document (*Lavra* 2, no. 77.108, a.1284?) was located at the seashore. The term might designate a commercial quarter of a town, a market situated outside the urban fortifications (e.g., *emporion* of Adrianople), or a settlement which was in itself a marketplace, as in the case of Sagoudaous, donated by the *sebastokrator* Isaac Komnenos to the Kosmosoteira monastery at BERA. In scholarly literature the term also has a number of meanings—from early medieval trading settlements in the West (R. Hodges, *Dark Age Economics* [New York 1982] 47–65) to small Byz. towns (Litavrin, *VizObščestvo* 122–24) to great coastal cities (M. Sjuzumov, *VizVrem* 8 [1956] 26–41).

LIT. M. Živojinović, “Settlements with Marketplace Status,” *ZRVI* 24–25 (1986) 407–12. —A.K.

EMPRESS (*augusta*, αὐγούστα, βασίλισσα; cf. E. Bensammar, *Byzantion* 46 [1976] 243–91). Legally, the empress depended on the emperor (*Digest* 1.3.31; *Basil.* 2.6.1; *Scholia Bas.* 2.6.1), but in favorable circumstances late Roman empresses, such as Pulcheria, Ariadne, Theodora (wife of Justinian I), or Sophia (wife of Justin II) might wield great power, esp. through a *REGENCY*. Their social background (e.g., the marriage of Honorius and Arkadios to generals' daughters) illuminates the empire's changing political structure; conversely, the case of the wife of Justinian I, Constantine VI, or Theophilos shows how such marriages generated power and influence for the woman's family. Newcomers on the throne tried to solidify their power by marriage to an established empress, from Marcian and Pulcheria to Nikephoros III Botaneiates and Maria of “Alania.”

In the late Roman period the status of empress was granted only grudgingly to imperial women: of the first 26 emperors' 30 known wives (324–527) only nine were *augustae*. Four others became *augustae* as mother, sister, etc. These early *augustae* issued coinage, authenticated documents with lead seals (Licinia Eudoxia—Zacos, *Seals* 1, no.2759), wore imperial insignia, and possessed their own retinues. Their public life, largely separate from their spouses, involved a kind of parallel court and ceremonies with the female elite (McCormick, *Eternal Victory* 203f). Like Leontia (602), some became empress at their husband's accession, some on marriage, and others afterward or not at all, whence the different coronation options in *De ceremoniis* (*De cer.*, bk.1, chs. 39–41). The reasons are not always clear, but down to the 8th C., at least, empress status could follow the birth of a male heir (D. Missiou, *JÖB* 32.2 [1982] 489–98).

The solidification of Byz. aristocratic lineages and the Komnenian privatization of the state probably enhanced the power of the empresses. They kept most earlier privileges and wives became empresses more regularly—for example, Alexios I crowned Irene Doukaina one week after his accession and his dynastic successors' spouses appear to have been simultaneously crowned and married or affianced. As Irene, Theodora (wife of Theophilos), Zoe, Eudokia Makrembolitissa, Maria of Antioch, and Anna of Savoy show, successful female regency became more frequent, while Irene, Zoe, and her sister Theodora even ruled briefly in their own names. From Anna

Dalassene's administration of the empire onward, acts issued by empresses survive that compare with those of their male counterparts and that show them administering very considerable wealth (F. Barišić, *ZRVI* 13 [1971] 143–202; U.V. Bosch in *Mél.Dujčev* 83–102).

From 788 to 881 sources mention *BRIDE SHOWS* for selecting imperial spouses. Diplomacy began to bring foreign wives for emperors in the 8th C., when marriages with Khazar princesses were followed by failed negotiations for Frankish ones. Foreign brides might be coached in the Greek language and Byz. customs before arriving in Constantinople (Theoph. 455.23–25) and changed their *NAMES* when they assumed Byz. identity. Their geopolitical status peaked under the Komnenoi, with brides from the German Empire and Capetian France. Such alliances became so usual in late Byz. that a ceremony was established for the *ADVENTUS* of imperial fiancées from abroad, but Palaiologan wives came from lesser echelons of regional potentates.

LIT. K. Holum, *Theodorian Empresses* (Berkeley 1982). S. Mashev, “Die staatsrechtliche Stellung der byzantinischen Kaiserinnen,” *BS* 27 (1966) 308–43. —M.McC.

ENAMELS. Enameling is a means of embellishment in which *GLASS*, colored with metallic oxides, is heated until it melts and fuses with metal. Although enameling techniques varied over time and place, the Byz. were best known for their cloisonné enamel, in which cells divided by thin strips of gold (*cloisons*) are filled with glass and fired. After cooling, the composite surface of glass and metal is ground and polished. The lustrous result became the norm for enamels of the 10th–12th C., which were used on icons, reliquaries, book covers, chalices, and crowns, and even sewn onto ecclesiastical vestments.

The Byz. precursor of cloisonné was a technique in which enamel, often thinly applied, was contained within loops of filigree (either wire or strips set on edge) that determined the outline of the desired motif. The earliest example is a medallion portrait of a 5th-C. empress (Wessel, *Byz. Enamels*, no.2), probably Licinia Eudoxia, consort of Valentinian III. This filigree technique was in use at least until the 7th C.

Cloisonné enamel was the technique used from the 9th C. onward, and Buckton (*infra*) has sug-

gested that the origin of Byz. cloisonné technique is to be found in the Carolingian world. Whatever its origin, the technique was well established in Byz. for *RELIQUARIES* and *ENKOLPIA* by the time the votive crown of Leo [VI] was made (*Treasury S. Marco*, no.8). The emperor appears in a *loros* and *stemma* on one of the medallions. The busts of Leo and of saints on these medallions have backgrounds of translucent green, which is characteristic of 9th-C. enamel.

Already apparent here is the substitution of enamels for precious stones, which were still used on other votive crowns. *GEMS* are again absent on a *CHALICE* inscribed “Lord, help the Orthodox emperor Romanos” (*ibid.*, no.10), an ancient sardonyx vessel, the lip of which is enclosed in a metal band with enamel images, including those of Christ, the Virgin, and LAZAROS the icon painter. Their haloes and garments, displaying a great variety of blues, are silhouetted against the gilt metal, instead of having an enamel background. This technique became standard from the 10th C. onward and is responsible for the “typical” Byz. enamel, with the figure isolated against the gold of the plaque or medallion. A second sardonyx chalice with an identical inscription was likewise brought to Venice as booty from Constantinople in or after 1204 (*ibid.*, no.11).

Numerous enamels have been seen as products of late 9th–10th-C. *GEORGIAN ART*, but work from the Caucasus is hard to distinguish from Byz. examples; further difficulties of identity and authenticity are raised by the alterations and forgeries undertaken by 19th-C. dealers and restorers. Unquestionable, datable Byz. enamels include the LIMBURG AN-DER-LAHN RELIQUARY and some precious objects of the 11th C. usually interpreted as crowns of Constantine IX (Wessel, *Byz. Enamels*, no.32) and Michael VII (the so-called Holy Crown of Hungary—*Studien zur Machtsymbolik des mittelalterlichen Ungarn*, eds. F. Fülep, E. Kovács, Zs. Lovag [Budapest 1983]).

Constantinople as a source of “export enamels” is also apparent in two enameled triptychs, possibly brought to the West by WIBALD OF STAVELOT. The most celebrated example is the PALA D'ORO, the largest surviving complex of such materials; part of it was in Venice by the early 12th C. The original form and content of this object is much debated, not least the question of which of several empresses named Irene is depicted on it. It is

certain that the Pala was enlarged and further embellished with loot from the Fourth Crusade, including enamels of six scenes of the lives of Christ and the Virgin. According to Sylvester SYROPOULOS, these enamels were recognized in 1438 by Patr. Joseph II as coming from the Pantokrator monastery in Constantinople (S. Bettini in *Treasury S. Marco* 41f).

Byz. enamels are distinguishable from Venetian work by the fineness of their *cloisons* and their saturated colors, qualities esp. evident on icons such as the full-length St. Michael in Venice (*Treasury S. Marco*, no. 19), the effect of which is accentuated by gemstones. In the case of other pieces of the 12th–13th C., enameled backgrounds have reappeared, now using opaque colors, not the translucent green of the 9th C. This technique has been attributed to Thessalonike (Wessel, *Byz. Enamels*, nos. 60, 63). From the late 14th C. onward, enamel was increasingly used in conjunction with other media: cloisonné tondi depicting archangels, prophets, and church fathers were juxtaposed with repoussé scenes on the silver-gilt cover (*Treasury S. Marco*, no. 20) of a Greek lectionary, copied by a certain Sophronios at Ferrara before 11 Nov. 1439. Among the latest Byz. enamels are the eight medallions at the extremities of the gilded filigree cross inside the BESSARION RELIQUARY.

LIT. K. Wessel, *Byzantine Enamels from the 5th to the 13th Century* (Greenwich, Conn., 1967). D. Buckton, "Byzantine Enamel and the West," *ByzF* 13 (1988) 235–44. M.E. Frazer in *Treasury S. Marco* 109–76. L.Z. Khuskivadze, *Medieval Cloisonné Enamels at the Georgian State Museum of Fine Arts* (Tbilisi 1984). E. Kovács, Zs. Lovag, *The Hungarian Crown and Other Regalia* (Budapest 1980). P. Hetherington, "Enamels in the Byzantine World: Ownership and Distribution," *BZ* 81 (1988) 29–38. —M.E.F., D.B.

ENANTIOPHANES. See ANONYMOUS, "ENANTIOPHANES."

ENCAUSTIC. See ICON: Painted Icons.

ENCHEIRION (ἐγχείριον), a rectangular piece of soft material, embroidered with gold thread, that was worn as a vestment by a bishop over his STICHARION. It was attached to his belt so as to hang down over his right thigh. Its use was apparently restricted to bishops. First attested as a vestment in the book of pseudo-Germanos I on

the liturgy (PG 98:396B) and in a letter of Patr. NIKEPHOROS I (PG 100:200C) and in representations of the late 10th C. (MENOLOGION OF BASIL II, pp. 54, 74, 188, 254, 340), the *encheirion* was replaced during the 14th C. by the stiffer, lozenge-shaped EPIGONATION.

LIT. Braun, *Liturgische Gewandung* 551–55. Papas, *Messgewänder* 131–36, 150–53. —N.P.S.

ENCYCLICAL (lit. "circular"), in the narrow sense of the word, a formal pastoral letter sent by the pope to the entire church; the term was used from 1740 (E. Mangelot, *DTC* 5.1 [1939] 14). However, in late Roman practice the terms *enkyklios epistole* or *enkyklion gramma* were applied to "circulars" written by church fathers of great authority: thus, Clement of Rome reportedly wrote *enkyklioi epistolai* "to be read in holy churches" (EPIPHANIOS, *Panarion* 30.15.2). Origen sent *enkyklia grammata* (Eusebios, *HE* 6.18.4); Alexander of Alexandria wrote 70 *enkyklioi epistolai* addressed to various bishops and devoted to the refutation of Arianism (Epiphanius, *Panarion* 69.4.3). The term was applied also to letters of certain patriarchs: Anatolios in 451/2, Gennadios I in 458/9, Pyrrhos in 639, Paul II in 642, etc. Theophanes the Confessor (Theoph. 22.16) relates that the First Council of Nicaea dispatched to Alexandria, Libya, and the Pentapolis an *enkyklios epistole* concerning the Arian heresy. EVAGRIOS SCHOLASTIKOS (*HE* 3.7) employs the term *antenkyklia*, saying that Emp. Basiliskos, fearing the resistance of Patr. Akakios, withdrew his previous pro-Monophysite *enkyklia* and issued *antenkyklia* confirming the decisions of the Council of Chalcedon. The term *enkyklios* apparently fell into disuse after the 10th C. —A.K.

ENCYCLOPEDISM, a conventional term introduced by Lemerle to replace the less precise "Macedonian Renaissance" as a characterization of Byz. culture of the 9th C. through the beginning of the 11th C. The main feature of this period was the "organization" of an administrative and cultural structure; for this purpose various manuals were produced—on the bureaucratic hierarchy (TAKTIKA), on tax collecting (see TAXATION, TREATISES ON), on military tactics and strategy (STRATEGIKA), on agriculture (GEOPONIKA); Ro-

man law was systematized in the BASILIKA and related texts, and rules for the guilds of Constantinople (the BOOK OF THE EPARCH) were issued. It was also a period of active transliteration of TEXTS from uncial to minuscule and of attempts to gather, observe, and appreciate the ancient heritage—from Photios's BIBLIOTHECA to the SOUDA. The systematization and "organization" also covered such spheres as EDUCATION, hagiography (SYMEON METAPHRASTES), and church decoration. The activity of CONSTANTINE VII PORPHYROGENNETOS and his court was the focal point of new tendencies, resulting in the compilation of such works as DE THEMATIBUS, DE ADMINISTRANDO IMPERIO, and DE CEREMONIIS. The epoch produced many polymaths, like LEO THE MATHEMATICIAN, PHOTIOS, and ARETHAS OF CAESAREA, but the emphasis was not on creativity, but on copying and collecting.

LIT. Lemerle, *Humanism* 121–346. Wilson, *Scholars* 79–147. —A.K.

ENDEMOUSA SYNODOS (ἐνδημοῦσα σύνοδος), the permanent, standing synod of bishops in which the activity and business of the patriarchate of CONSTANTINOPLE was decided. Its administrative and judicial functions included canonical discipline and dogmatic and liturgical issues. Its membership, convoked and presided over by the patriarch, consisted of all those bishops visiting or residing (*endemountes*) in or near the capital. As a technical term its name first appears in 448 (*RegPatr*, fasc. 1, no. 98), although the genesis of the institution itself probably stretches back to the 4th C. when Constantinople became the imperial residence. It was indeed natural, if not inevitable, for individual bishops to gravitate to the imperial capital for personal and official business, that is, whenever they wished to submit some petition or complaint to its court, hence the permanent nature of the synod. Indeed, its convocation was commonplace by the Council of CHALCEDON (451), when this established custom was first solemnly recognized (canons 9, 17).

Initially, because of its very nature, the composition of the *endemousa* was not fixed. By the 9th C., however, it was restricted to metropolitans, autocephalous archbishops, and the five administrative functionaries of the patriarchate. Despite these limitations, its membership again increased

with the Turkish invasions of the 11th C. and the subsequent growth of the number of fugitive bishops residing (usually permanently) in Constantinople. The larger extraordinary councils convened during the Palaiologan period (in the controversy over PALAMISM, for example) were not identical with the *endemousa*.

LIT. B. Stephanides, "Die geschichtliche Entwicklung der Synoden des Patriarchats von Konstantinopel," *ZKirch* 55 (1936) 127–57. J. Hajjar, *Le synode permanent dans l'Eglise byzantine des origines au XI^e siècle* (Rome 1962). —A.P.

ENDYTE (ἐνδυτή), a cloth that covers the top and all four sides of the ALTAR. Apart from a possible instance in the museum of S. Marco in Venice, only representations of such cloths survive from the Byz. period, most from the 6th to 7th C., as in the Melchizedek mosaic at S. Vitale and the bema of Sant'Apollinare in Classe, both in Ravenna. Textual references to *endytai* continue from the mid-8th C. until the end of the empire; special attention is paid to them in the DE CEREMONIIS since, on Great Feasts, emperors either kissed or changed these altar vestments (see Speck [1966] *infra*, nos. 18–24). Although the *endytai* represented in the MENOLOGION OF BASIL II (pp. 14, 324, 358) have only geometrical ornament, those referred to in earlier literature are much more elaborate. PAUL SILENTIARIOS (Friedländer, *Kunstbeschrieb*. vv. 759–805) tells of a purple silk altar cloth at Hagia Sophia in Constantinople bearing images of Christ, Peter, Paul, and, on its hem, hospitals and churches founded by Justinian I. Bp. Victor of Ravenna had a cloth of gold and silver with his own likeness made for the Basilica Ursiana, and Archbp. Maximian's *endyte* for the same church had not only his portrait but "the whole story of our Lord" (AGNELLUS, ed. Holder-Egger, 324.28–33; 335.37–40). The Iconoclastic Council of 754 (Mansi 13:332B) declared that figure-bearing cloths might not be destroyed but could be altered with the permission of the patriarch and the emperor. Thereafter most references occur in *typika*, such as that of the PETRITZOS MONASTERY (ed. Gautier, *REB* 42 [1984] 123.1730–33), and INVENTORIES such as that of Patmos (ed. C. Astruc, *TM* 8 [1981] 22), since *endytai* were a favorite offering of church benefactors.

LIT. P. Speck, "Die Endyte," *JÖB* 15 (1966) 323–75. Idem, "Nochmals: Die Endyte," *Poikila byzantina* 6 (1987) 333–37. Soteriou, "Leitourgika amphia" 604–06. —A.C.

ENERGY (ἐνέργεια). According to Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Eusebios of Caesarea, and other church fathers, the activity of the Logos in creation and redemption derives ultimately from God the Father; it is opposed by the "activity" (*energeia*) of the DEMONS (*energoumenos* = "demon-possessed"). In the writings of the church fathers the doctrine of the divine energies reaches its zenith in the definition of the two energies, or wills, in Christ, corresponding to his two natures, as opposed to the doctrine of MONOTHELETISM. Important for the philosophical orientation predominant in late Byz. thought is the real distinction between God's essence and his energies (in the plural, but referring to the Trinity as a unity) represented by Gregory PALAMAS, set in the framework of the Orthodox doctrine of grace and knowledge in opposition to BARLAAM OF CALABRIA. According to Palamas, the three divine persons necessarily remain hidden and inaccessible to the faithful, while the uncreated energies—which are one with the divine essence and, accordingly, representations of it (as, e.g., the light of Transfiguration)—convey to him participation in divine life.

As a result of the unsystematic and polemical manner of expression characterizing his occasional writings and his somewhat arbitrary and selective use of the theology of the church fathers, Palamas attracted a long line of opponents, both in his lifetime and later (e.g., Gregory AKINDYNOS, Nikephoros GREGORAS, the KYDONES brothers, John KYPARISSIOTES), who believed that knowledge of God was connected essentially to the Creation. Both sides appealed, rightly or wrongly, to pseudo-DIONYSIOS THE AREOPAGITE, or at least to various aspects of his apophatic and cataphatic theology.

LIT. J. Meyendorff, *Introduction à l'étude de Grégoire Palamas* (Paris 1959) 279–310. D. Wendebourg, *Geist oder Energie* (Munich 1980) 11–64. Ch. Yannaras, "The Distinction between Essence and Energies and its Importance for Theology," *SVThQ* 19 (1975) 232–45. F. Carcione, "Energheia, Thélēma e Theokinetos nella lettera di Sergio, patriarca di Costantinopoli, a papa Onorio Primo," *OrChrP* 51 (1985) 263–76. —G.P.

ENGASTRIMYTHOS (ἐγγαστρίμυθος, lit. "belly-talker"), a witchlike descendant of the ancient Sibyls or prophetesses. *Engastrimythoi*, often male, were ventriloquists who disguised their voices and made mantic utterances, as if a deity or demon were acting within and speaking through them.

Their activities are attested in the 4th C. by pseudo-Justin (PG 6:1324A) and in the 5th C. by Theodoret of Cyrrhus (PG 80:337C); in the 6th C. a female *engastrimythos* was admitted to the imperial court after Justin II showed symptoms of insanity, in order to "make known the facts about his illness" (vita of SYMEON THE STYLITE THE YOUNGER, ed. P. van den Ven 1:180, ch.209.15–16). Canon 60 of the Council in TRULLO condemned people who feigned possession; the practice must have continued, however, as Theodore Balsamon, in his gloss to this canon, denounces those "who feign being possessed as a means of profit, and proclaim certain things with the evil, satanic gaze of the prophetesses of the pagans" (Rhalles-Potles, *Syntagma* 2:441.13–15). (See also ORACLE; SIBYL-LINE ORACLES.)

LIT. Trombley, "Trullo" 6.

—F.R.T.

ENGLAND (Βρετανία). The Roman province of Bretania was probably abandoned by the empire after 428 or even 442 (H.S. Schultz, *JRS* 23 [1933] 36–45), but some contacts with the East seem to have been maintained. In the 6th C. Prokopios of Caesarea had copious information about remote Bretania, which he viewed as lying at the extremity of the known world; the 6th–7th-C. SUTTON HOO TREASURE also provides evidence for these links, and the 7th-C. vita of JOHN ELEEMON mentions a ship from Alexandria carrying zinc from Bretania. Two Greeks, Theodore of Tarsos (archbishop of Canterbury) and Adrian (born in Africa), played an important part in the English church of the 7th C., ushering in a brief period of Greek cultural and religious influence on the island (see BEDE). Some English pilgrims visited Byz., and Byz. influence on English political terminology is reflected in the title of King Athelstan, *basileus Anglorum* (a.931).

Official diplomatic relations resumed in the mid-11th C., attested to by several Byz. seals found in England—one of Sophronios II of Jerusalem (ca.1059–64) (V. Laurent, *NC* 72 [1964] 49f) and one of the envoy John-Raphael, after 1066 (V. Laurent, *NC* 71 [1963] 93–96). After the Norman conquest some Anglo-Saxon refugees offered their services to Alexios I and are mentioned as Inglinoi in several of his chrysobulls (C. Head, *Byzantion* 47 [1977] 186–98). Alexios I established an English colony at Kibotos or Chevetot (on the Gulf of Astakos). English VARANGIANS are mentioned

as late as 1329. Several Byz. diplomatic missions to England are recorded in the 11th and 12th C. Manuel I Komnenos sent embassies in 1170, 1176, and 1177 and conducted a lively correspondence with King Henry II (1154–89), no doubt in the hope of securing his support against the French and Normans, who threatened the empire. The Latin conquest of Constantinople (1204) contributed to a renewed but short-lived English interest in Greek learning during the 13th C., as evidenced by the collection of Greek MSS by John of Basingstoke, who actually studied in Athens, and the scholarship of the Franciscans Robert GROSSETESTE and Roger Bacon. The last major contact between Byz. and England occurred in 1400 when MANUEL II PALAIOLOGOS visited England for two months in a largely unsuccessful attempt to enlist the financial and military support of Henry IV (1399–1413) against the Turks.

LIT. D.M. Nicol, "Byzantium and England," *BalkSt* 15.2 (1974) 179–203. K.N. Ciggar, *Byzance et l'Angleterre* (Leiden 1976). J. Shepard, "The English and Byzantium," *Traditio* 29 (1973) 53–92. Idem, "Another New England?—Anglo-Saxon Settlement on the Black Sea," *BS/EB* 1 (1974) 18–39. R.S. Lopez, "Le problème des relations Anglo-Byzantines du septième au dixième siècle," *Byzantion* 18 (1948) 139–62. —R.B.H.

ENKAINIA (ἐγκαίνια), ceremony of dedicating or consecrating a city (e.g., Constantinople, 11 May 330), a secular monument (e.g., Constantine I's mausoleum, 21 May 337), or a church (also called *kathierosis*). The term had been applied to the Temple in Jerusalem, but by the 4th C. Eusebios of Caesarea used it to describe the dedications of churches in Tyre and Palestine. The purpose of *enkainia* was to make the space holy, and early Christian writers stressed the similarity between BAPTISM and the dedication of a church; accordingly, lustration with holy water occupied an important place in the *enkainia* rite. Usually preceded by a SYNAXIS, the ceremony was concentrated around the ALTAR, which was washed, anointed, and covered; a procession with relics and EXORCISM also formed a part of the ceremony. These ritual steps are summarized by Patr. Germanos I in his commentary (Germanos, *Liturgy* 56) and commented on at length by Symeon of Thessalonike (PG 155:305–32). The vita of Patr. EUTHYMIOS describes the *enkainia* of the Church of the Anargyroi at PSAMATHIA: monks from nearby monasteries spent the entire night in prayer and thanksgiving, and at dawn a procession of

torchbearers, with the cross and Gospel book, wended its way to the newly built church. After the dedication the *hegoumenos* of the Psamathia remained inside the building for 40 days.

According to Athanasios of Alexandria (PG 25:612B), the dedication of a church was impossible without the order (*prostaxis*) of the emperor. The rite of *enkainia* could be performed by the patriarch, e.g., Photios conducted the *enkainia* of the NEA EKKLESIA (1 May 880). The date of such a ceremony was often chosen to coincide with one of the GREAT FEASTS, as in the case of Justinian I's Hagia Sophia (25 Dec. 537). *Enkainia* was also the term used for the annual celebration of the dedication of a church (Mateos, *Typicon* 2:186), and esp. the TRIUMPH OF ORTHODOXY.

LIT. P. de Puniet, *DACL* 4:374–405. M. Black, "The Festival of Encaenia Ecclesiae in the Ancient Church with special reference to Palestine and Syria," *JEH* 5 (1954) 78–85. P. de Meester, *Rituale-benedizionale bizantine* (Rome 1930) 151–218. E. Ruggieri, "Consacrazione e dedicazione di chiesa, secondo il Barberinus gr. 336," *OrChrP* 54 (1988) 79–118. Goar, *Euchologion* 653–71. —A.K., A.C., R.F.T.

EN KEREM (Ar. 'Ayn Karim), a site 7 km west of Jerusalem with remains of three churches of the 5th/6th C.: two basilicas, one of which was dedicated to the Holy Martyrs of God, and a chapel of the Visitation. Some vague evidence indicates the place's connection with the cult of JOHN THE BAPTIST: there was an 8th-C. church of St. Elizabeth "in the village of Encharim," and EPIPHANIOS HAGIOPOLITES locates "the family house" of John on "Mt. Carmel," which is interpreted by Wilkinson (*Pilgrims* 156) as En Kerem.

The site is related to the legend in the PROTO-EVANGELION OF JAMES (22:3), according to which St. Elizabeth and the infant John were saved during the Massacre of the Innocents by a mountain that opened up to conceal them. A clay EULOGIA in Monza portrays this event (Vikan, *Pilgrimage Art*, fig. 12).

LIT. Abel, *Géographie* 2:295f. Ovadia, *Corpus* 94–96. B. Bagatti, *Il santuario della Visitazione ad 'Ain Karim* (Jerusalem 1948). —G.V., A.K.

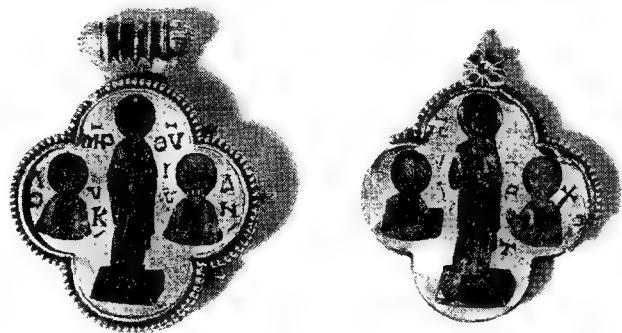
ENKLEISTOS (ἐγκλειστος, "enclosed"), term attested from the 4th C. for a monk or nun who confined himself or herself in a cell, under a vow of perpetual seclusion. An *enkleistos* might either lead the solitary life of a HERMIT, as in the case of

St. PELAGIA (who disguised herself as a monk and lived in a cell on the Mount of Olives in Jerusalem), or, like St. NEOPHYTOS ENKLEISTOS of Cyprus, be attached to a monastic community after a period of isolation. Neophytos lived in a cave, which he excavated and enlarged so that it could accommodate a tomb and a chapel for the celebration of the liturgy. He eventually became the *hegoumenos* of a *koinobion* but performed no administrative duties, leaving them to the *oikonomos* and *docheiarios* of the monastery. The *typikon* of Neophytos is the only monastic rule that prescribes that the *hegoumenos* must be an *enkleistos*; the *typikon* of the EUERGETIS MONASTERY in Constantinople permitted the *hegoumenos* to be an *enkleistos*, but did not require it (C. Galatariotou, *REB* 45 [1987] 132f). Other *enkleistoi* who achieved sanctity were DAVID OF THESSALONIKE, who reportedly spent 70 years in an *enkleisterion* (John Moschos, PG 87:2921B); STEPHEN THE YOUNGER (PG 100:1148C); and PLATO OF SAKKOUSSION.

—A.M.T.

ENKOLPION (ἐγκόλπιον, lit. "in" [or "on] the bosom"), an object with Christian imagery, or containing a sacred relic or inscription, worn around the neck. *Enkolpia* were produced in virtually all materials used for JEWELRY. They could take the form of a simple disc, with figures, scenes, and/or inscriptions, or be a container of some sort. The *enkolpion* protected the wearer by means

ENKOLPION. *Enkolpion*; enamel and gold, 10th C. Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond. On one side of the *enkolpion*, the Virgin *orans* is represented with Sts. Luke and John; on the other Christ is flanked by Sts. Paul and Peter.



of its imagery or, in the case of a RELIQUARY, by its contents.

The term *enkolpion* may encompass many other objects—*phylacteria*, EULOGIAI, AMULETS. *Enkolpia* were in use from the 4th C. onward and have been found throughout the Byz. world. Literary accounts describe them given as gifts or as belonging to individuals: a 12th-C. historian (Nik.Chon. 451.85–87) records one that depicted the Virgin Mary, to which Isaac II Angelos was esp. attached and which he embraced while confessing.

LIT. K. Wessel, *RBK* 2:152–64. H. Gerstinger, *RAC* 5:322–32. M.C. Ross, "A Byzantine Gold Medallion at Dumbarton Oaks," *DOP* 11 (1957) 247–61. A. Lipinsky, "Enkolpia cruciformi orientali in Italia," *BollBadGr* 37 (1983) 51–59. —S.D.C., A.C.

ENKOMION (ἐγκώμιον), or panegyric, a speech of praise. The authors of ancient rhetorical textbooks identified *enkomion* with EPIDEICTIC of the good in general (thus Theon in *RhetGr*, ed. Spengel 2:61.22), and accordingly MENANDER RHETOR (pp. 2–6) believed that *enkomia* included praise of cities, men, animals, accomplishments, and arts; he excluded only hymns to the gods. As special types of *enkomia*, Menander lists the BASILIKOS LOGOS and, reluctantly, the PROSPHONETIKOS LOGOS.

Byz. practice, however, distinguished *enkomion* from EKPHRASIS and limited it to the praise of persons: saints, emperors, patriarchs, and others. The praise of saints was the subject of HAGIOGRAPHY; the emperor and patriarch were eulogized by official rhetoricians on regular days (EPIPHANY and the LAZARUS SATURDAY, respectively), and *enkomia* in prose and verse were delivered on special occasions—weddings (EPITHALAMION), funerals (EPITAPHIOS or MONODY), victory celebrations, and so forth. Encomiastic elements occur in historical works, even though some historians, following LUCIAN, tried to distinguish between *enkomion*, a consistent praise of a person, and history, which aimed at the truth (Ljubarskij, *Psell* 139f). On the other hand, the *enkomion* of one person might prove to be an INVECTIVE against another. Panegyrics of private persons, side by side with those of emperors and patriarchs, became common from the end of the 11th C. At the same time parodical *enkomia* were composed

on frivolous subjects, for example, on a flea (by Michael PSELLOS, and later Demetrios CHRYSOLORAS).

LIT. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:120–32.

—E.M.J., A.K.

ENNOMION (ἐννόμιον, from *nome*, "pasture"), a tax and/or charge on pasture land and/or on the right of pasturage. The term was used in Hellenistic and Roman papyri as well as in several inscriptions (S. Avogadro, *Aegyptus* 14 [1934] 293–97). In Byz. it appears first in *Peira* 37:2 and is frequent in later *praktika*. In *Peira*, *ennomion* is a charge paid by the owners of livestock grazing on a common pasture; the collected sum was divided between the owners of the pasture (including those peasants who had no livestock) according to the amount of state taxes paid by each. In a *praktikon* of 1073, *ennomion* is a part of the lord's revenue collected from certain pastures (*Patmou Engrapha* 2, no.50.123–24, 136) and measured per capita: 1 miliaresion for a horse or ass, 1 nomisma for 100 sheep (ibid., no.50.314–315). A metrological treatise (11th C. or later) calculates the *ennomion* of sheep also as 1 nomisma for 100 animals but gives a higher rate for other livestock (water buffaloes, mares, and cows)—1 nomisma for 3 animals (Schilbach, *Met. Quellen* 59.30, 60.10–14). In later documents, *ennomion* appears as an annual payment inscribed in *praktika*, and its correlation with the *telos-oikoumenon* does not seem to be fixed: thus, in a charter of 1319, "the *ennomion* of sheep and swine" together with the charge on bees makes 24 percent of the entire payment (*Lavra* 2, no.106.22–23); in a *praktikon* of 1321—together with *linobrocheion* (see BANALITY), about 5 percent (*Xénoph.*, no.15.24–27); in a *praktikon* of 1317—together with *aerikon*, 3 percent (*Lavra* 2, no.104.165–66).

It is difficult to distinguish the *ennomion* levied on livestock (the *melissenomion*, a charge on beehives, is also known) from the *dekateia* on herds (*choirodekateia* and *probatochoirodekateia*). *Ennomion* was usually collected by a private owner: thus Andronikos II Palaiologos in 1319 granted the monks of Hilandar the right to levy the emperor's relatives, *archontes*, *stratiotai*, and all laymen and clerics who let their animals graze on the pasture of the village of Georgela (*Chil.*, no.41.73–82). But it could be a state levy—thus, in 1447 a *metochion* of the Lavra on Lemnos was granted

200 sheep free from *ennomion* (*Lavra* 3, no.171.9–10).

LIT. N. Svoronos in *Lavra* 4:162. Schilbach, *Metrologie* 262f. Kazhdan, *Agrarnye otnosheniya* 123f. Litavrin, *Viz. Obschestvo* 220–23. —M.B.

ENOCH (Ἐνώχ), son of CAIN or Jared and father of Methuselah; one of the biblical patriarchs. The Book of Enoch stands first in pseudo-Athanasios's list of APOCRYPHA. Three major versions of it survive. Enoch I, known only in an Ethiopic translation from Hebrew or Aramaic, is a work of the Hellenistic period. Enoch II exists only in Old Slavonic. It is an enigmatic text, probably translated from Greek (ca.1000?), although N. Meščerskij (*TODRL* 19 [1963] 130–47) suggested the possibility that it was translated directly from Hebrew. Enoch II describes how the patriarch was taken up to God through seven heavens and then returned to describe his vision. Its theology is uncompromisingly monotheistic, its ethics permeated by sympathy with the needy and by sexual chastity. The date of the original composition cannot be established. Enoch III, a Hebrew apocalypse of the 5th–6th C., deals with a journey of Rabbi Ishmael into heaven, where he met Enoch, son of Jared, whom God had elevated above the angels and appointed as his viceroy.

ED. and LIT. *Apocryfos del Antiguo Testamento*, vol. 4 (Madrid 1984). *The Book of Enoch, or, I Enoch*, ed. M. Black (Leiden 1985). *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, vol. 1, ed. J. Charlesworth (Garden City, N.Y., 1983) 5–315. R.H. Charles, *The Book of Enoch* (Oxford 1893). —J.I., A.K.

ENOIKION (ἐνοίκιον), RENT paid for a leased property. In classical antiquity the term *enoikion*, meaning house rent, seems to have been distinguished from *phoros*, rent for the lease of a workshop (ERGASTERION); already in late Roman Egypt, however, the two terms were confused (Fikhtman, *Egipet* 44). Often used in the *Book of the Eparch*, *enoikion* designated primarily the rent for an *ergasterion*, but merchants staying in MITATA also had to pay *enoikion*. The term and its cognates continued to be used in late documents: an act of donation of 1338 mentions three *ergasteria enoikiaka* (*Koutloun.*, no.18.44) near the *emporion* of Serres. Sometimes the word *enoikiaka* is used as a noun to designate rooms for rent (*Lavra* 2, no.71.70); in an act of donation of 1115 (*Lavra* 1,

no.60.35), however, *enoikiaka* are contrasted with houses and evidently mean workshops.

Michael Attaleiates collected the *enoikion* of 24 nomismata for a bakery, 14 nomismata for a perfumery, and 5 nomismata for "houses" used by a physician (P. Gautier, *REB* 39 [1981] 43.440–45). Charters also provide some data about the amount of *enoikion*: in 1294, 200 hyperpers for a tower (*pyrgos*) containing several workshops (e.g., for shops selling woolen garments) and a kitchen (MM 4:286.4–7); in 1342, 700 hyperpers for a chain of shops—grocery stores, perfumeries, a bakery, and vegetable markets (*Lavra* 3, no.123.115–33); in 1419, 30 hyperpers for "houses" (*Xénoph.* no.32.21); in 1445, eight nomismata and a vessel of flaxseed oil for a workshop processing flaxseed (*Lavra* 3, no.168.4–7). In a *prostagma* of 1202 (MM 3:50–53) the rent for houses and *ergasteria* is called either *enoikion* or *emphyteuma*; the latter term is usually explained as the rent for a newly established shop.

The payment of rent sometimes caused discontent in Constantinople. As a result, on one occasion Emp. Romanos I paid the *enoikika* of impoverished inhabitants of the city (*TheophCont* 429.22).

LIT. *Bk. of Eparch* 153f.

—A.K.

ENTABLATURE, a horizontal beam carried on columns marking the juncture of load and support in trabeated construction. In ancient architecture the entablature was divided proportionately into three parts, bottom to top: architrave (or EPISTYLE), frieze, and cornice. In arcuate architecture (Roman, early Christian, and Byz.) entablatures disappeared to be replaced by a molding, sometimes elaborately carved, marking the crowns of the arches carried by the columns, the floor level of the galleries, or the springing of major arches supported by piers. Entablatures were used in Old St. Peter's (central nave only) and survive in S. Maria Maggiore, Rome; at Stoudios and Sts. Sergios and Bakchos (exedrae only), Constantinople; Church of the Nativity, Bethlehem; and in the columnar *TEMPLA* of Byz. churches built during and after the 9th C. (See also IMPOST BLOCK.)

—W.L.

ENTERTAINMENT. For amusement the Byz. enjoyed games and spectacles such as CHARIOT RACES in the hippodrome, triumphal processions,

visits of foreign dignitaries and ambassadors, religious festivities and *panegyreis* (see FAIR), BANQUETS, and CEREMONIES that provided recreation and excitement. The streets were also the setting for various kinds of shows with exotic or strange ANIMALS and wild beasts. Performances were given by acrobats, jugglers, magicians, ACTORS, and MIMES. Apart from this kind of popular entertainment people found recreation in board GAMES such as CHESS, in gambling, and in various SPORTS. HUNTING, HAWKING, and equestrian sports attracted mostly the aristocracy. The common people went to TAVERNS, where they engaged in DANCES and jesting, while BATHS and the THEATER gradually declined in importance. On certain holidays, like the feastday of Sts. Markianos and Martyrios or the January festival, there was CARNIVAL-like masquerading and processions in which even the clergy participated along with the people.

LIT. Koukoulos, *Bios* 3:246–69. M. Poljakovskaja, A. Čekalova, *Vizantijska: byt i nrauy* (Sverdlovsk 1989) 98–114.

—Ap.K.

ENTRY INTO JERUSALEM. Celebrated on PALM SUNDAY, Christ's Entry marks the beginning of his PASSION (Mt 21:1–11, Mk 11:1–10, Lk 19:29–40, Jn 12:12–19). Its imagery shifted with shifting interpretations of the Passion. On the 4th-C. Junius Bassus sarcophagus (Volbach, *Early Christian Art*, pl.42), the Entry adopted the iconography of imperial ADVENTUS that itself had already shaped the Gospel account. Showing a youthful Christ astride a donkey greeted by the personification of Jerusalem, the Entry proclaimed the Passion as Christ's victory over death and the beginning of his sovereignty in the eternal Jerusalem. A different, more narrative inflection characterizes the 6th-C. versions (ROSSANO GOSPELS, fol.1v), where Christ is a mature man seated side-saddle and welcomed by palm-waving crowds who lay their coats in his path. The Passion had by now acquired an emphasis on sacrifice, and henceforth a narrative version of the Entry focusing on Christ's humanity predominated. Post-Iconoclastic art replaced the personified city with the figure of a mother and child; other symbolic details are the Spinario, or boy removing a thorn from his foot (Berlin ivory—Rice, *Art of Byz.*, pl.115), and the prophet Zechariah (cf. Zech 9:9). Palaiologan art emphasizes the steepness of Christ's downward path to symbolize his descent into Hell.

LIT. E. Lucchesi Palli, *RBK* 2:22–30. D. Mouriki, "The Theme of the 'Spinario' in Byzantine Art," *DChAE* 6 (1970–72) 53–66.

—A.W.C.

ENVERI, 15th-C. Turkish poet and chronicler. All that is known of his biography is that he accompanied MEHMED II on campaigns to Wallachia, Bosnia, and Lesbos in 1462–63. He was the author of the *Desturname* (Book of the Grand Vizier), a universal history commissioned by Mehmed II's grand vizier Mahmud Pasha (who functioned in an official capacity 1455–68). Written in Turkish verse, the *Desturname* was completed in 1465. Relevant to Byz. studies is book 18, which celebrates the Aydınoğulları, or emirs of AYDIN, chiefly UMUR BEG (died 1348), and books 19–22, which cover Ottoman themes to 1464. Enveri's unparalleled account of Umur Beg's campaigns rests on excellent, evidently contemporary sources. Its value in clarifying the liaison between JOHN VI KANTAKOUZENOS and Umur Beg during the CIVIL WAR OF 1341–47 is demonstrated by P. Lemerle (*L'Émirat d'Aydın, Byzance et L'Occident, Recherches sur "La Geste d'Umur Pacha"* [Paris 1957]). Enveri's treatment of the Ottoman dynasty in books 19–20 also depends primarily on an anterior source, but is much less detailed and significant. His information in books 21 and 22 about Mahmud Pasha, a scion of the Angeloi who converted to Islam after 1451, is of great importance.

ED. Book 18—*Le Destān d'Umur Pacha*, ed. I. Mélikoff-Sayar (Paris 1954), with Fr. tr. Incomplete ed.—*Düsturnamei Enveri*, ed. M. Yınanc, in *Türk tarih encümeni külliyyatı* 15 (Istanbul 1929).

LIT. H. Akın, *Aydın Oğulları Tarihi hakkında bir Araştırma* (Ankara 1968) xi–xii.

—S.W.R.

ENVIRONMENT. The Byz. perceived their natural surroundings mostly in standardized, conventional terms: the DESERT was the region of "mountains and caverns and holes in the earth" (e.g., BARLAAM AND IOASAPH, ed. Woodward, *Mattingly*, p.48.20–21), the mountains precipitous and unassailable, the sea seething with waves. When a civilized area was described, the accent lay on its material assets, not its pleasurable aspects: cities were said to possess temperate climate, fertile soil, and sweet water in abundance. The image of the world was usually presented as a catalog of abstract designations of individual categories. The

vocabulary of a writer (e.g., Niketas Choniates) might contain numerous names of trees, flowers, and animals, but these flora and fauna were reminiscences of ancient scholarship rather than live elements of real environment. The GARDENS in romances are as deprived of individuality as the EMOTIONS revealed in this setting.

Some exceptions, however, can be discovered. Gregory Antiochos describes a miserable winter in Bulgaria—the barrenness of the land, the ears of travelers assaulted by the bleating of sheep and the grunting of pigs; the description is sarcastic but vivid (Kazhdan-Franklin, *Studies* 219f). Gregoras is esp. rich in fresh images of nature: a tree reflected in a pool (Greg. 2:705.10–19); the kingfisher building its nest in the sand in stormy winter weather (3:130f); Mt. Athos, blessed with forests and flowery meadows, where in the morning the nightingale, singing in a grove, blends its song with the matins prayers of monks (2:714f). Also notable are the letters of MANUEL II PALAIOLOGOS, who frequently describes his natural surroundings, whether a storm at sea, a barren plain in Anatolia, or the pleasures of the environs of Thessalonike, with their cool springs, shady trees, fragrant flowers, and birdsongs (eps. 16, 45, 67, 68).

LIT. R. Attfield, "Christian Attitudes to Nature," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 44 (1983) 369–86. P. Cesaretti, "Eustazio di Tessalonica e l'etimologia di physis: una fonte stoica?" *Studi classici e orientali* 36 (1986) 139–45.

—A.K.

EPANAGOGUE (Ἐπαναγωγή, Return to the Point), correctly *Eisagoge* (Εἰσαγωγή τοῦ νόμου, Introduction to the Law), a law book of the emperors Basil I, Leo VI, and Alexander, divided into 40 titles. Patr. PHOTIOS took part in the composition of the work, which was probably promulgated in 886; he wrote the preface and the two most important titles (2 and 3), on the emperor and on the patriarch. The *Epanagoge* was to serve as an "introduction" to the comprehensive legislation known later as the BASILIKA and to replace the *Ecloga* of the Isaurian emperors. The source of the *Epanagoge*, which comprises nearly all spheres of law, is almost exclusively the CORPUS JURIS CIVILIS, whose regulations were to a certain extent intentionally altered or even falsified; the *Ecloga*, too, served as a model. Although the *Epanagoge* stopped being officially circulated soon after its promulgation and was replaced by the PROCHIRON

about 20 years later, many of its regulations were adopted into private law books (EPANAGOGUE AUCTA, EPANAGOGUE CUM PROCHIRO COMPOSITA, *Syntagma* of Matthew BLASTARES). The law book is transmitted in few MSS; extensive scholia to it have been preserved which sometimes comment critically on the text.

ED. Zepos, *Jus* 2:229–368, 410–27.

LIT. V. Sokol'skij, "O charaktere i značienii Epanagogi," *VizVrem* 1 (1894) 17–54. J. Scharf, "Photios und die Epanagoge," *BZ* 49 (1956) 385–400. Idem, "Quellenstudien zum Proömion der Epanagoge," *BZ* 52 (1959) 68–81. Troianos, *Peges* 100–05. —A.S.

EPANAGOGUE AUCTA, a law book that consists of 54 titles and an appendix; it is based on the EPANAGOGUE and, from Title 17 onward, the PROCHIRON. The BASILIKA were also used as an important source. The unknown compiler was acquainted with the legislative works produced under Leo VI; thus he summarized approximately 30 NOVELS OF LEO VI, gave preference to the marriage property law of the *Prochiron*, and often detached the new regulations of the *Prochiron* from their context. He knew that the ECLOGA was an "Isaurian" law book (15.8). The *Epanagoge aucta*, which is transmitted in about 10 MSS, bears the rubric "Leo the emperor" and shows no traces of later laws. Thus, it is probable that it originated soon after Leo's death (912).

ED. Zepos, *Jus* 6:49–216.

LIT. Zachariä, *Prochiron*, cv–cxxii. L. Burgmann, "Neue Zeugnisse der Digestensumme des Anonymos," *FM* 7 (1986) 106–08. —A.S.

EPANAGOGUE CUM PROCHIRO COMPOSITA, a law book in 42 titles that is composed of the EPANAGOGUE and the PROCHIRON. In some of the few surviving MSS, the compilation also includes excerpts from the BASILIKA as well as numerous marginal glosses. Some scholia to the *Epanagoge* (esp. to title 19) are integrated into the work. The law book, fragments of which have been preserved in a palimpsest MS of the 10th C., is ascribed in its rubric to "the emperor Leo the Philosopher," and was presumably produced soon after the death of Leo VI (912).

LIT. Zachariä, *Prochiron*, xcix–civ. D. Simon, "Inhalt und Bedeutung der neuentdeckten Bruchstücke der Epanagoge cum Prochiro composita (EPC)," *JÖB* 23 (1974) 151–78. W. Waldstein, "Zur Epanagoge cum Prochiro composita," *ZSavRom* 91 (1974) 375–83. —A.S.

EPARCH (ἐπαρχος or ὑπαρχος), the name of several officials, the most important of which was the EPARCH OF THE CITY; other officials bearing this title were the eparchs of lesser towns. Except in the case of Thessalonike, they are known only from the late Roman period, and in Thessalonike the eparch acted under the supervision of the DOUX. Guiland (*infra*) also gives a list of eparchs as chiefs of offices (eparch of the court, *nykteparchos*, and so on), but J.-C. Cheynet (*BS* 45 [1984] 50f) argues that some of them never existed while others functioned only during late antiquity. Thus the eparch of the army is known in the 6th C. but not after that date (A. Failler, *REB* 45 [1987] 199f). The title of APO EPARCHON (the former eparch) is known primarily from sources of the 6th–8th C.

LIT. R. Guiland, "Etudes sur l'histoire administrative de l'Empire Byzantin—L'Eparque I. L'Eparque de la ville," *BS* 42 (1981) 186–96. —A.K.

EPARCHIA (ἐπαρχία), province, the term used by narrative sources, primarily of the 11th and 12th C., as synonymous with the official THEME. In ecclesiastical vocabulary *eparchia* meant an episcopal province.

LIT. Ahrweiler, "Administration" 69f. —A.K.

EPARCHIUS AVITUS, Western Roman emperor (9 July 455–18 Oct. 456); born Clermont, Gallia, ca.395–400, died 457?. A member of the Gallic aristocracy, Eparchius was descended from the *patrikios* Philagrius (*PLRE* 1:693), of whom nothing is known. Eparchius was related to many senatorial families, Gaius Apollinaris SIDONIUS being his son-in-law; he served under command of general AETIUS and enjoyed Visigothic support. Eparchius was praetorian prefect in Gaul in 439. In 455 PETRONIUS MAXIMUS appointed Eparchius *magister militum* and sent him as envoy to the Visigoths; when Petronius was murdered, first the Visigoths and then the Gallic nobles urged Eparchius to accept the diadem; he was proclaimed emperor at Arles. Eparchius sent an embassy to Emp. MARCIAN asking for recognition but did not receive it, even though he boasted that his request had been granted. After his return to Italy, unable to stop the Vandal pillaging or to revitalize the grain supply of starving Rome, Eparchius incurred the hatred of both the indig-

enous population and the Germanic mercenaries. RICIMER defeated Eparchius at Piacenza on 17 Oct. 456, deposed him, and appointed him bishop of Piacenza. R.W. Mathisen (*BSC Abstracts* 9 [1983] 37f) hypothesizes that the Gallic nobles attempted to return Eparchius to the throne and that he left for Gallia but died en route.

LIT. O. Seeck, *RE* 2 (1896) 2395–97. *PLRE* 2:196–98. K.F. Stroheker, *Der senatorische Adel im spätantiken Gallien* (Tübingen 1948) 152–54. —A.K.

EPARCH OF THE CITY (ἐπαρχος τῆς πόλεως), successor of the late Roman URBAN PREFECT, the governor of Constantinople. The eparch of the city was considered supreme judge in Constantinople and its vicinity, second only to the emperor, and was the chief of police responsible for order, decoration, and ceremonial in the capital; as the head of the city police the eparch also had jurisdiction over prisons. Other functions were to control commercial and industrial activity in the capital, as reflected in the BOOK OF THE EPARCH. CHRISTOPHER OF MYTILENE characterizes in detail the symbolism of the eparch's attire and of the trappings of his white horse (no.30.12–26); for example, the gilded copper bosses on the horse's harness represented the eparch's concern for the poor. In the *Kletorologion* (9th C.) PHILOTHEOS lists the following members of the eparch's staff: SYMPONOS, LOGOTHETES TOU PRAITORIOU, district judges, GEITONIARCHAI, PARATHALASSITES, exarchs and *prostatai* [of the guilds?], BOULLOTAI who appended seals to merchandise, and others; of this list, the 10th-C. *Book of the Eparch* mentions exarchs and *prostatai*, *boullotes*, and *symponos* (possibly in a different function), but it introduces other assistants of the eparch—the LEGATARIOS and the *mitotes*, inspector of the quality of silk textiles (Stöckle, *Zünfte* 93). After 1204 the role of the eparch declined and his office was divided up among several *kephalatikeuontes* (K.-P. Matschke, *BBulg* 3 [1969] 81–101) under the pressure of feudal forces. Seals of the eparch of the city dating from the 6th to the early 13th C. are known (Laurent, *Corpus* 2:545–79).

LIT. R. Guiland, "Etudes sur l'histoire administrative de l'Empire Byzantin—L'Eparque. I. L'Eparque de la ville," *BS* 41 (1980) 17–32, 145–80, with corr. by J.-C. Cheynet, *BS* 45 (1984) 50–54. D. Feissel, "Le préfet de Constantinople, les poids-étalons et l'estampillage de l'argenterie au VIe et au VIIe siècle," *RN⁶* 28 (1986) 119–42. —A.K.

EPEIKTES (ἐπείκτης, on seals regularly *epiktes*), official on the staff of the *komes tou staulou*, who is mentioned in all TAKTIKA of the 9th and 10th C. According to a 10th-C. ceremonial book (*De cer.* 480.1–3), he was responsible for providing the fodder and water for horses as well as horse-shoes, bridles, and saddles. His function was probably the management of the imperial stables—at any rate, a seal of the 8th or 9th C. belonged to the "epeiktes of the imperial stables" (Zacos, *Seals* 1, no.1806), and the owner of another was an "imperial epeiktes" (no.2480C). Basil, the "epeiktes of the *basileus*" (Skyl. 179.73; he is called just a plain *epeiktes* in *TheophCont* 362.17), participated in the conspiracy of SAMONAS. At the end of the 10th C. Christopher Doukas was called Epeiktes, an epithet viewed by Polemis (*Doukai* 27) as a nickname. It is unclear how the term penetrated into the Armenian milieu—in the 1060s an Armenian "Pecht" served as a *doux* of Antioch; an Armenian prince "Epicht" was murdered by Greeks ca.1078 (Kazhdan, *Arm.* 124–26).

LIT. Oikonomides, *Listes* 339. —A.K.

EPEREIA (ἐπηρεία, lit. "abuse, contumely"), a term that, at least from the 10th C. onward, was used by fiscal officials to designate extraordinary state "requisitions" (Lemerle, *Agr. Hist.* 167) or special taxes (Dölger, *Beiträge* 61). An act of 927 contrasts the state (*demoteleis*) *epereiai* with military service (*strateiai*), both due for the land (*Ivir.*, no.1.8–9); an act of 974 (?) mentions *epereia* side by side with ANGAREIA, *aplekton*, and the (illegal) MITATON (*Lavra* 1, no.6.22–23). Later documents sometimes give a list of *epereiai*: thus, an act from ca.1200 includes *angareiai*, KASTROKTISIAI, PSOMOZEMIA, and several other charges (*Xerop.*, no.8.17–18). A privilege of 1199 has an unusual list of *epereiai* connected with trade: KOMMERKION, *dekateia* (TITHE) of wine, charge for shipping (*navlon*), etc. (*Patmou Engrapha* 2, no.59.7–8). The term *demosiake* (state) *epereia* (e.g., Zepos, *Jus* 1:366.8) indicates that the central government was owed these charges, whereas Theophylaktos of Ohrid spoke of *douleiai* and *epereiai* required by local authorities (*Letters*, ed. P. Gautier, no.12.20). Accordingly an act of 1429 mentions "the *demosiake* and other *epereiai*" (*Lavra* 3, no.167.19–20), and a chrysobull of 1405 refers to "*epereia archontike* and *demosiake*" (Binon, *Xéropotamou*, no.20.24).

Thus, the term seems to have no strict, technical meaning. Having a connotation of "abuse" it could denote various types of charges and was primarily employed in the clauses of tax exemption. It is, however, questionable whether the exemption "from all *epereiai*" designated, as Solovjev and Mošin (*Grčke povelje* 437) suggest, freedom from all taxes.

LIT. N. Svoronos, *Lavra* 4:156f. Chvostova, *Osobennosti* 236–38. —M.B.

EPHEBUS (Ἐφεσος, near mod. Selçuk), seaport of Aegean Asia Minor. As capital of the province of Asia, Ephesus enjoyed considerable prosperity due to commerce, banking, and the patronage of the proconsul and the metropolitan bishop. Constantius II, Arkadios, and esp. Justinian I adorned the city, which is best known from its remains. They indicate that classical public works and services— theater, market, baths, the civic center, and marble-paved, colonnaded streets lined with shops—were maintained and that richly decorated private houses continued to be built until the early 7th C. The city was christianized by the 4th C. and saw the erection of churches and monumental crosses and the transformation of open public spaces as private buildings encroached on them. The numerous Late Antique buildings usually used *spolia* and were adorned with frescoes, mosaics, and marble. Prosperity ended ca. 614, when large parts of Ephesus were destroyed (by Persians or earthquakes), never to be restored.

New fortifications enclosed less than half the ancient city and created a new defensive center around the Church of St. John a mile away. Its walls were probably a response to the Arab attacks that began in 654. Ephesus became a city of the THRAKESION theme; in the 10th C., it was the center of a TOURMA of the theme of Samos. Ephesus was the site of a major regional fair in the 8th C., which generated considerable revenue. By the 9th C., neglect and the resultant silting had ruined the harbor and the city had moved to the hill around the Church of St. John to become an inland fortress. The city survived the attack of the Paulicians in 867/8 or 869/70, had Italian concessions after 1082, and was occupied by the Turks 1090–96. It was then usually known as "Theologos" (after St. JOHN) or simply the "Kastron." In 1147 Ephesus was host to the Second Crusade and in 1206 recognized the Laskarids,

under whom it became a center of learning. Nikephoros BLEMMEDES taught here, with George Akropolites and Theodore Laskaris among his pupils. The late 13th C. brought Turkish threats, temporarily dispelled by the Catalan Grand Company, which made Ephesus its base in 1304; it fell to the Turks of Aydin the same year.

Traditions that associated Ephesus with St. Paul, the Apostle John, the Virgin, and the SEVEN SLEEPERS made it the natural site for the councils of 431 and 449 and the frequent goal of pilgrimage.

Monuments of Ephesus. Ephesus preserves numerous civic buildings and two huge churches: the Basilica of the Virgin, seat of the councils, built in the 4th C. and twice rebuilt on a smaller scale after the 6th C., and the Basilica of St. John. The latter, the largest and most important church in the city, had its beginnings in the tetrapylon MARTYRION erected over John's purported tomb as early as ca. 300 and was mentioned by EGERIA (23.10) in the last quarter of the same century. Probably ca. 450 a cruciform church with a wooden roof was built on the site, incorporating the tetrapylon at its crossing. The western arm, with one or two narthexes, contained a nave and two aisles, while the eastern arm had four aisles and terminated in an apse. The church was rebuilt under Justinian I, with work beginning before 548 and completed prior to 565. The cruciform plan was maintained but the building was now covered with a series of six domes resting on massive piers. The western arm, longer than the others, consisted of two such bays, while the crossing, north, south, and east arms each had a single bay in a design described by Prokopios (*Buildings* 5.1.4–6) as closely resembling that of the Church of the HOLY APOSTLES, Constantinople. The church was flanked by an octagonal baptistery built in the 5th C. and a domed, octagonal *skeuophylakion*, or sacristy, erected in the late 6th or early 7th C. St. John's was the scene of an annual miracle when healing dust issued from the evangelist's tomb at the time of his feast on 8 May.

LIT. C. Foss, *Ephesus After Antiquity* (Cambridge 1979). J. Keil, H. Hörmann, *Die Johanneskirche [=Forschungen in Ephesos, 4.3]* (Vienna 1951). P. Verzone, "Le fasi costruttive della basilica di S. Giovanni di Efeso," *RendPontAcc* 51–52 (1982) 213–35. M. Büyükkolancı, "Zwei neugefundene Bauten der Johannes-Kirche von Ephesos: Baptisterium und Skeuophylakion," *IstMitt* 32 (1982) 236–57.

—C.F., M.J.

EPHEBUS, COUNCILS OF. Two important councils were held in Ephesus.

COUNCIL OF 431. The third ecumenical council was summoned by THEODOSIOS II to settle the conflict between the Antiochian Christology of NESTORIOS of Constantinople and that of the Alexandrian school represented by CYRIL. Lasting from 22 June to 22 July, the council had approximately 150 participants at its opening. The lively political and ecclesiastical rivalry between the patriarchal sees of Alexandria and Constantinople complicated the long-standing opposition between the two schools. Although the council did not formulate its own Christological statement, it did accept that of the First Council of NICAIA (325) as interpreted by Cyril. In effect, it approved his theology that the humanity and divinity of the incarnate Christ were united in one hypostatic union—*henosis kath'hypostasin*. By so doing, it formally recognized the propriety of Mary's title THEOTOKOS (God-bearer), which Nestorios had denied. Finally, the council also condemned the beliefs of Pelagius (see PELAGIANISM) as heresy. These matters were decided before the arrival of JOHN I, patriarch of Antioch, and his delegation. The latter understandably refused to accept the Cyrillian majority's condemnation of Nestorios. A brief schism followed, ending in 433 when Cyril and John were finally reconciled. The doctrinal and ecclesiastical victory had nevertheless gone to Alexandria. Cyril's rival, Nestorios, and his theology were crushed and humiliated. Ephesus is the first general council with extant original acts.

SOURCES. *Acta—ACO* 1:1–5. *Neue Aktenstücke zum Ephesinischen Konzil von 431*, ed. E. Schwartz (Munich 1920). *Homilien und Briefe zum Konzil von Ephesos*, ed. B.M. Weischer (Wiesbaden 1979). I. Rucker, *Studien zum Concilium Ephesinum zur 1500-Jahrfeier des dritten ökumenischen Konzils* (Munich 1935).

LIT. Hefele-Leclercq, *Conciles* 2:287–377. P.T. Camelot, *Ephèse et Chalcédoine* (Paris 1962). J. Meyendorff, *Christ in Eastern Christian Thought* (Washington, D.C.—Cleveland 1969) 3–31. A. Crabb, "The Invitation List to the Council of Ephesus and Metropolitan Hierarchy in the Fifth Century," *JThSt* n.s. 32 (1981) 369–400. —A.P.

"ROBBER" COUNCIL (Latrocinium). The council (8–22 Aug. 449) was summoned by THEODOSIOS II to settle the case of EUTYCHES, who had been condemned by Patr. FLAVIAN (22 Nov. 448) for teaching that Christ had only one nature after the Incarnation. The council of some 140 bishops,

including two papal legates who objected to the proceedings, was pressured by the domineering DIOSKOROS, patriarch of Alexandria, and his violence-prone monastic followers to rehabilitate Eutyches and to depose Flavian. It likewise rejected the moderate but precarious theological compromise reached after the council of 431 by CYRIL of Alexandria and JOHN I, patriarch of Antioch. Despite the repeated requests of the Roman legates, the Tome of Pope LEO I to Flavian was never read. According to W. de Vries, these proceedings have often been exaggerated by scholars and may in fact have been no less uncanonical than the actions of other councils (*OrChrP* 41 [1975] 357–98). Eutyches' Monophysitism continued to disturb the doctrinal unity and security of both church and empire until CHALCEDON (451).

SOURCES. *Acta—ACO* Tom. II, vol. i, pars. 1:68–86, 108–120, 136–151; II, iii, 1:42–91. *Akten der Ephesinischen Synode vom Jahre 449*, ed. J. Flemming (Berlin 1917).

LIT. P.T. Camelot, "De Nestorius à Eutych: L'opposition de deux christologies," in Grillmeier-Bacht, *Chalcedon*, 1:213–42. H. Bacht, "Die Rolle des orientalischen Mönchtums in den kirchenpolitischen Auseinandersetzungen um Chalcedon (431–519)," *ibid.*, 2:197–231. —A.P.

EPHOROS (ἐφόρος, lit. "overseer"), term for an ancient Spartan magistrate, revived in the 11th C. It is not found in the TAKTIKA of the 9th and 10th C. On seals, *ephoroi* bear the high ranks of *proedros* and *vestes* and sometimes combine their duty with judicial functions, as in the case of Theodore, judge of the VELUM and *ephoros*. On the other hand, charters of 1044–88 mention the *ephoroi* of imperial KOURATOREIAI who, according to N. Oikonomides (*TM* 6 [1976] 138), administered all the *kouratoreiai* over the entire empire. The staff of the *ephoros* included notaries and *domestikoi*. The term is found in the letters of Theodore PRODROMOS (PG 133:1239A) and MICHAEL ITALIKOS (ep.18). At the end of the 12th C. Niketas CHONIATES held this post, but it disappeared after 1204.

Ephoros was also the term for the lay administrator of a monastery, who was responsible for its economic management; the term is first attested in the 11th C. Other terms used for this position—*epitropos*, *antileptor*, and *prostates*—are found in 10th-C. sources. The *ephoros* was granted ownership (*kyriotes*) of the monastery and its properties and was supposed to be its protector, assuring, for

example, that it received fiscal exemptions (M. Nystazopoulou, *Symmeikta* 1 [1966] 85–94). The *ephoros* might play an important role in the election of the HEGOUMENOS and would have the power to remove him. Galatariotou (*infra*) concludes that an *ephoros* was more commonly appointed by aristocratic KTETORS or founders; nonaristocratic TYPIKA either deliberately refrain from making this sort of appointment or appoint an *ephoros* to serve primarily as a contact with the outside world and to represent the monastery's business interests and not to intervene in the internal administration of the monastery. In aristocratic *typika*, the *ephoros* is usually a relative of the *ktetor*, and the term is often a euphemism for a *charistikarios* (Ahrweiler, *Structures*, pt. VII [1967], 3f), who received financial benefit from the monastery, which he was granted as CHARISTIKION. Such *ephoroi* sometimes abused their privileges and brought ruin on the monastery.

In a nontechnical sense, the term *ephoros* was applied to the ecclesiastical OIKONOMOS and SAKELLARIOS (Darrouzès, *Offikia* 555.1–2).

LIT. Laurent, *Corpus* 2:631–66. Dölger, *Beiträge* 45. W. Seibt, "Drei byzantinische Bleisiegel aus Ephesos," in *Litterae numismaticae Vindobonenses: Roberto Goebel dedicatae* (Vienna 1979) 151–54. Galatariotou, "Typika," 101–06, 113–16. Konidares, *Nomike theorese* 182–88. J.P. Thomas, *Private Religious Foundations in the Byzantine Empire* (Washington, D.C., 1987) 218–20, 253–58. R. Morris, "Legal Terminology in Monastic Documents of the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries," *JÖB* 32.2 (1982) 284–88, 290. —A.K., A.M.T.

EPHRAIM, mosaicist who worked with BASILIUS PICTOR in 1169 in the Church of the Nativity at BETHLEHEM. Ephraim's name is found in the Greek portion of a partially preserved bilingual inscription formerly situated above the Gospel scenes in the church's choir. It describes him as *historiographos kai mousiatoros*, names MANUEL I, AMALRIC I, and Raoul, bishop of Bethlehem, and gives the date for the work's completion. The inscription is fully recorded on the flyleaf of a monastic miscellany, now Jerusalem, Greek Patr. Taphou 57.

LIT. B. Bagatti, *Gli antichi edifici sacri di Betlemme* (Jerusalem 1952) 60f. A. Cutler, "Ephraim, Mosaicist of Bethlehem: The Evidence from Jerusalem," *Journal of Jewish Art* 12–13 (1986–87) 179–83. —A.C.

EPHRAIM (Ἐφραίμ), chronicler from Ainos in Thrace; fl. at the end of the 13th C. or early 14th C. Ephraim is known only from his chronicle in

dodecasyllables that presents the history of Old and New Rome through their rulers, from the 1st C. A.D. to 1261. It is followed by a verse catalog of the bishops of New Rome from the foundation of the church by the apostle Andrew to the accession of Patr. Isaiah in 1323. The latter is the only chronological indication for Ephraim's life. The chronicle's sources are ZONARAS, Niketas CHONATES, and George AKROPOLITES, and is most detailed for the period 1204–61. Ephraim is true to his sources; variations and departures from them are minor and can be ascribed more to the needs of the meter than to independent knowledge.

ED. *Chronographia*, ed. O. Lampsides, 2 vols. (Athens 1984–85).

LIT. O. Lampsides, *Beiträge zum byzantinischen Chronisten Ephraem und zu seiner Chronik* (Athens 1971). Hunger, *Lit.* 1:478–80. —R.J.M.

EPHREM THE SYRIAN, theologian and hymnographer; saint; born Nisibis ca. 306, died Edessa 9 June 373; feastday 28 Jan. Born probably to Christian parents (although his Syriac Life states that his father was a pagan priest), Ephrem spent most of his life in Nisibis, serving as a deacon. After the Persian occupation of Nisibis in 363, he moved to Edessa. Hagiographical accounts (e.g., the spurious sermon ascribed to GREGORY OF NYSSA) credit him with confuting ARIANISM in Egypt and visiting BASIL THE GREAT at Caesarea. His diverse writings (exegetical, dogmatic, polemical, ascetic), mostly in verse, were composed in Syriac but translated into Armenian, Greek, Latin, and Church Slavonic. Most important is his liturgical poetry, which includes hymn cycles on church feasts, funeral hymns, and polemics against various heresies, esp. those of ARIUS, Bardesanes, and MANI. Two other favorite themes were grim descriptions of the Day of Judgment and the supreme virtues of the Virgin Mary. Ephrem was a major influence on the development of Syriac and Byz. HYMNOGRAPHY. Despite some modern scepticism (J. Grosdidier de Matons, *Romanos le Mélode et les origines de la poésie religieuse à Byzance* [Paris 1977] 22f), his impact on ROMANOS THE MELODE in terms of theme and imagery (e.g., heat, light, the "thorny nature" of man) seems certain (W.L. Petersen, *VigChr* 39 [1985] 171–87).

Representation in Art. Ephrem was depicted as a monk with a scant beard from at least the 10th C. (Weitzmann, *Sinai Icons*, no.B.58). The

scene of his death, a popular post-Byz. composition, had its origin in the Byz. period: the corpse of the saint, laid out on a bier in an open landscape, was surrounded by vignettes of eremitical life, showing monks at work in their rocky cells or preparing to descend by various means of transport for the funeral. These elements, which appear already in 11th-C. MSS of the *Heavenly Ladder* of JOHN KLIMAX, were occasionally used for scenes of the death of other saints as well (e.g., ARSENIOS THE GREAT).

ED. For editions see M. Roncaglia, "Essai de bibliographie sur saint Ephrem," *Parole de l'Orient* 4 (1973) 343–70. Eng. tr. S. Brock, *The Harp of the Spirit: Eighteen Poems of Saint Ephrem* (London 1983). *Paraenesis: Die albulgarische Übersetzung von Werken Ephraims des Syrers*, ed. G. Bojkovsky, R. Aitzemüller, 3 vols. (Freiburg im Breisgau 1984–87), with Germ. tr.

LIT. A. Vööbus, *Literary, Critical and Historical Studies in Ephrem the Syrian* (Stockholm 1958). E. Beck, *Ephraem des Syrers Psychologie und Erkenntnislehre* (Louvain 1980). T. Bou Mansour, "La défense éphrémiennne de la liberté contre les doctrines marcionite, bardesanite et manichéenne," *OrChrP* 50 (1984) 331–46. P. Yousif, "Histoire et temps dans la pensée de saint Ephrem de Nisibe," *Parole de l'Orient* 10 (1981–82) 3–35. J. Martin, "The Death of Ephraim in Byzantine and Early Italian Painting," *ArtB* 33 (1951) 217–25. J. Myslivec, *LCI* 6:151–53. —B.B., N.P.S.

EPHthalITES (Ἐφθαλίται), a Hunnic people whose history and nomenclature are not clear. Many scholars assume that the peoples variously referred to as (H)Ephthalites, White Huns, Ye-Ta, Hayātila, Chionites, and Kidarites are related and of Hunnic origin. Christensen (*infra*) believes the Kidarites and Ephthalites to have been different peoples on the basis of Prokopios, who says that the latter were white-skinned. In any case, the presence of this single group (or plurality of groups) in Sasanian Iran is demonstrable from the 4th C. through the reign of Chosroes I Anūshirwān in the 6th C. Migrants from Mongolia, they settled along the Oxus River probably in the late 4th C.; under their king Grumbatas they participated in the expedition of Shāpūr II against Byz. Mesopotamia in 359; as Kidarite Huns, they settled in Bactria and Gandara in the 5th C. They participated in the dynastic struggle on behalf of Pērōz against his brother Hurmazd III in 457 and later took Pērōz captive. This evidently inaugurated a period of strife and tension, settled finally in 557 by Chosroes Anūshirwān who, in alliance with the Turkic khan Silziboulos, crushed the Ephthalites and divided their lands with the Turks.

The ethnological discourse of Prokopios (*Wars* 1.3) on the Ephthalites indicates that they were sedentarized and yet also retained Central Asiatic shamanistic customs; for example, the *hetairai* of the chief were interred alive with their deceased master.

LIT. A.D.H. Bivar, in *El²* 3:303f. *The Cambridge History of Iran*, ed. E. Yarshater, 3.1 (Cambridge 1983) 142, 146–48; 3.2:768–71. Christensen, *Sassanides* 292–94. —S.V.

EPIBOLE (ἐπιβολή, Lat. *adfectio sterilium*) was the official transfer of abandoned land, together with its fiscal obligations, to relatives, co-contributors, or members of the same village or fiscal unit. The measure, initially meant to stabilize state revenues, enhanced the development of the fiscal communities described in 8th–10th-C. texts; it ended by indicating a complicated procedure by which, at every revision of the CADASTER, the KANON was reassessed, taking into consideration the previous assessments and all eventual increases or decreases of fiscal obligations or taxable assets of each fiscal unit (village or large landowner); the established fiscal burden was then distributed to individual contributors. The basic characteristics of the institution survived in the late 11th and early 12th C., but the way it was actually applied had by then changed considerably owing to the decline of small landed property and the increase of state lands and large privileged private properties. At this time officials began to consider the possibility of a unified rate of *epibole* for the whole empire.

LIT. Svoronos, *Cadastre* 119–29. Idem, "L'Épibolè à l'époque des Comnènes," *TM* 3 (1968) 375–95. Lemerle, *Agr. Hist.* 46f. —N.O.

EPIC. Several types of epic flourished in the late Roman period: (1) PATRIA, or histories of cities such as Tarsos, Berytus, and Nicaea; CHRISTODOROS OF KOPTOS wrote *patria* in epic verses on Constantinople, Thessalonike, and other cities (Al. Cameron, *Historia* 14 [1965] 489); (2) epic *enkomia* of famous persons, primarily emperors and high officials, by such authors as CLAUDIAN (who wrote both Latin and Greek epics), the empress ATHENAIS-EUDOKIA, KYROS of Panopolis, and CORIPPUS; (3) mythological epics by NONNOS, QUINTUS OF SMYRNA, KOLLOUTHOS, MOUSAIOS, etc.; and (4) biblical epics, an attempt to reproduce various Old and New Testament episodes in HEX-

AMETERS; of these the paraphrase of St. John's Gospel, probably by Nonnos, is the most remarkable. Many of these epics are lost (esp. the city histories) and known only from fragments or citations in Libanios, the *Souda*, and other sources. PROKLOS defended Homer against Plato's criticism (S. Koster, *Antike Epostheorien* [Wiesbaden 1970] 99–114), while introducing a threefold division of poetry: the sublime, full of divine virtues; the middle, having educational purposes; and the lower, which with the help of imitation and fantasy leads the soul into error.

Epic form was occasionally used for works without epic content, such as didactic poetry. DIONYSIOS PERIEGETES (2nd C.) and OPIAN (3rd C.), authors popular in Byz., wrote in hexameter, as well as Markellos of Side, a physician of the 2nd C. From the 4th C. onward, hexameter was replaced in didactic works by iambic trimeters and prose; on the other hand, CENTOS preserved Homeric meter and vocabulary but were sometimes far removed from an epic character.

After the first half of the 7th C., epic disappeared, although even much later (12th C.) poets praised imperial military achievements in hexameter. The last 7th-C. epic *enkomion*, by GEORGE OF PISIDIA, was already iambic. The later epic DIGENES AKRITAS differs in meter, content, and language from earlier examples and is closer to the tradition of soldiers' songs than to Homer.

LIT. Christ, *Literatur* 2.2:959–74. M. Roberts, *Biblical Epos and Rhetorical Paraphrase in Late Antiquity* (Liverpool 1985). B. Abel-Wilmanns, *Der Erzählaufbau der Dionysiaka des Nonnos von Panopolis* (Frankfurt am Main 1977) 88–90. Beck, *Volksliteratur* 48–97. G.W. Elderkin, *Aspects of the Speech in the Later Greek Epic* (Baltimore 1906). —A.K.

EPICLESIS (ἐπίκλησις), invocation for the coming of the Holy Spirit (or, rarely, the Logos) to sanctify; esp. the epiclesis in the ANAPHORA, which asks the Father to send his Spirit or invokes the Spirit to come upon the bread and wine to change them into the body and blood of Christ for the spiritual benefit of the communicants. Such a consecratory epiclesis, first seen in CYRIL of Jerusalem (ed. Piédagnel, p.124.2–3), is a later explication of the more primitive general invocation upon the church and its offering for the fruits of COMMUNION and reflects the greater emphasis on the role of the Spirit in the aftermath of the First Council of Constantinople. Whether it was the

epiclesis itself that constituted the formula of consecration, as the Second Council of Nicaea stated (Mansi 13:265D), or the words of Jesus over the bread and cup ("This is my body . . .") became a source of dispute with the Latins from the 14th C.

LIT. J.H. McKenna, *Eucharist and Holy Spirit* (Great Wakering, Essex, 1975) 29–82. —R.F.T.

EPIDEICTIC (ἐπιδεικτικά, lit. "fit for display"), or epideictic oratory, one of three branches of RHETORIC as defined by Aristotle. This distinction was accepted in the treatise *Division of Epideictic Speeches* ascribed to MENANDER RHETOR, who divided speeches into praise (subdivided into hymns and ENKOMIA) and INVECTIVE. The term, however, was rare in Byz. usage, and neither Aphthonios nor NICHOLAS OF MYRA use it; according to APHTHONIOS (p.21.5), *enkomion* was not an "epideictic speech," but an expository one (*ekthetikos*). The term reappears infrequently in later commentaries on Menander, for example, John DOXOPATRES (Rabe, *Prolegomenon* 150.8), and was evidently replaced by less abstract notions such as *enkomion* and EKPHRASIS. The word early acquired the negative connotation of "showing off," and EUSEBIOS OF CAESAREA (PG 24:748B) accused MARKELLOS OF ANKYRA of "showing off Hellenic science and ignoring divine knowledge."

LIT. Martin, *Rhetorik* 177–210. Kennedy, *Rhetoric* 23–27. —A.K., E.M.J.

EPIFANIJ PREMUDRYJ, or Epiphanius the Wise, monk of the Trinity monastery of St. Sergej near Moscow; died ca.1420. His reputation as the most florid hagiographer of Rus' rests primarily on his vita of St. Stefan of Perm' (died 1395). The vita's elaborately expressive and emotive verbal devices are sometimes thought to be a literary and aesthetic extension of the spirituality of HESYCHASM, although features of the style can be traced to Serbian vitae of the 13th–14th C. and indeed to Byz. rhetoric (M. Mulič, *TODRL* 23 [1968] 127–42). Epifanij parades his knowledge of patristic and Byz. hagiographic traditions and of the Greek language, and he was prominent among those who represented the hesychast culture of Constantinople and Athos in Rus' (see KIPRIAN), probably having spent time in Constantinople and Athos himself. He wrote an *enkomion* and, in 1418,

a vita of St. Sergej of Radonež (died 1392), which survives in a version reworked by PACHOMIJ LOGOFET. In a letter to the archimandrite Kirill of Tver', Epifanij describes the activities and working methods of THEOPHANES THE GREEK, from whom he requested and copied a miniature depiction of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople.

ED. Žitie sv. Stefana, episkopa Permskogo, ed. V. Družinin (St. Petersburg 1897); rp. with introd. by D. Čizevskij (The Hague 1959). *Drevnie žitija prep. Sergija Radonežskogo*, ed. N.S. Tichonravov (Moscow 1892–1916); rp. with introd. by L. Müller, *Die Legenden des Heiligen Sergij von Radonež* (Munich 1967). Eng. tr. M. Klimenko, *The "Vita" of St. Sergii of Radonezh* (Houston 1980). "Pis'mo Epifanija Premudrogo k Kirillu Tverskomu," ed. O.A. Belobrova in *Pamjatniki literatury drevnej Rusi. XIV–seredina XV veka* (Moscow 1981) 444–46.

LIT. Fedotov, *Mind* 2:195–245. F. Kitch, *The Literary Style of Epifanij Premudryj* (Munich 1976). G. Prochorov, "Epifanij Premudryj," *TODRL* 40 (1985) 77–91. —S.C.F.

EPIGONATION (ἐπιγονάτιον), a lozenge of stiff embroidered cloth worn as a vestment by a bishop over his STICHARION. It measured about 30 cm on each side and was attached to the belt so as to hang down over the right knee. Its use was restricted to bishops at least until the 14th C. First mentioned in the 12th C. by Theodore Balsamon (Rhalles-Potles, *Syntagma* 4:478.25–66), who states that it represents the cloth with which Christ washed the feet of the apostles, the *epigonation* gradually replaced the softer ENCHEIRION. The earliest surviving examples, which date from the 14th C., are embroidered with an image of the ANASTASIS.

LIT. Braun, *Liturgische Gewandung* 550–54. Papas, *Messgewänder* 130–53. M. Soteriou, "Chrysokteneton epigonation tou Byzantinou Mouseiou Athenon meta parastaseos tes eis Haidou Kathodou," *BNJbb* 11 (1934) 284–96. Johnstone, *Church Embroidery* 18f, pls. 51–52. —N.P.S.

EPIGRAM (ἐπίγραμμα), originally an INSCRIPTION, esp. a funerary inscription; in Hellenistic and Roman times a short poem, usually in elegiac couplets, often with an erotic or satiric theme. In the early centuries of Byz., though caustic cynicism and eroticism can still be seen in epigrams (e.g., of PALLADAS and later of PAUL SILENTIARIOS and AGATHIAS), such subjects were already being replaced by soberer topics that reflected a christianized society, as in the funerary epigrams of GREGORY OF NAZIANZOS. Thus the epigrams of

GEORGE OF PISIDIA or THEODORE OF STODIOS frequently deal with icons, saints, or church festivals. Epigrams were also used in doctrinal polemics, as during the Iconoclast period, or to vent personal spleen (as in CONSTANTINE OF RHODES).

During the 10th C. ANTHOLOGIES of classical and Byz. epigrams were made, first by KEPHALAS and later by the anonymous compiler, or compilers, of the *Anthologia Palatina* (see GREEK ANTHOLOGY). Epigrams continued to be a fertile genre whose wide-ranging and prolific practitioners included JOHN GEOMETRES, JOHN MAUROPOUS, and CHRISTOPHER OF MYTILENE. From the 12th C. onward there is a tendency, as in the poems of Theodore PRODRAMOS and Manuel PHILES as well as in numerous anonymous verses, for epigrams to revert to their primary use as dedicatory inscriptions attached to votive offerings (icons, church vessels, etc.) and on tombstones (cf. Lampros, "Mark. kod." 3–59, 123–92). A particular form of epigram was the metrical inscription on SEALS (sometimes one line long), giving the name, title, and office of the seal owner. Still used, nevertheless, for an enormous variety of topics normally written in 12- and 15-syllable lines, they are perhaps now best called "occasional verse."

LIT. Hunger, *Lit.* 2:165–73. A.D. Kominis, *To byzantinon hieron epigramma kai hoi epigrammatopoi* (Athens 1966). W. Hörandner, "Customs and Beliefs as Reflected in Occasional Poetry," *ByzF* 12 (1987) 235–47. Q. Cataudella, "Influssi di poesia classica anche latina negli epigrammi cristiani greci," in *Studi in onore di Aristide Colonna* (Perugia 1982) 79–92. B. Lavagnini, "L'epigramma e il committente," *DOP* 41 (1987) 339–50. —E.M.J.

EPIGRAPHY. A discipline of Byz. epigraphy does not yet exist. While it cannot be said that it will occupy the same central position as it does in classical studies, it can nevertheless make a substantial contribution in a variety of fields (e.g., institutions, prosopography and onomastics, linguistic frontiers, etc.). Ideally, it should encompass all types of writing except in MSS, in particular the following:

1. INSCRIPTIONS on stone, including graffiti
2. Painted and mosaic inscriptions (those on mosaic pavements, which form an important group, cease with very few exceptions in the 7th C.)
3. Objects of household and religious use, including jewelry and amulets
4. Coins, seals, and weights

5. Brick stamps (limited primarily to the 4th–6th/7th C.)
6. Ivories and steatites

For some of the above categories (ivories, steatites, coins, and seals) we do have more or less complete corpora, but most of the other material remains extremely scattered in works such as publications of individual monuments, excavation reports, regional surveys, and museum catalogs, where Byz. inscriptions are interspersed with antique ones.

Strictly speaking, Byz. epigraphy ought to include all inscriptions originating within the empire, whatever their language (Greek, Latin, Syriac, Coptic, Armenian, etc.). In practice, however, those in indigenous languages have been left to their respective specialists and attention has been concentrated on those in Greek and Latin. The boundary between the latter two up to the 6th C. runs across the Balkan peninsula, roughly along a line from DYRRACHION to Odessos (VARNA) and in Africa between the Roman provinces of Libya and Tripolitana. The use of the two “prestige” languages, however, particularly of Greek in the eastern provinces, does not necessarily reflect the most commonly spoken language in an area; for example, in Syria up to the Arab conquest the vast majority of inscriptions are in Greek. A case may also be made for including in the sphere of Byz. epigraphy regions outside the empire where Greek inscriptions of Byz. character have been found (e.g., Nubia, 8th–12th C.). Greek was also used in PROTO-BULGARIAN INSCRIPTIONS, and the ALANS wrote their inscriptions in Greek characters (10th–12th C.).

The first aim of the epigraphist is correct reading, which involves the resolution of ABBREVIATIONS, MONOGRAMS, and CRYPTOGRAMS, and familiarity with formulas and titulature. A concurrent preoccupation concerns the evolution of script, since it permits the dating of inscriptions within broad limits when an absolute date is not given, which is in the majority of cases. By and large, Byz. inscriptions before the year 1000 are in capital letters, written without division between words and hardly ever accented. LIGATURES between vertical letters (like M, N) are frequent; that of *o* plus *v* (Ϸ) comes into widespread use from the end of the 5th C. onward. Abbreviations are limited to titles, professions, dates, *nomina sacra*, and the conjunction *kai*. An important change in script

occurs in the early 11th C.: abandoning its earlier sobriety, it strives after an ornamental effect. It borrows an increasing number of ligatures and abbreviations current in MSS and places one letter above or within another with a consequent loss of legibility. One can almost say that the content becomes secondary to calligraphy.

The thematic classification of inscriptions, as it has been elaborated for classical antiquity, is only partly applicable to the Byz. period. The following breakdown is tentative:

1. Sacred texts
2. Decrees (practically none after the 6th/7th C.) and grants of privileges. The latter are extremely rare, but note the painted chrysobulls in the Brontochion church, MISTRA (ed. G. Millet, *BCH* 23 [1899] 100–118), and at STAGOI.
3. Tokens of official control or regulation (COINS, SILVER STAMPS, WEIGHTS, BRICK STAMPS)
4. Marks of ownership (e.g., boundary stones) and authentication (SEALS)
5. Records of building and/or decoration
6. Honorific inscriptions accompanying statues or portraits (almost none after the 6th/7th C.)
7. Records of death (EPITAPHIA and commemorative graffiti)
8. Acclamations
9. Invocations, pious and magical formulas
10. Dedications, often introduced by the formula *Deesis tou doulou*
11. Epigrams, often on small objects (e.g., ivories, icon frames, crosses, etc.)
12. Painters’ “signatures” (none before the 11th C. and rare thereafter)

It should be noted that many inscriptions, esp. those in verse, are preserved by way of MS tradition—the GREEK ANTHOLOGY, among the works of poets such as Theodore Prodromos and Manuel Philes—although it is often difficult to determine whether their compositions were in fact inscribed. As an example of a real inscription preserved in this manner we may quote the epigram on the Sangarios bridge (attributed to Agathias), which is found in the *Palatine Anthology* (*AnthGr* 9:641) and Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos (*De them.* 5, ed. Pertusi 70.21–26).

LIT. J.S. Allen, I. Ševčenko, *Dumbarton Oaks Bibliographies*, 2.1. *Epigraphy* (Washington, D.C., 1981). F. Bérard, D. Feissel et al., *Guide de l'épigraphiste* (Paris 1986). C.M.

Kaufmann, *Handbuch der altchristlichen Epigraphik* (Freiburg 1917). L. Jalabert, R. Mouterde, H. Leclercq, *DACL* 7.1 (1926) 623–1089. M. Guarducci, *Epigrafia greca*, vol. 4 (Rome 1978) 299–556. —C.M.

EPILEPSY. See INSANITY.

EPIMANIKIA (ἐπιμανίκια, ἐπιμάνικα), a pair of detachable gold-embroidered cuffs worn as a vestment over the sleeves of a bishop’s STICHARION. Contrary to Lampe, who says that *epimanika* are first mentioned in the Liturgy ascribed to John Chrysostom, the first reference is that by the mid-11th-C. Patr. PETER III of Antioch, who spoke of *encheiria*, *epimanikia*, and EPITRACHELIA ornamented with gold as details of the patriarchal costume (PG 120:800C). They occur in representations of bishops as early as the mid-10th C. (e.g., Bible of LEO SAKELLARIOS, fol.3), or even the late 9th C. (tympanum mosaics in HAGIA SOPHIA, Constantinople); it is not entirely certain, however, that these early images show detachable cuffs. The use of *epimanikia* was still restricted to bishops in the late 12th C. according to Theodore Balsamon, who says they represent the bonds that encircled Christ’s wrists during the Passion (Rhalles-Potles, *Syntagma* 4:478.16–24). All the *epimanikia* that have survived date from the post-Byz. period.

LIT. Bernadakis, “Ornements liturgiques” 131. Braun, *Liturgische Gewandung* 98–101. Papas, *Messgewänder* 81–105. —N.P.Š.

EPIMERISMS (sing. ἐπιμερισμός, “distribution, parsing”), elementary word-by-word commentaries on literary texts intended for school use and comprising parsing, MORPHOLOGY, ORTHOGRAPHY, prosody, semantics, and ETYMOLOGY. Epimerisms on Homer existed from late antiquity. George CHOIROBOSKOS composed epimerisms on the Psalms, which were in use as a schoolbook in the 10th C. The classicism of the Palaiologan period led to the composition of epimerisms on select works of AELIANUS, the Philostrati, and AGAPETOS by such scholars as Maximos PLANOUDIS (S. Lindstam, *Eranos* 19 [1919–20] 57–92) and Manuel MOSCHPOULOS. George LAKAPENOS even composed epimerisms on a collection of his own letters. Anonymous epimerisms on prayers and other short religious texts are numerous and impossible

to date. The epimerisms on Homer and the Psalms were originally separate books, while the later epimerisms seem from the first to have been written in the margins or between the lines of the text that they were designed to explain. Used for grammatical instruction as well as for textual exegesis, epimerisms were therefore sometimes detached from their texts and rearranged alphabetically. Akin to the epimerisms on literary texts were the word-by-word grammatical explanations of *schede*, short pieces of text, often of ambiguous meaning, which were widely used in schools from the 11th C. onward for instruction in grammar (see SCHEDOGRAPHIA).

ED. *Epimerismi Homerici, Pars prior, epimerismos continens qui ad Iliadis librum A pertinent*, ed. A.R. Dyck (Berlin–New York 1983). *Anecdota graeca Oxoniensia*, ed. J.A. Cramer (Oxford 1835) 1:1–472, 2:331–426.

LIT. L. Cohn, *RE* 6 (1909) 179–81. H. Erbse, *Beiträge zur Überlieferung der Iliasscholien* (Munich 1960) 230–50. —R.B.

EPIPHANEIA (Ἐπιφάνεια, biblical and Syr. Hamath, Ar. Hamāh or Hamāt in mod. Syria), city on the Orontes River and bishopric of SYRIA II. A Roman temple was transformed (by 400?) into a church, which was later rebuilt (in 595?) and dedicated to the Theotokos and Sts. Kosmas and Damianos. There are epigraphic references (5th–6th C.) to this building and to another church and a winter bath at Epiphaneia (*IGLSyr* 5, nos. 1999–2004). That part of the KAPER KORAON TREASURE of 6th–7th-C. liturgical silverware that is known as the Hamāh Treasure was reportedly found at Epiphaneia. EVAGRIOS SCHOLASTIKOS was born in Epiphaneia. After the Arab conquest of the city in 636–37 (Donner, *Conquests* 112, 148–51) the Church of the Theotokos was transformed into the Umayyad mosque, which still survives, although Nikephoros II Phokas is said to have burned the mosque of Epiphaneia during a raid in 968.

LIT. D. Sourdel, *EI* 2 3:119–21. P.J. Riis, *Temple, Church and Mosque* (Copenhagen 1965). —M.M.M.

EPIPHANIES. Appearances of a god or beneficent manifestations of the divine in a human context, epiphanies were a staple of late antique paganism in both religious and state imperial cults. Mystery cults organized their rituals around epi-

phanies, shrines of healing gods recorded miraculous cures as epiphanies, and the imperial cult celebrated as an epiphany the emperor's birthday, arrival in a new place, accession to office, outstanding deeds, and ceremonial appearances at court. Christ's life, too, came to be understood in terms of theophanic events, or epiphanies. The 6th of Jan. (EPIPHANY) was the earliest feast celebrating Christ's manifestation as divine and united the Baptism, ADORATION OF THE MAGI, and miracle at CANA. Christ's early life was dotted with epiphanies marked by angelic appearances (ANNUNCIATION, admonitions to Joseph, heavenly hosts at the NATIVITY); apocryphal Gospels added others. The single such appearance during his ministry is the TRANSFIGURATION, but his miracles, being beneficent manifestations of the divine, were also regarded as epiphanies, and they early acquired the appropriate iconography with a disciple to serve as a witness. Epiphanies recur in the PASSION and its aftermath: the ENTRY INTO JERUSALEM, patterned after an imperial epiphany, the ANASTASIS, ASCENSION, and PENTECOST. (See also VISIONS.)

LIT. Grabar, *Martyrium* 2:131-92.

-A.W.C.

EPIPHANIOS, bishop of Salamis (Constantia) in Cyprus (from 367); saint; born Eleutheropolis in Judaea ca.315, died at sea en route to Salamis from Constantinople 12 May 403. First prominent as founder of a monastery near his birthplace (ca.335), Epiphanius served as metropolitan in Cyprus for 36 years. A rigorous Nicene, he combated all heresies, esp. Origenism; his struggle against the latter involved him respectively with JEROME and THEOPHILOS of Alexandria in serious conflict against JOHN II of Jerusalem (394) and JOHN CHRYSOSTOM at Constantinople in 402. He was equally hostile to classical education, perhaps deliberately affecting a poor Attic style, which, according to Jerome, enabled him to reach the masses through his writings.

His most important works include the *Ankyrotos* (lit. "holding fast like an anchor"), the *Panarion* (or Refutation of All the Heresies), and a volume misleadingly entitled *On Weights and Measures*, which is actually a biblical dictionary. His criticisms of religious art (now generally thought to be genuine) prefigure the Byz. controversy over ICONOCLASM. Epiphanius recommended to Emp.

Theodosios I that curtains adorned with sacred images be removed and used for burial shrouds and that frescoes be whitewashed (Ostrogorsky, *Bilderstr.* 67-75; Mango, *Art* 41-43). His works were translated into a number of medieval languages, including Armenian, Georgian, Arabic, Syriac, and Church Slavonic.

ED. PG 41-43. *Epiphanius*, ed. K. Holl, 3 vols. (Leipzig 1915-33; vols. 2-3, rp. Berlin 1980-85). Eng. tr. F. Williams, *The Panarion of Epiphanius of Salamis, Book I* (Leiden-New York 1987). "To 'Peri metron kai stathmon' ergon Epiphaniou tou Salaminos," ed. E.D. Moutsoulas, *Theologia* 41 (1970) 618-37; 42 (1971) 473-505; 43 (1972) 631-70; 44 (1973) 157-210. For complete list of ed., see CPG 2, nos. 3744-807.

LIT. C. Riggi, "La figura di Epifanio nel IV secolo," *StP* 8 (Berlin 1966) 86-107. P. Nautin, *DHGE* 15 (1963) 617-31. D. Fernández, *De mariologia sancti Epiphani* (Rome 1968). H.G. Thümmel, "Die bilderfeindlichen Schriften des Epiphanius von Salamis," *BS* 47 (1986) 169-88.

-B.B., A.M.T.

EPIPHANIOS HAGIOPOLITES, the author of the first Byz. description of the Holy Land; fl. end of the 8th C. (J. Darrouzès in *DHGE* 15 [1963] 615) or in the 9th C. (Hunger, *Lit.* 1:517). Nothing is known of him. His short PROSKYNETARION begins with his journey via Cyprus and Tyre to Jerusalem, from which he took trips to Alexandria, "the great Babylon of the Pharaoh," Raithou, and Mt. Sinai, and to Gethsemane, the Jordan River, and Galilee. The LOCA SANCTA described are connected with the Old Testament (Joseph's warehouses, Moses' miracles); with Christ, the Virgin, and people related to them (e.g., the tomb of Lazarus); and with some saints (the tomb of Kyros and John in Edessa). Certain monasteries are named, as are the places where the patriarch of Jerusalem officiated. Some sentences of Epiphanius duplicate a section of a legend about Constantine I the Great, but it remains unclear which of the texts has priority. Neither the Arab presence nor Charlemagne's protectorate are mentioned. Epiphanius used to be confused with his namesake from Constantinople, the hagiographer who compiled vitae of the apostle ANDREW and of the Virgin.

ED. H. Donner, "Palästina-Beschreibung des Epiphanius Hagiopolita," *ZDPV* 87 (1971) 42-91, with Germ. tr.; with Russ. tr. V. Vasil'evskij, "Povest' Epifanija o Ierusalime," *PPSb* 4.2 (11) (1886).

LIT. A.M. Schneider, "Das Itinerarium des Epiphanius Hagiopolita," *ZDPV* 63 (1940) 143-54.

-A.K.

EPIPHANY (τὰ Ἐπιφάνια), the feast of lights (*ta phota*), also called *ta theophania*, celebrating the Baptism of Christ in the Jordan River. Epiphany originally commemorated not a single event, but a mystery, the appearance of salvation in Jesus revealed in a cluster of New Testament events, principally Jesus' birth and his baptism. Historicizing tendencies in the 4th C. led to a separation of the cluster: the NATIVITY was moved to 25 Dec. and the Baptism was then celebrated by itself on 6 Jan. The feast gained importance during the controversies over the divine origins of Christ and with the subsequent definitions of the First Council of NICAIA.

Epiphany is celebrated with a solemnity matched, among the fixed GREAT FEASTS, only by that accompanying the Nativity. There is a preparatory Sunday, a four-day forefeast, a *paramone* vigil (as before the Nativity) that includes a blessing of the waters, a SYNAXIS honoring JOHN THE BAPTIST on the day following the feast (7 Jan.), and eight days of afterfeast (Mateos, *Typicon* 1:174-91). The blessing of the waters, an important part of the ritual, is attested already in 387 at Antioch by John Chrysostom (PG 49:365f). According to a 10th-C. ceremonial book (*De cer.*, bk.1, chs. 3, 25-26), the patriarch and the emperor celebrated the vigil at the Church of St. Stephen the Protomartyr at the Daphne Palace and the Epiphany rite itself in the Church of Hagia Sophia; on the day of Epiphany the emperor, honored at a number of receptions by the FACTIONS, confirmed new MAGISTROI to office.

Representation in Art. The feast of the Baptism of Christ was represented by the 3rd C. and had acquired its standard composition by the 6th (Cathedra of MAXIMIAN): Christ frontal or in profile in the water, John the Baptist to one side, angels to the other, the dove descending in a light-burst from above, the personified JORDAN below. Post-Iconoclastic versions added a cross in the water, referring to the cross at the pilgrimage site in Palestine (HOSIOS LOUKAS); two disciples and the axe at the root of a tree (cf. Lk 3:9; MENOLOGION OF BASIL II, p.299); swimmers, linking this with John's other baptisms; and a dragon in the depths, associating Christ's descent into the water with his descent into Hades (see ANASTASIS). The Baptistry at HAGIA SOPHIA in Constantinople (by 1200) embedded the Baptism in a cycle of scenes of John's ministry. In Palaiologan art the

Baptism was incorporated in such a five- to seven-scene cycle, and Christ's precipitous descent into the water was emphasized to permit analogies with his descent into the cave at birth and into Hades at death. Only in miniatures in the 12th-C. MS, Chicago, Univ. Lib. 965 (fols.37r, 61v) is the Baptism separated from the descent of the Spirit in accordance with Scripture (Lk 3:21-22).

LIT. Talley, *Liturgical Year*, esp. 112-34. M. Dubarle et al., *Noël, Épiphanie, retour du Christ* (Paris 1967). Millet, *Recherches* 170-209. Underwood, *Kariye Djami* 4:252-76. D. Mouriki, "Revival Themes with Elements of Daily Life in Two Palaeologan Frescoes Depicting the Baptism," in *Okeanos* 458-88.

-R.F.T., A.W.C.

EPIROS (Ἠπειρος), northwestern Greece, a mountainous area between the PINDOS and the Ionian Sea, with a rich coastal area, important for its connections with the West. Perhaps under Diocletian the province of Epiros was separated from ACHAIA, and by the time of the VERONA LIST (produced between 328 and 337) it was divided into the provinces of Old Epiros (in the south) and New Epiros (in the north), both administratively part of the diocese of Moesia, later transferred to that of Macedonia. According to Hierokles (Hierokl. 651.3-654.1), Old Epiros (capital NIKOPOLIS) had 12 cities and New Epiros (capital DYRRACHION) had nine. The area was plundered by the Vandals in the 5th C. and many of its cities were fortified or refortified by Justinian I (F. Wozniak in *Nikopolis*, ed. E. Chrysos [Preveza 1987] 263-67). Epiros was overrun by the Slavs in the late 6th-7th C. and most of the cities disappeared.

Restoration of Byz. control came largely from the sea beginning in the 8th C. The themes of Dyrrachion and Nikopolis were created in the 9th C. By the end of the 12th C. many smaller territorial units were organized: a chrysobull of 1198 lists the provinces of Dyrrachion, "Jericho et Canon," IOANNINA, Drynopolis, and Nikopolis; some of them included private units—*episkepseis*, called *pertinentia* in the PARTITIO ROMANIAE (in Arta, Acheloos, Lesiana, etc.); the *Partitio* also lists "char-tolarata" of Glavinica and of Bagenetia. In the 13th C. an independent principality (see EPIROS, DESPOTATE OF) emerged, engulfing all these areas.

Epiros was inhabited by Greeks, Slavs, Albanians, and VLACHS; Italians also penetrated the area. The ecclesiastical center of Epiros until ca.800 was Nikopolis; it was later succeeded by Naupak-

tos, whose suffragans in the 10th C. were Bouditza (probably not BOUDONITZA?), Aetos, Ache-loos, Rogoi (or ARTA), Ioannina, Photike or Bella, Adrianoupolis (Drynoupolis), and BOUTHROTON (*Notitiae CP* 7:575–83). Many early Christian churches have been found, esp. at Nikopolis and along the coast, while later monuments are more common in the interior, esp. around Arta.

LIT. *TIB* 3:37–97. E. Chrysos, “Symbole sten historia tes Epeirou kata ten protobyzantine epoche (d’-st’ aiona),” *EpChron* 23 (1981) 9–104. D. Pallas, *RBK* 2:207–334.
—T.E.G.

EPIROS, DESPOTATE OF, one of the independent Greek states established after the fall of Constantinople in 1204 during the Fourth Crusade, along with the empires of NICAIA and TREBIZOND. The term *despotaton* can be properly applied only for the 14th–15th C.; it is first used in a chrysobull of 1342. Although related to the ANGELOS dynasty in Constantinople, the early rulers of Epiros used the family names Komnenos and Doukas. The state was founded by MICHAEL I KOMNENOS DOUKAS, who gained control of the entire northwestern coast of Greece and much of Thessaly. His ambitious brother THEODORE KOMNENOS DOUKAS captured OHRID in 1216. Theodore, who dreamed of recovering Constantinople, took Thessalonike from the Latins in 1224 and was crowned as emperor, thus briefly setting himself up as a rival to the emperor of Nicaea. In 1242, however, Theodore’s son John was forced by JOHN III VATATZES to substitute the title *despotes* for “emperor,” and in 1246 Thessalonike was annexed by Nicaea. During the reign of MICHAEL II KOMNENOS DOUKAS, Nicene forces temporarily conquered much of Epiros after the battle of PELAGONIA (1259). But Epiros recovered its independence by 1264 and continued to be ruled by Greek *despotai* until 1318, when it came under the control of the Italian Orsini family (1318–37).

After a brief period of restoration of Greek rule, Epiros was occupied by the Serbs in 1348. The CHRONICLE OF IOANNINA describes the unpopular rule of THOMAS PRELJUBOVIĆ over Ioannina from 1366/7 to 1384, while Arta was governed by the Albanian clan of Spata. In the late 14th C. Ioannina returned to Italian control, first under the Florentine Esau Buondelmonti (1385–1411) and then under the house of TOCCO, which also acquired Arta from the Albanians. Epiros

was conquered by the Ottomans in the 15th C.; Ioannina fell in 1430, Arta in 1449. The geographical isolation of Epiros, esp. the barrier of the PINDOS mountain range, enabled it to remain separate from the Byz. Empire until the Turkish conquest, but the Byz. emperors always regarded rulers of Epiros as rebels and maintained the right to confer the title DESPOTES.

In the 13th C. Epiros was populated primarily by Greeks alongside whom lived Slavs (for whom the names of Macedonians, Bulgarians, and DROUGOBITES were used), ALBANIANS, VLACHS, Jews, Turks, Armenians, and Latins. The surviving documents reflect a society composed primarily of free peasants who formed communities and enjoyed the right of PROTIMESIS. Towns had a strong landowner class, mostly free peasants; dependent peasants were rare (D. Angelov, *Izvestija na Kamarata na narodnata kultura, serija: Humanitarni nauki* 4.3 [Sofia 1947] 3–46). The region consisted of several themes (e.g., Bagenetia, Ache-loos, SKOPJE, and Drama) which normally included a single town and its environs; the governor of a theme was usually called *doux*, but also *kephale*, *energon*, etc. (D. Angelov, *BS* 12 [1951]

Greek *Despotai* of Epiros and Emperors at Thessalonike (1205–1318)

Ruler	Reign Dates
MICHAEL I KOMNENOS DOUKAS, ruler of Epiros	1205–1215
THEODORE KOMNENOS DOUKAS ruler of Epiros emperor at Thessalonike	1215–1230 1224/5? or 1227–1230
Manuel Angelos, emperor at Thessalonike	1230–1237
John emperor at Thessalonike <i>despotes</i> at Thessalonike	1237–1242 1242–1244
DEMETRIOS ANGELOS DOUKAS, <i>despotes</i> at Thessalonike	1244–1246
MICHAEL II KOMNENOS DOUKAS, ruler of Epiros (<i>despotes</i> of Epiros from ca.1249)	ca.1230–1266/8
NIKEPHOROS I KOMNENOS DOUKAS, <i>despotes</i> of Epiros	1266/8–1296/8
Thomas, <i>despotes</i> of Epiros	1296–1318

Source: Based on Nicol, *Epiros II* 252, with modifications.

59–62). (See table for a list of the rulers of Epiros from 1205 to 1318.)

LIT. D.M. Nicol, *The Despotate of Epiros* (Oxford 1957), rev. L. Stiernon, *REB* 17 (1959) 90–126. D.M. Nicol, *The Despotate of Epiros, 1267–1479* (Cambridge 1984).
—A.M.T., A.K.

EPISCOPALIS AUDIENTIA, identified in the *Codex Justinianus* as the juridical powers and privileges conferred upon bishops. Actually, Christian leaders had heard and decided disputes involving members of their local congregations since Christian antiquity. Only under Constantine I did such arbitration receive official recognition. Constantine introduced the episcopal tribunal into Roman civil legal procedure by ordering that either party in a suit might have the case heard by a bishop. By the early 5th C., however, the government modified this, restricting the bishop’s juridical powers to mediation and stipulating that both parties to the dispute had to consent (cf. *Cod. Just.* I. 4.7, 8). In sum, episcopal judicial activity in civil matters had ceased to exist, except in the form of arbitration *inter volentes* (“between willing [parties]”). Under Justinian I, however, a layman involved in a dispute with a cleric was once again able to bring his case to the bishop’s court (nov.86). Moreover, a law of Herakleios (*Reg* 1, no.199) stipulated that all civil suits brought against clerics in Constantinople were to be heard by the patriarch (cf. the later decree of Alexios I, *Reg* 1, no.1071).

In trials involving clergy the bishop continued to act as judge. Episcopal tribunals, in fact, had jurisdiction over all civil and disciplinary cases in which the litigants were clergy. Conciliar legislation insisted that such trials were the exclusive concern of ecclesiastical courts and that clerics could settle their differences only in such courts (Council of CHALCEDON, canon 9).

LIT. G. Vismara, *Episcopalis Audientia* (Milan 1937). A.P. Christophilopoulos, “He dikaiodosia ton ekklesiastikon dikasterion epi idiotikon diaphoron kata ten byzantinen periodon,” *EEBS* 18 (1948) 192–201. J.N. Bakhuizen van den Brink, *Episcopalis Audientia* (Amsterdam 1956). W. Selb, “Episcopalis audientia von der Zeit Konstantins bis zur Nov.XXXV Valentinians III,” *ZSavRom* 84 (1967) 162–217. A. Michel, “Ein Bischofsprozess bei Michael Kerullarios,” *BZ* 41 (1941) 447–52.
—A.P.

EPISKEPSIS (ἐπίσκεψις, lit. “care, inspection”), a fiscal term with three different meanings. (1)

Most commonly, it refers to a particular property belonging to the imperial domain (*basilike episkep-sis*—Dölger, *Beiträge* 120.19), a fiscal unit composed of a collection of properties held by the emperor or a member of the imperial family and sometimes by other individuals (in 10th–13th-C. documents). The monastery of Patmos was granted annually 700 *modioi* of grain from the emperor’s *episkepseis* on Crete but, at the end of the 12th C., it was impossible to provide the monastery with grain, since the government had given these *episkepseis* over to some local nobles for a cash payment (MM 6:131.6–10). (2) *Episkepsis* could refer to a fiscal division of a THEME (in documents up to the 12th C.). (3) The term was also used to describe the actual daily “administration of property,” particularly of imperial property.

LIT. Dölger, *Beiträge* 151f. D. Zakythenos, “Meletai perites dioiketikes diaireseos kai eparchikes dioikeseos en to Byzantino krateri,” *EEBS* 17 (1942) 34–36. N. Oikonomides, “He dianome ton basilikon ‘episkepseon’ tes Kretes,” *Pepragmena tou B’ diethnous Kretologikou synedriou* 3 (Athens 1968) 195–201. Jacoby, *Société*, pt.VI (1967), 423. —M.B.

EPISKEPTITES (ἐπισκεπτίτης), a subaltern official mentioned in the 9th-C. *Kletorologion* of PHILOTHEOS; there were *episkeptitai* in the departments of the DROMOS, the EPARCH OF THE CITY, the *agelai* (see LOGOTHETES TON AGELON), and the KOURATOIRES. The majority of them were administrators of imperial domains (the so-called EPI-SKEPSIS), such as the *protospatharios* Stephen, *episkeptites* of the imperial *ktemata* in 996 (*Ivir.* 1, no.10.6). *Episkeptitai* of several locations, small and large (including Peloponnesos and Armeniakon), are mentioned on seals. Ecclesiastical *episkeptitai* were accountants dispatched by the OIKONOMOS (MM 5:355.31).

LIT. Kazhdan, *Derevnja i gorod* 132f. Oikonomides, *Listes* 312.
—A.K.

EPISTOLAE AUSTRASICAЕ, collection of letters assembled at Metz late in the 6th C. that documents Byz. DIPLOMACY and military relations with the Merovingian FRANKS. This activity was prompted chiefly by Constantinople’s efforts to buy effective military support for Byz. operations in Italy. King Theudebert I sent two letters to Justinian I (eps. 19–20, between 536 and 538 and 546/7, respectively) and one letter to King Theu-

debald (ep.18, ca.548/9). Epistle 48 went to a Lombard leader in connection with Byz. efforts to defend reconquered Italy under Justin II (W. Goffart, *Traditio* 13 [1957] 77–82) or Tiberios I, while the largest group reveals relations of Childbert II and Brunichildis with Emp. Maurice, who expressed dissatisfaction with Frankish cooperation in a letter of 1 Sept. 584 (*Reg* 1, no.83). Epistles 43–45 were probably carried to Constantinople in 586 in an attempt to liberate Brunichildis's nephew, held hostage there. Fourteen letters introduced the Frankish ambassadors dispatched to Byz. in connection with the attack on Italy in 588. Their addressees include members of the imperial family, the patriarch, and leading court officials and show how the Franks understood the structure of power in Constantinople. Other letters concern Frankish cooperation with the EXARCHS of Italy Smaragdus (ep.46) and Romanus (eps. 40–41).

ED. W. Gundlach, *MGH Epist.* 3:111–53. Cf. D. Norberg, *Eranos* 35 (1937) 105–15.

LIT. E. Ewig, *Die Merowinger und das Imperium* (Opladen 1983). —M.McC.

EPISTOLAE VISIGOTICAE, 7th-C. collection of letters that preserves the courteous correspondence of Sisebut, king of the VISIGOTHS, and Caesarius, *patrikios* and governor of Byz. Spain. Their contents concern negotiations with Constantinople ca.615 (F. Görres, *BZ* 16 [1907] 530–32) for a peace treaty to end Gothic military successes against the Byz. during the disastrous early period of the reign of Herakleios.

ED. *Miscellanea Visigotica*, ed. J. Gil (Seville 1972) 3–14. W. Gundlach, *MGH Epist.* 3:661–90.

LIT. T.C. Lounghis, *Les ambassades byzantines en Occident depuis la fondation des états barbares jusqu'aux Croisades* (407–1090) (Athens 1980) 106f, 422f. —M.McC.

EPISTOLOGRAPHY, or the art of writing letters, a genre of Byz. literature akin to RHETORIC, popular with the intellectual elite. Copious examples survive from all periods, in more than 150 published collections containing approximately 15,000 letters (Mullett, *infra* 75). Antecedents for the form exist from the classical period (e.g., the letters of Aristotle or Plato, whether genuine or spurious, or those of Herodes Atticus), and also in the Pauline Epistles of the New Testament, which themselves show awareness of Hellenistic

epistolary practice (as described by, e.g., pseudo-Demetrios, *On Style*, chs. 223–35). Byz. letters preserved substantial elements of the ancient genre—in form, composition, and the system of imagery; direct quotations and borrowings were very common.

The first flowering of the Byz. letter, combining influences from both the Christian tradition and the classical Greek, appeared in the 4th C. with the collections of Emp. JULIAN, LIBANIOS, SYNESIOS, and the CAPPADOCIAN FATHERS (who became a model and quarry for later writers). To this period also belongs the fictitious correspondence of the apostle Paul with the philosopher Seneca that survives only in a Latin version. After the 4th C., letter writing became less fashionable, although some voluminous collections are preserved (esp. that of ISIDORE OF PELOUSION); after Theophylaktos SIMOKATTES the genre virtually disappears until its revival by THEODORE OF SToudios and PHOTIOS. Thereafter it plays a leading role as a literary genre, becoming esp. popular in the Palaiologan period. The peak of epistolographic activity falls in the 11th–12th C., when such masters as PSELLOS, EUSTATHIOS OF THESSALONIKE, Gregory ANTIOCHOS, and Michael CHONIATES worked, and John TZETZES created an original, albeit unwieldy, genre of letters accompanied by verse commentaries.

The theoreticians of late Roman rhetoric, HERMOGENES and APHTHONIOS, ignored epistolography, but it is discussed by other theoreticians of the SECOND SOPHISTIC and later, esp. in the pseudonymous *Epistolary Characters* (between the 4th and 6th C.) wrongly attributed to either Libanios (J. Sykutris, *BNJbb* 7 [1930] 108–18) or Proklos. Theon of Alexandria (1st–2nd C.) classed epistolography as a PROGYMNASMA under the heading of ETHOPOIA, or character drawing, for the opportunities it gave to depict character. Pseudo-Proklos suggested a definition of the letter as a written conversation (*homilia*) between people who are separated and produced a sophisticated categorization of 41 types of letter. He emphasized the ideals of clarity (*sapheneia*) and reasonable length. The clearest indication of the Byz. concept of the ideal letter can be found in letters that themselves discuss the form, as in the letter of GREGORY OF NAZIANZOS to his nephew (ep.51, ed. Gally). There he recommends that letters should be brief, clear, and phrased like a conversation

with an absent friend and should treat serious topics with elegant expression. Epistolography received no attention in the general handbooks until the 14th C., when JOSEPH RHAKENDYTES devoted a chapter to it in his encyclopedia. The technique of letter writing was presumably taught by example from model collections, such as MS Patmos 706.

Byz. letters survive mainly in copies, with the exception of numerous papyri and late letters that were preserved in the fabric of bookbindings (J. Darrouzès, *REB* 22 [1964] 72f and n.3). They were nearly always intended for publication, either in the sense of public reading or through circulation as a collection. Some collections of letters were made from copies kept by the authors, others were gathered from the recipients by a later editor. Evidently many an author (e.g., John Tzetzes) rearranged and edited his letters before issuing the collection. Letters were frequently, if not normally, meant to be read aloud, not just to the intended recipient but also to an appreciative audience. Evidence for such occasions is intermittent but persistent from the 4th C. to the Palaiologan period. In this way epistolography filled the gap created by the disappearance of the THEATER; like rhetoric in general, letter writing uses theatrical terminology.

Byz. lacked regular mail service. Imperial letters were sent with special couriers; private individuals used friends, casual acquaintances, or servants as letter bearers (*grammatophoroi*). Letter writers sometimes complain of the difficulties of finding a suitable emissary. For example, the governor Theodore Branas dispatched a letter announcing the invasion of the Cumans with a monk who was walking to an annual panegyris in the town of Kouperion; the monk, however, “stuffed the letter in his bosom and consigned it to the darkness of his black robes,” and failed to deliver it (Nik.Chon. 500.78–92). The *grammatophoros* was supposed to be a “living letter” (*empsychos epistole*) and convey factual information, while the letter served as a literary ornament added to the message. Often the letter was accompanied with a gift that could range from a book to fish and fruit.

Letters can usefully be divided according to their purpose, into official, private, and literary examples. The letters dispatched by emperors, patriarchs (NICHOLAS I, ATHANASIOS I), and officials, as well as petitions addressed to them, func-

tioned as documents and were eventually quoted and referred to as such; some official letters are preserved in the minutes of meetings where they had been read aloud. Private letters were limited to the exchange of opinions between two correspondents, whereas literary letters were addressed (at least by implication) to a broader audience and often dealt with invented persons and situations. According to their content, letters can be divided into diplomatic, theological, and scholarly examples; letters of recommendation, indoctrination, and censure; and letters of consolation. Many letters express only banal politeness and standard friendship with conventional complaints about the correspondent's silence. The erotic letter died out after ARISTAINETOS.

The letter was not clearly distinct from related genres. The connection between conversation, homily, and letter was close, and a number of sermons exist in letter form. A letter could grow into a theological tract, as did Photios's lengthy letter to Ašot I (ed. B. Laourdas, L. Westerink, 3 [1985] 4–97), or into a historical work, such as the epistle of the monk THEODOSIOS to Deacon Leo on the capture of Syracuse in 880 (Hunger, *Lit.* 1:359f). The preamble to a major work could take the form of a letter; Photios's letter to his brother Tarasios introduces his BIBLIOTHECA. On the other hand, larger literary works could include letters; thus Kantakouzenos (Kantak. 3:94.2–99.9) quoted in his *History* the vernacular letter of the sultan of Egypt.

Though the Byz. letter may have aimed at originality combined with ornamentation and elegance in phrasing, variation in theme was not so important. A standard structure evolved, including—as expected—a greeting, inquiries after the correspondent's health, statements of the subject matter, and closing expressions of good will. Under Christian influence, however, certain formerly standard phrases changed. Thus in the exordium the old formula “A greets B” was usually replaced by “B is greeted by A,” since according to the Christian tradition of *tapeinotes* (see MODESTY, TOPOS OF) it was improper for the author to place himself first. Alongside the old formulaic conclusion “Be healthy” appears an elaborate prayer for divine blessing on the addressee and his family. The letter was considered a rhetorical piece, and the correspondent sometimes asked to be forgiven for his inadequacies.

Special attention was paid to *proimias* that showed the correspondent's extensive knowledge of biblical and classical literature. Formulaic content was accompanied by vivid observations, witty jokes, and expression of true feelings. Certain topics recur, giving scope for the writer's ingenuity in phraseology: the letter was a sign of friendship, it was a gift, it revealed the sender's soul, it united separated friends while lamenting the distance that divided them and the loneliness this entailed. It must be remembered that the real subject matter of a letter was often delivered orally by the courier; hence, though obscurity for its own sake was not recommended, letters frequently contain generalities rather than specific details, thus increasing the already existing trends toward "deconcretization" and abstraction. At times, and esp. when a writer can be detected borrowing phrases and even complete letters from other authors, one feels that Byz. letters rarely include any "real" information.

Nevertheless, the genre is an important source for studying Byz. history and culture. Many describe or allude to crucial events and are esp. useful for establishing the relations between various members of the intelligentsia and the intellectual atmosphere of the empire. Because letters are part of a conversation rather than a source of direct information, the chronology and identification of the persons or events mentioned may be difficult; the problem is sometimes alleviated by the presence of *LEMMATA*, or headings, with some factual indications, or by the existence of chronologically ordered collections of letters, frequently prepared by the author himself (Tzetzes, Michael Choniates, etc.). Sometimes, however, the *lemmata* were added by a later editor and provide erroneous information on the names and offices of the addressees. Another problem is that fictitious letters can be intermixed with real ones or form a special collection. In MS tradition the body of the correspondence is usually divided, with the letters of each correspondent forming a separate unit; the establishment of interconnected pairs remains, as a rule, problematic.

LIT. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:199–239. J. Sykutris, *RE* supp. 5 (1931) 218–20. N. Tomadakes, *Byzantine epistolographia* (Athens 1969). M. Mullett, "The Classical Tradition in the Byzantine Letter," in *Classical Tradition* 75–93. J. Darrouzès, *Epistoliers byzantins du Xe siècle* (Paris 1960). Idem, "Un recueil épistolaire du XIe siècle," *REB* 30 (1972) 199–229. V.A. Smetanin, "Teoretičeskaja čast' epistolologii i

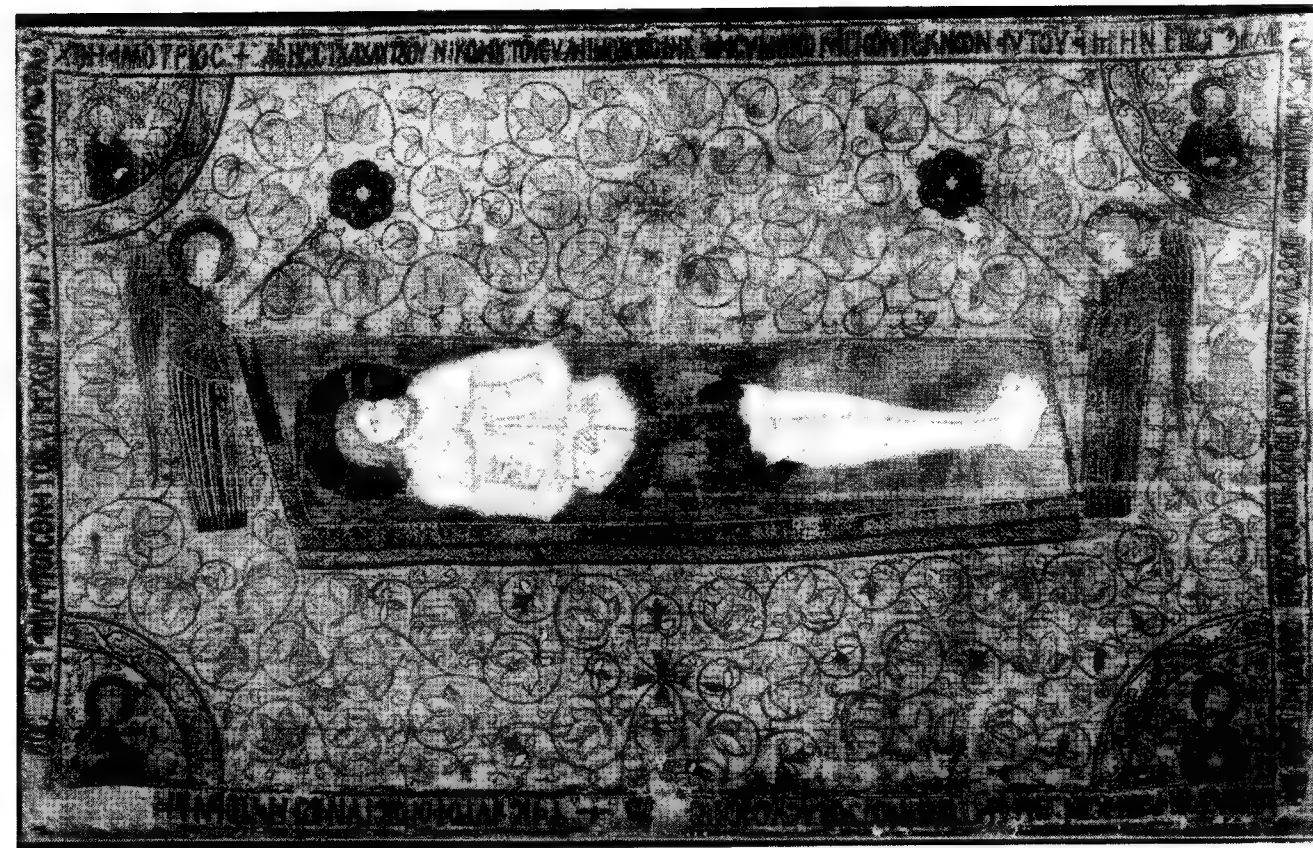
konkretno-istoričeskij efarmosis pozdnej Vizantii," *ADSV* 16 (1979) 58–93. Idem, *Vizantijskoe obščestvo XIII–XV vekov po dannym epistolografii* (Sverdlovsk 1987). G.T. Dennis, "The Byzantines as Revealed in their Letters," in *Gonimos. Neoplatonic and Byzantine Studies Presented to L.G. Westerink at 75* (Buffalo, N.Y., 1988) 155–65. —E.M.J., A.K.

EPISTYLE (ἐπιστύλιον, δοκός), or architrave, lower part of the Roman ENTABLATURE, the beam of the Byz. TEMPLON. Already from the 6th C. epistyles are decorated with figures of Christ and saints (S. Xydis, *ArtB* 29 [1947] 8). The DEESIS appears on the most important epistyles of the 10th–11th C., most of them found in Asia Minor (J.-P. Sodini, *Actes du Colloque sur la Lycie Antique* [Paris 1980] 130–33). These are carved in marble and inlaid with glass paste and mastic, evoking more elaborate epistyles of the period known to have been decorated with enamels (*TheophCont* 331.1) and perhaps ivory plaques (K. Weitzmann in *Festschrift für Karl Hermann Usener* [Marburg 1967] 11–20). Ordinary examples of the 10th–11th C. display geometric patterns, interconnected roundels, or arcaded patterns filled with palmettes, with a cross at the center, bosses, and, often, animals at either end. A richer vocabulary and an awakened interest in plasticity are evident from the 12th C., esp. in Greece (L. Bouras, *DChAE* 9 [1977–79] 71). From the late 11th C. the epistyle is often surmounted by an elongated panel with the Deesis, the GREAT FEASTS, scenes from the life of a patron saint, or portraits of the apostles (K. Weitzmann in *Byz. und der Westen* 163).

LIT. M. Chatzidakis, *RBK* 3:329–38. Grabar, *Sculptures II* 44f, 47–49, 111f. —L.Ph.B.

EPITAPHIOS (ἐπιτάφιος), technical term with two meanings.

Liturgical Cloth. The large piece of silk used in the Burial of Christ procession at the Holy Saturday *orthros*, symbolically interpreted as the bier of Christ, was called an *epitaphios*. *Epitaphioi* are usually embroidered either with the image of the Dead Christ (AMNOS) or with the Lamentation (*threnos*) and inscriptions. They evolved from Late Byz. AERES, which they resemble in their overall shape and figural decoration, but the texts on the *epitaphioi* derive from Paschal hymns, esp. the *troparion* beginning *Noble Joseph*. The appearance



EPITAPHIOS. *Epitaphios* of Nicholas Eudaimonoiannes. Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

of *epitaphioi* as distinct liturgical cloths coincided with the formalization of the Holy Saturday ritual in the early 14th C. Surviving Byz. *epitaphioi*, all fine gold and silk EMBROIDERIES, include those of John of Skopje (1349) and Syropoulos (late 14th C.), both at Hilandar; of Nicholas Eudaimonoiannes (ca.1407, in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London); and that of Euphemia and Eupraxia (ca.1405, Putna).

LIT. Millet, *Broderies* 86–109, pls. 176–216. Idem, "L'epitaphios: l'image," *CRAI* (1942) 408–19. Johnstone, *Church Embroidery* 25f, 36–40, pls. 93–120. Taft, *Great Entrance* 216–19. —A.G.

Funeral Speech (ἐπιτάφιος λόγος). MENANDER RHETOR distinguished several types of *epitaphios*: a pure ENKOMION (usually delivered some time after the death of the person commemorated), MONODY, consolatory speech (PARAMYTHETIKOS), and *epitaphios* proper; in the three last types the elements of praise, lamentation, and consolation are to be mixed in different proportions.

Byz. practice did not retain this categorization, and rhetoricians employed the terms indiffer-

ently. Encomiastic *epitaphioi* were composed to commemorate biblical personages or saints, usually in connection with the translation of relics; they formed a kind of SERMON. Secular *epitaphioi* were pronounced or written, in prose or verse, relatively soon after the death of their subject. The subjects of *epitaphioi* were emperors, patriarchs or other ecclesiastics, relatives or friends of the rhetorician, and—esp. from the late 11th C.—members of the high aristocracy. Apart from the insights they can offer into the structure of family life (e.g., George TORNİKIOS on Anna Komnene's upbringing), *epitaphioi* frequently provide valuable prosopographical information and other historical details.

In late Roman *epitaphioi* praise and lamentation prevail: in HIMERIOS and LIBANIOS the mention of blessed future life (*makarismos*) is minor. Even later, in the lamentation included in DIGENES AKRITAS, the theme of the irrevocability of the loss predominates. Under Christian influence, however, the theme of consolation was added, and the rhetor began to downplay the feeling of loss

and to emphasize the forthcoming heavenly reward. Normally conventional and objectified, *epitaphioi* sometimes became a means to express personal emotions, as in the monody on Stephen Skylitzes by Theodore PRODROMOS. On the other hand, some writers exercised their skill in mock-heroic laments for dead birds (Constantine MANASSES, MICHAEL ITALIKOS).

LIT. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:132–45. J. Soffel, *Die Regeln Menanders für die Leichenrede* (Meisenheim an Glan 1974). D. Hadzis, "Was bedeutet 'Monodie' in der byzantinischen Literatur?," *Byzantinistische Beiträge* (Berlin 1964) 177–85. A.C. Danelli, "Sul genere letterario delle orazioni funebri di Gregorio di Nissa," *Aevum* 53 (1979) 140–61. J. Alissandratos, "The Structure of the Funeral Oration in John Chrysostom's *Eulogy of Meletius*," *BS/EB* 7 (1980) 182–98. A. Sideras, "Byzantinische Leichenreden," *Leichenpredigten als Quelle historischer Wissenschaft*, vol. 3 (Marburg 1988) 17–49. —A.K., E.M.J.

EPILELEIA (ἐπιτέλεια, from *epiteleo*, "to pay in full"), a fiscal term designating various cash payments of taxes or other charges that ordinarily were due the fisc. The term appears in documents (predominantly *praktika* and acts of sale) from 1209 (MM 4:121.17–19) through the end of the empire. Ahrweiler has discerned three basic situations among the numerous fiscal procedures in which the term and its derivatives were employed.

(1) When real property was transferred between private parties, the recipient agreed to pay the seller (or donor) an annual *epiteleia* designed to cover the fiscal charges burdening the property until the revision of the *praktika*. (2) If the transfer involved property for which the seller had *EXKOUSSEIA*, the buyer agreed to continue paying the seller an annual *epiteleia* to cover the amount of the *exkousseia*. (3) In a common form of *pronoia* grant, the fiscal charges burdening one party, which were alienated by the fisc for the benefit of another party, were called an *epiteleia*, which the recipient of the grant received for life or several generations. There appears to be no correlation between the size and price of property and its *epiteleia* (Kazhdan, *Agrarnye otnosheniia* 158f), though documented rates for *epiteleiai*, while varying greatly, tended to approximate or slightly exceed rates of fiscal assessment.

LIT. Ahrweiler, *Structures*, pt.V (1954), 71–93; pt.VI (1957), 369–72. Docheiar. 141f. C. Zuckerman, "The Dishonest Soldier Constantine Planites and His Neighbours," *Byzantion* 56 (1986) 314–31. —M.B.

EPI TES KATASTASEOS (ἐπὶ τῆς καταστάσεως, lit. "chief of presentations"). Since *katastasis* also means "order," Bury (*Adm. System* 118f) rendered the title as master of ceremonies and connected the *epi tes katastaseos* with the late Roman *comes dispositionum*; G. Ostrogorsky and E. Stein (*Byzantion* 7 [1932] 206–10) noted that the *scrinium dispositionum* is unknown after 534 and connected this official with the *comes admissionum*. The 10th-C. *De ceremoniis* links the *epi tes katastaseos* with *SILENTIARIOI* and even considered him as one of the *silentiarioi* (*De cer.* 238.4) and as a member of the *kouboukleion* (503.5–6), the service of the imperial bedchamber. The 9th-C. *TAKTIKON* of Uspenskij refers to him twice (Oikonomides, *Listes* 57.25, 59.17), situating him first between the *protonotarios* of the *dromos* and the *archon* of the *armamenton*, that is, among the civil officials, and secondly, at the bottom of the list of courtiers, concurring with the information of the *De ceremoniis*. Another problem is raised by the *Kletorologion* of PHILOTHEOS, which defines the post as a special *axia* (*ibid.*, 109.7) and states that its staff consisted of *hypatoi*, *vestitores*, *silentiarioi*, and *synkletikoi* (125.8–12), who at least in part were dignitaries rather than court officials.

LIT. Oikonomides, *Listes* 309.

—A.K.

EPI TES TRAPEZES (ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης), aulic courtier in charge of imperial banquets; he introduced guests, together with the *PINKERNES* waited upon the emperor, and delivered dishes from the emperor's table to the guests. The *epi tes trapezes* was a eunuch; seals from the 8th C. onward indicate that he sometimes combined his duties with those of the *KOUBIKOULARIOS* or *PARAKOIMOMENOS*. The vita of MAXIMOS THE CONFESSOR mentions an *epi tes trapezes* as existing in the mid-7th C., but this evidence must be used with caution since the text is of later date. Some *epi tes trapezes* commanded troops and fulfilled special state assignments. Seibt distinguished the *epi tes trapezes* from the *domestikos tes trapezes* (known from 680 onward) who was not a eunuch. The *epi tes trapezes* possessed a varied staff, called *hypourgias*, and was assisted by a *domestikos tes hypourgias*. Along with the emperor's *epi tes trapezes* there was a banquet chief for the empress, known both from the *TAKTIKA* and from seals (Seibt, *Bleisiegel*, nos. 48–49). Seibt hypothesizes that in the 7th C. the *epi tes*

trapezes assumed the major functions of the *KASTRESIOS*; ca.800 certain of these functions were in the hands of the *KENARIOS*. From the 13th C. both *epi tes trapezes* and *domestikos tes trapezes* were high ranks conferred on nobles; among the holders of this dignity were members of such families as Tarchaneiotas, Nestongos, and Notaras. Both terms appear in later romances (P. Pieler, *JÖB* 20 [1971] 194, 213, 218). Nikephoros GREGORAS relates a legend that the dignity of *epi tes trapezes*, from the time of Constantine I the Great, was hereditary for the princes of Russia.

LIT. Bury, *Adm. System* 125f. Guiland, *Institutions* 1:237–41. W. Seibt, "Über das Verhältnis von *kenarios* bzw. *domestikos tes trapezes* zu den anderen Funktionären der basilike trapeza in mittelbyzantinischer Zeit," *BZ* 72 (1979) 34–38. Seibt, *Bleisiegel* 152–57. —A.K.

EPITHALAMION (ἐπιθαλάμιος λόγος), a speech in either prose or verse to celebrate a marriage, whether of a private individual or a member of the imperial family. Examples survive from the 4th C. (e.g., HIMERIOS, or.9, with a *protheoria*, "introduction," on the principles governing the composition of *epithalamia*); the 6th C. (e.g., CHORIKIOS OF GAZA, or.5, on a triple wedding, and the *epithalamion* of DIOSKOROS OF APHRODITO); and esp. from the 12th C., when many imperial couples were hymned in this way (e.g., Theodore PRODROMOS, on the wedding of the sons of Anna Komnene and Nikephoros Bryennios). The genre, considered a form of *ENKOMION*, early attracted a rich collection of erotic allusions drawn from Greek mythology (cf. MENANDER RHETOR, *On Epideictic Speeches*, ch.6), which in the 12th C. combined with imperial imagery to produce a new and bewildering exuberance of plant, animal, and cosmic symbolism.

LIT. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:150. Kennedy, *Rhetoric* 68f, 147f. M. Regali, "Forme e motivi dell'epitalamio nella poesia di S. Gregorio Nazianzeno," *Muséon* 96 (1983) 87–96. —E.M.J.

EPITHET (ἐπίθετον) can be considered as a rhetorical *TROPE* (Martin, *Rhetorik* 264). Greek authors rarely used the term (e.g., the 2nd-C. grammarian Apollonios Dyskolos, in *Grammatici graeci*, ed. R. Schneider, G. Uhling, vol. 2.2 [Leipzig 1910; rp. Hildesheim 1965] 56f); Latin theoreticians stressed that epithets were to be used sparingly. Eustathios of Thessalonike, in his commen-

tary on the *Odyssey* (*Eust.Comm.Od.*, p.1459.32–35), noticed the deliberate use (or avoidance) of epithets that would demonstrate the author's attitude toward heroes. In late Roman and Byz. practical aesthetics, epithets acquired an exaggerated importance. First, many writers (pseudo-DIONYSIOS THE AREOPAGITE, NONNOS OF PANOPOLIS, GERMANOS I) strove to create very long epithets, mostly composites, to stimulate the imagination and to reveal the enigmatic nature of the cosmos. Second, the growing role of ceremonial in society enhanced the creation of rigidly formalized epithets (the emperor was always *eusebes*, "pious," the serpent, "wicked" or "creeping"), so that the epithet was becoming an *antonomasia*, that is, an appellation substituted for a proper name, as the "Queen of Cities" was a designation for Constantinople. The individual writer had to reconcile two contradictory principles—the trend toward pompous epithets and the patristic prescription of plain and "truthful" exposition (the latter quality was consistently praised in Photios's *BIBLIOTHECA*). Byz. literature presents a broad range of stylistic approaches, from the matter-of-factness of JOHN VI KANTAKOUZENOS to the agglomeration of epithets in *EPIDEICTIC* oratory.

LIT. Averincev, *Poetika* 109–28.

—A.K.

EPITIMION (ἐπιτίμιον), a penalty imposed on a penitent by the priest following sacramental confession. The term was already in use by the 4th C. (Basil the Great, PG 32:721A). As a rule these penitential exercises, mentioned in Byz. canonical and ascetical literature, presupposed repentance and consisted of prayer, fasting, Scripture reading, prostrations, almsgiving, and, on occasion, temporary exclusion from the Eucharist. They were distinguished by their largely positive character and relative mildness from such formal punishments (*timoriai*) as EXCOMMUNICATION, suspension, or deposition, which were inflicted by the church for more serious transgressions such as heresy or apostasy. Since sin was understood as a disease rather than a legally punishable crime, *epitimia* in Byz. penitential practice and theology were viewed as corrective remedies, that is, as a form of spiritual healing. At any rate, they were never reduced to a payment of a fine due to God. In sum, the Western juridical notion of sin as a violation of the law, in which *PENANCE* constitutes

punishment or satisfaction payable to God, is for the most part not a feature of Byz. PENITENTIAL literature.

LIT. K. Holl, *Enthusiasmus und Bussgewalt beim griechischen Mönchtum* (Leipzig 1898). H. Koch, "Zur Geschichte der Bussdisziplin und Bussgewalt in der orientalischen Kirche," *HistJb* 21 (1900) 58–78. G. Wagner, "Bussdisziplin in der Tradition des Ostens," *Liturgie et remission des péchés* (Rome 1975) 273–93. J. Grotz, *Die Entstehung des Bussstufenwesens in der vornicänischen Kirche* (Freiburg im Breisgau 1955). —A.P.

EPITOME LEGUM (Extract from the Laws), the conventional term for a law book that has been transmitted in various versions. The oldest version must have been closely related to the *Epitome Laurentiana*, which contains 50 titles, follows the title sequence of the *Prochiron* and dates to "the first year of Constantine, the son of Leo" (913–914?). "In the first year of Romanos" (921) an extensive revision of the text was made that altered also the sequence of titles. The author of both these versions must have been the Symbatios named in the preface. The aim of the law book was presumably an improvement and expansion of the *Prochiron*; the additions, most of them dealing with private and penal law, were based almost exclusively on the *Corpus Juris Civilis*. The MS tradition of the *Epitome Legum* is limited. The published edition (of Zachariä von Lingenthal) is based on the MS Oxford Bodl., Barocc. 173, for titles 1–23, and on Vat. gr. 2075 (which represents another version) for titles 24–45.

ED. Zepos, *Jus* 4:261–585, 596–619.
LIT. Zachariä, *Prochiron* 287–310. Ch.M. Moulakis, *Studien zur Epitome Legum* (Munich 1963). J. Maruhn, "Der Titel 50 der Epitome," *FM* 3 (1979) 194–210. Troianos, *Peges* 114–17. —A.S.

EPI TON ANAMNESEON (ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀναμνήσεων), an official who, according to a 14th-C. ceremonial book (pseudo-Kod. 185f), used to record warriors and other people distinguished by their exploits; in the 14th C. he had no clear-cut function. Guiland (*infra*) views the *epi ton anamneseon* as the successor of the *magister memoriae*, a late Roman official in the bureau of the *magister scriniorum* and asserts that the office of *epi ton anamneseon* existed long before Constantine IX. He includes George Spanopoulos, a contemporary of Alexios I, in the list of "memorialists" even though the text explicitly calls Spanopoulos "the former *genikos*" (Zepos, *Jus* 1:334.3–5). Very few *epi ton anamneseon* are known. Under Andronikos

III, the *epi ton anamneseon* Spanopoulos acted as MESAZON, according to a vague expression of Kantakouzenos (Kantak. 2:99.1–2); another *epi ton anamneseon*, Logaras, addressed a letter to Andronikos III (S. Lampakes, *EEBS* 42 [1975–76] 405). There were also *epi ton anamneseon* in the patriarchal chancery—one of them, Petriotes, composed a preamble to a patriarchal letter of 1365 (MM 1:472.28–29) and several other documents (Darrouzès, *Offikia* 357, n.3).

LIT. Guiland, *Titres*, pt.XXIV, 147f. —A.K.

EPI TON DEESEON (ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν δεήσεων), official whose duty was to receive petitions addressed to the emperor and to answer them. He is usually considered the successor of the late Roman *magister memoriae* (or a *memoria*) who, according to the NOTITIA DIGNITATUM, dictated *adnotationes* and *preces*; it should, however, be noted that the office of a certain Benivulus, *memoriae scrinii praesidens* (RUFINUS OF AQUILEIA, *Church History* 11.16), is rendered in Greek by Sozomenos (Sozom. *HE* 7.13.5) not as *epi ton deeseon*, but as *ho epi tois grammateusi ton thesmon*; his function was to formulate laws (O. Seeck, *RE* 2.R. 2 [1923] 898). The earliest known *epi ton deeseon* is Theodore, owner of a seal of the 7th C. (Laurent, *Corpus* 2, no.230). The *epi ton deeseon* has no title higher than *protospatharios* on seals through the first half of the 11th C. The importance of this official rose in the second half of the 11th and the 12th C., when he was not only honored as *protoproedros* (Laurent, *Corpus* 2, nos. 253–54), but the office was held by members of the noblest families, such as the KOMNENOI, SKLEROI, KAMATEROI, and KASTAMONITAI. George Chatzikes was still active as *epi ton deeseon* in 1321 (*Reg* 4, no.2450), and the office is mentioned by pseudo-KODINOS. The *Kletorologion* of PHILOTHEOS omits any mention of the staff of the *epi ton deeseon* but at least one seal of a notary of petitions is known (Laurent, *Corpus* 2, no.255). There were also provincial *epi ton deeseon*—in Sicily, Peloponnesos, and so on—known by their seals, as well as *epi ton deeseon* of the patriarch (Darrouzès, *Offikia* 378f); one patriarchal *epi ton deeseon* was EUSTATHIOS OF THESSALONIKE.

LIT. Guiland, *Titres*, pt.XXII (1965). 97–118. Bury, *Adm. System* 77f. Oikonomides, *Listes* 322. M. Fluss, *RE* 15 (1932) 655–57. —A.K.

EPI TON KRISEON (ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν κρίσεων), judicial office created between 1043 and 1047, before the

foundation of the law school under a NOMOPHYLAX. A *scholion* to Basil. 7.1 (ed. H.J. Scheltema, ser. B, 1:36) lists the *epi ton kriseon* as one of four effective judges holding tribunals, alongside the *droungarios* [*tes viglas*], quaestor, and eparch. According to Attaleiates, the court of an *epi ton kriseon* had to resolve the legal problems presented to it by thematic judges—as Oikonomides (*TM* 6 [1976] 134) suggests, due to the low level of legal knowledge of provincial judges—but it was not a court of appeal. Seals of several *epi ton kriseon* survive, including one of [Alexios?] ARISTENOS. The *epi ton kriseon* is not mentioned as the head of one of the four courts in Manuel I's novel of 1166, but is mentioned in the 12th-C. *ECLOGA BASILICORUM* (e.g., at B.9.1. 64 = C.7.44.1 [p. 372 of Burgmann's edition]). The office existed at least until 1204; Niketas CHONIATES was one of the last *epi ton kriseon*.

LIT. Zachariä, *Geschichte* 374f. Ahrweiler, "Administration" 70f. Laurent, *Corpus* 2:473–75. —A.K., R.J.M.

EPI TOU KANIKLEIOU. See KANIKLEIOS.

EPITRACHELION (ἐπιτραχήλιον), a liturgical stole, generally of silk, which was worn over the STICHARION only by priests and bishops. The narrow strip of cloth, about 2 m in length, hung down in front in two overlapping panels that were sometimes fastened together. Though representations of *epitrachelia* are not found before the 10th C., the term is attested as early as the 8th C. (Germanos, *Liturgy*, ch.18, ed. Borgia 17.16–20); according to pseudo-Germanos, the *epitrachelion* or *phakiolion* represents the cloth on Christ's neck by which he was dragged to his Passion. In the artistic representations, all that can be seen of the *epitrachelion* is its fringe and its lowest band of ornament (since it is generally covered by the PHELONION), but actual *epitrachelia* that have survived from the 14th or 15th C. have an elaborate embroidered decoration: images of saints standing under arcades, or busts within roundels. The figures are outlined in pearls.

LIT. Braun, *Liturgische Gewandung* 601–08. Papas, *Messgewänder* 153–212. Johnstone, *Church Embroidery* 16–18, pls. 31–34. M. Ćorović-Ljubinković, "Arhijerejsko odejanje nepoznatog raškog mitropolita," *Zbornik narodnog muzeja u Beogradu* 4 (1964) 289–306. —N.P.Š.

EPOIKOS (ἐποικος, "inhabitant"), term designating free peasant-taxpayers in the *Treatise on Taxation* (Dölger, *Beiträge* 119.24) and in certain, mostly

13th-C., documents. In the latter, the word is at times applied to *paroikoi* (MM 4:255.20–30), inhabitants of towns (e.g., Ioannina—MM 5:82.12), as well as "clerics, soldiers and all the common people" (Sathas, *MB* 6:641.20–21), and appears to mean simply "resident."

LIT. Kazhdan, *Agrarnye otnosheniya* 77–80. Solovjev-Mošin, *Grčke povelje* 438f. Ostrogorsky, *Paysannerie* 41. —M.B.

EPOPTES (ἐπόπτης, lit. "overseer"), the designation of two officials.

1. The 9th-C. *Kletorologion* of PHILOTHEOS mentions *epoptai* as subaltern officials under the EPARCH OF THE CITY; the BOOK OF THE EPARCH ignores them and Stöckle (*Zünfte* 93) identified them with *mitotai*, supervisors of silk weavers.

2. *Epoptai* were also fiscal functionaries in the GENIKON whose duty was to check the amount of individual tax payments, allowing reductions (SYMPATHEIAI) or increasing the required sum. Their activity is described in a treatise on TAXATION (ed. Dölger), and they are often mentioned in the 11th-C. privileges given to monasteries, along with EXISOTAI. The functions of *epoptai* and *exisotai* are barely distinguishable. *Epoptai* were stationed in themes. Several charters of 941–56 (*Lavra* 1, nos. 2–3; *Xerop.*, no.1) mention a certain *protospatharios* Thomas, *asekretis*, *epoptes*, and *anagrapheus* of Thessalonike, who directed the sale of KLASMATA; a later document (*Ivir.* 1, no.30) refers to *sympatheiai* granted by the *epoptes* Thomas as well as his "addition" (tax-increase) in the same area. The last mention of *epoptai* is in Manuel I's edict of 1153. Dölger argued that *epoptai*, together with *exisotai*, are mentioned in a law of 496; this law is preserved only in the BASILIKA (56.8.13), and its attribution to Anastasios I is, according to the editors, H. Scheltema and N. van der Wal (ser. A, 7 [1974] 2570), spurious. Furthermore it is not known when the Greek translation was produced.

LIT. Dölger, *Beiträge* 79–81. —A.K.

EP'REM MCIRE ("the Less"), translator; died end of 11th C. One of the most important Georgian scholars of the 11th C., Ep'rem was educated in Constantinople. His father was Vače K'arič'isdze of TAYK'/TAO, who moved to Constantinople with other Georgian nobles in 1027. By midcentury Ep'rem was on the Black Mountain, where other Georgians including GEORGE MT'AC'MINDELI were

also active in translating Greek texts. Ep'rem was superior of Kastana from ca.1091 until his death. His renderings of Greek are notable for their clarity and exactness; his output was immense. His translations include patristic works (John Chrysostom, *Homilies on the Epistles*; Gregory of Nazianzos, *Homilies*; Theodoret of Cyrillus, *History*); dogmatic theology (John of Damascus, *Fountain of Knowledge*); mystical theology (pseudo-Dionysios the Areopagite); and ascetic works (Basil the Great of Caesarea, *Asketikon*; Ephrem the Syrian, *Asketikon*; John Cassian, *De Institutis*, which EUTHYMIOS THE IBERIAN had begun on Mt. Athos; and Palladios, *Historia Lausiaca*).

LIT. Tarchnišvili, *Georg. Lit.* 182–98.

–R.T.

ERAS. See ALEXANDRIAN ERA; ANTIOCHENE ERA; BYZANTINE ERA; DIOCLETIANIC ERA.

ERCHEMPERT, 9th-C. Lombard monk of Montecassino and envoy to Pope Stephen V (885–91). He composed verses for a martyrology (ed. in U. Westerbergh, *Beneventan Ninth Century Poetry* [Stockholm 1957] 77–81) and, at Capua after 885, wrote a *Hystoriola Langobardorum Beneventi degenerium* that traces the history of the duchy of BENEVENTO from 774 and breaks off in 889. Although Erchempert was hostile to foreigners, particularly the Byz. (“equal to beasts and . . . worse than Agarenes,” ch.81), by whom he was captured in 886 (ch.61), he provides unique information on Byz. Italy and Byz.’s role in the conflicts among the southern Italian principalities and Arabs.

ED. G. Waitz, MGH SRL 234–64.

LIT. P. Meyvaert, *DHGE* 15 (1963) 685–87. F. Avagliano, *LMA* 3:2124f.

–M.McC.

ERGASTERIA BASILIKA. See FACTORIES, IMPERIAL.

ERGASTERION (ἐργαστήριον), a workshop or small retail store, or combination of the two. Justinian I distinguished tradesmen who operated “an *ergasterium* or other legitimate business” (*Cod. Just.* IV 32.26, par.2) from the ILLUSTRES. Cognate terms, such as *ergasteriakos* (working man)

or *ergasteriarches* (foreman of a workshop), were also used in the late Roman period. It is impossible to calculate the number of workshops in a city, but Justinian’s novels 43 and 59 give a rough idea by indicating that the owners of 1,100 *ergasteria* in Constantinople that belonged to the Great Church (Hagia Sophia) were exempted from making contributions for funeral expenses. The 10th-C. *Book of the Eparch* lists *ergasteria* in Constantinople of ARGYROPRATAI, VESTIOPRATAI, LINEN merchants, SOAPMAKERS, GROCERS, BAKERS, and owners of TAVERNS.

Documents also name various kinds of *ergasteria*, some of which are the same as those mentioned in the *Book of the Eparch*: *sardamarikon ergasterion*, a grocery store (*Lavra* 3, no.123.120–21) or *mankipikon ergasterion*, a bakery (*Lavra* 3, no.148.10–11); some are different, such as the workshop of a *myrepsos* or perfume and unguent maker (*Lavra* 3, no.123.110), a workshop for the production of flaxseed oil (*Lavra* 3, no.168.4–5), or a potter’s workshop (*Lavra* 1, no.4.4); sometimes mills are described as *ergasteria*. Several documents stress that *ergasteria* were located in the marketplace or forum. The *Book of the Eparch* explicitly prohibited *argyropratai* from working at home, stating that they must ply their trade in their shops on the Mese; linen weavers, on the other hand, were forbidden to sell their goods in their *ergasteria* but had to peddle them on their backs on market days.

Several workshops (potteries, glass factories, smithies) have been excavated in Corinth, Sardis, and elsewhere. A well-excavated glass factory in Corinth occupied one room in a house and contained only a single furnace; the empty space in front of the furnace was an 11 sq m area that could accommodate only a master and one apprentice. An act of 1419 (*Xénoph.*, no.32.8–10) mentions five grocers’ *ergasteria* “in the great stoa” in Thessalonike that were eventually joined and transformed into a wineshop; they also must have been small.

Ergasteria could be the property of landowners (including churches and monasteries) who leased them out. Oikonomides (*infra*) calculates that the income from an *ergasterion* equaled about 6 percent of the investment; the tax on the *ergasteria* that he investigated ranged from about 3 percent to 11–13 percent of the income.

Church fathers used the term broadly in a metaphorical sense: Gregory of Nazianzos calls Alexandria the *ergasterion* of education (PG 35:761A); EPHREM THE SYRIAN considers marriage “an *ergasterion* of life” (ed. J.S. Assemani 3:210F); the womb is frequently characterized as “the *ergasterion* of nature.” Accordingly, a gabled building labeled *ta ergasteria tou martyriou* in a mosaic at Yakto (D. Levi, *Antioch Mosaic Pavements* [Princeton 1947] pl.LXXIXa) probably designates the site of a martyrdom.

LIT. Stöckle, *Zünfte* 71–73. Kazhdan, *Derevnja i gorod* 309–15. N. Oikonomides, “Quelques boutiques de Constantinople au Xe s.,” *DOP* 26 (1972) 345–56. G.R. Davidson, “A Medieval Glass-factory at Corinth,” *AJA* 44 (1940) 297–324. J.S. Crawford, *The Byzantine Shops at Sardis* (Cambridge, Mass., 1990).

–A.K.

EROS, god of love in Greek mythology; frequently a plural form, Eroles, was introduced in Greek poetry. Christian poets continued to use the image of Eros as an allegory of love: PAUL SILENTIARIOS complained of the persecutions of Eros, who is stronger than law and wounds with his arrows. Much later, Eustathios MAKREMBOLITES, in his romance *Hysmine and Hysminias* (bk.2, chs. 7–9), described the triumph of Eros mounted on a chariot; he is attended by people of all ages and walks of life, by birds and animals, and even by Night and Day in the shape of huge women. The image of the luxurious garden of Eros was frequent in Byz. literature.

Theology had difficulties with the concept of Eros. On the one hand, there was a tendency to identify Eros with Christian *agape* (see LOVE). ORIGEN contributed much to this idea, and it was retained in the exegesis of the SONG OF SONGS; in pseudo-DIONYSIOS THE AREOPAGITE, EROS is Divine Nature itself, and it was possible to speak of man’s love for Christ as “wounding *eros*,” esp. in bridal imagery. On the other hand, the fathers tried to draw the line between *agape*, which was good, and the *erotes* who were diabolical.

In a MS of pseudo-Oppian in Venice (Marc. gr. 479), Eros is depicted as a winged naked youth flying through the air and shooting his arrows at a group of Olympian gods (Weitzmann, *infra*, fig.143).

LIT. O. Schneider, *RAC* 6:310–12. Poljakova, *Roman.* 100f. Armstrong, *Philosophy* 470f. Weitzmann, *Gr. Myth.* 122–25, 183f.

–A.K., A.M.T.

EROTAPOKRISEIS (ἐρωταποκρίσεις), a distinctive genre of Byz. literature, a combination of DIALOGUE and GNOMAI. *Erotapokriseis* are series of questions and answers related to dogma, exegesis, canon law, riddles, etc. They are either anonymous, or the participants in the “conversation” are shadowy figures deprived of any characterization, one of them playing the role of teacher, another the pupil. There is no strict sequence in the development of questions, although some unity of subject matter is preserved. Answers are formulated in gnomic form as an unquestionable truth, leaving no room for uncertainty. *Erotapokriseis* are known from ca.400; they gained popularity in the 7th–9th C. when the greatest theologians (Maximos the Confessor, John of Damascus, Photios) worked in this genre; one example is ascribed to Anastasios of Sinai. After the *Amphilochia* of Photios, the most developed example of *erotapokriseis*, they became infrequent; Nicholas of Methone and Niketas of Herakleia were among the rare practitioners of the genre. They were revived in the 15th C. by writers such as Symeon of Thessalonike and Mark Eugenikos. The genre (mostly in the form of translations) was popular in medieval Slavic literature (cf. the IZBORNIK of 1073).

LIT. C. Heinrici, *Griechisch-byzantinische Gesprächsbücher* (Leipzig 1911).

–A.K.

EROTOPAIGNIA (Ἐρωτοπαίγνια, “Games of Love”), a collection of vernacular love poems in POLITICAL VERSE found in a unique late 15th-C. MS, though the poems themselves are older. The *Erotopaignia* include three alphabetic ACROSTICS (“Alphabets of Love”), all incomplete and with stanzas of varying lengths; an *Hekatologa* (“Hundred Words”), a counting song in which a young girl lightheartedly challenges her lover to list the ways in which he has suffered for her; and an assortment of letters, laments, and songs not unlike the songs and letters found in LIBISTROS AND RHODAMNE. Once thought to have come from Rhodes (and thus sometimes called “Rhodian Love Songs”), their place of origin is unknown; some of the amatory vocabulary, however, with references to enslavement to Eros, suggest that the *Erotopaignia* come from the mixed Frankish-Greek milieu that produced the vernacular verse ROMANCES. Anonymous, probably not the work of a single author,

and with some of their motifs foreshadowing modern Greek folksong, the *Erotopaignia*—with scenes of secluded maidens, distraught youths, and censorious neighbors—offer a vivid glimpse into Byz. attitudes to love and courtship.

ED. *Erotopaignia* (*Chansons d'amour*), eds. D.C. Hesselring, H. Pernot (Paris 1913), with Fr. tr.; rp. in G.T. Zoras, *Byzantine Poiesis* (Athens 1956) 254–70.

LIT. Beck, *Volksliteratur* 183f.

—E.M.J.

ERZURUM. See THEODOSIOUPOLIS.

ESCHATOCOL. See ACTS, DOCUMENTARY.

ESCHATOLOGY (lit. “study of the last things”) encompassed three aspects in Byz.: (1) the cosmological expectation of the end of the world; (2) individual expectations of DEATH and concepts of the afterlife (in HELL or PARADISE); and (3) political considerations concerning the fate of the empire. Irenaeus of Lyons (2nd C.), in his polemics against Gnosticism, formulated the principles of cosmological eschatology by developing the thesis of the “renewal” (*anakephalaiosis*, lit. “summing up”) of the cosmos through the Second Coming of Christ (PAROUSIA), that is to be preceded by the battle against the ANTICHRIST and the purification of the world by fire. This idea was connected with ORIGEN’s thesis of *apokatastasis panton*, the restoration of all [spiritual beings] that was to be accomplished through a long process and manifold stages; although condemned in 553 at the Second Council of Constantinople, the idea did not lose its attraction.

Individual eschatology, as developed by the members of the ALEXANDRIAN SCHOOL and the CAPPADOCIAN FATHERS, dealt primarily with the image of the protecting ANGEL and accusing DEMON and their struggle over the soul of the deceased person (PSYCHOMACHIA) that strives to ascend to heaven but is stopped at the *teloneia* (“tollhouses”) to account for his/her actions. The problem of the abode of souls before the Parousia and esp. the problem of PURGATORY remained unsettled.

Political (or imperial) eschatology was developed by EUSEBIOS OF CAESAREA on the basis of the list of historical periods in Daniel 2 and 7; the

Christian empire was proclaimed the final stage of the development of mankind. This left no place for chiliastic expectations of a peaceful reign of the future (with the exception of the critical and literal exegetes of non-Roman peoples, as, for instance, THEODORET OF CYRRHUS in Syria). Byz. exegetic and apocalyptic literature was couched within the framework of the expectation of “Roman” domination until the reign of the Antichrist.

LIT. G. Müller, *Apokatastasis panton: A Bibliography* (Basel 1969). G. Podskalsky, *Byzantinische Reichseschatologie* (Munich 1972). A. Recheis, *Engel, Tod und Seelenreise* (Rome 1958). B.E. Daley, “Apokatastasis and ‘Honorable Silence’ in the Eschatology of Maximus the Confessor,” in *Maximus Confessor* (Fribourg 1982) 309–39. M. Jugie, “La doctrine des fins dernières dans l’Église gréco-russe,” *EO* 17 (1914–15) 1–22, 209–28, 402–21.

—G.P.

ESKI GÜMÜŞ, a ROCK-CUT monastic complex 7 km northeast of Niğde, Turkey, excavated around an open courtyard, consists of numerous living spaces, including a second-story chamber decorated with scenes from the fables of AESOP. The large, well-carved church follows a CROSS-IN-SQUARE plan; enormous columnar piers “support” the central dome. The nave is preceded by an exo- and esonarthex and is terminated in the east by a three-apsed sanctuary. Discrete parts of the interior are decorated. In the conch of the bema is a combined Deesis-Majestas Domini; busts of the apostles and full-length, frontal bishops occupy the two registers on the apse wall. The style of this work is very closely related to that found in the Chapel of St. Michael in the Peristrema Valley (see HASAN DAĞ), ascribed to the early 11th C. on the basis of an inscription; it also has formal analogies with the early 11th-C. frescoes of HO-SIOS LOUKAS (N. Thierry, *JSav* [1968] 45–61). Gough suggests that the master of the apse decoration also executed the standing Virgin flanked by archangels in the narthex. Another artist painted the Virgin and Child in the prothesis apse and John the Baptist in the diakonikon (see PASTOPHORIA). Framing an arcosolium on the north wall, directly opposite the only source of natural light in the structure, are high-quality, well-preserved images of the infancy of Christ, dated by Gough to the mid-11th C.

LIT. M. Gough, “The Monastery of Eski Gümüş: A Preliminary Report,” *AnatSt* 14 (1964) 147–61. Idem, “Second Preliminary Report,” *AnatSt* 15 (1965) 157–64.

—A.J.W.